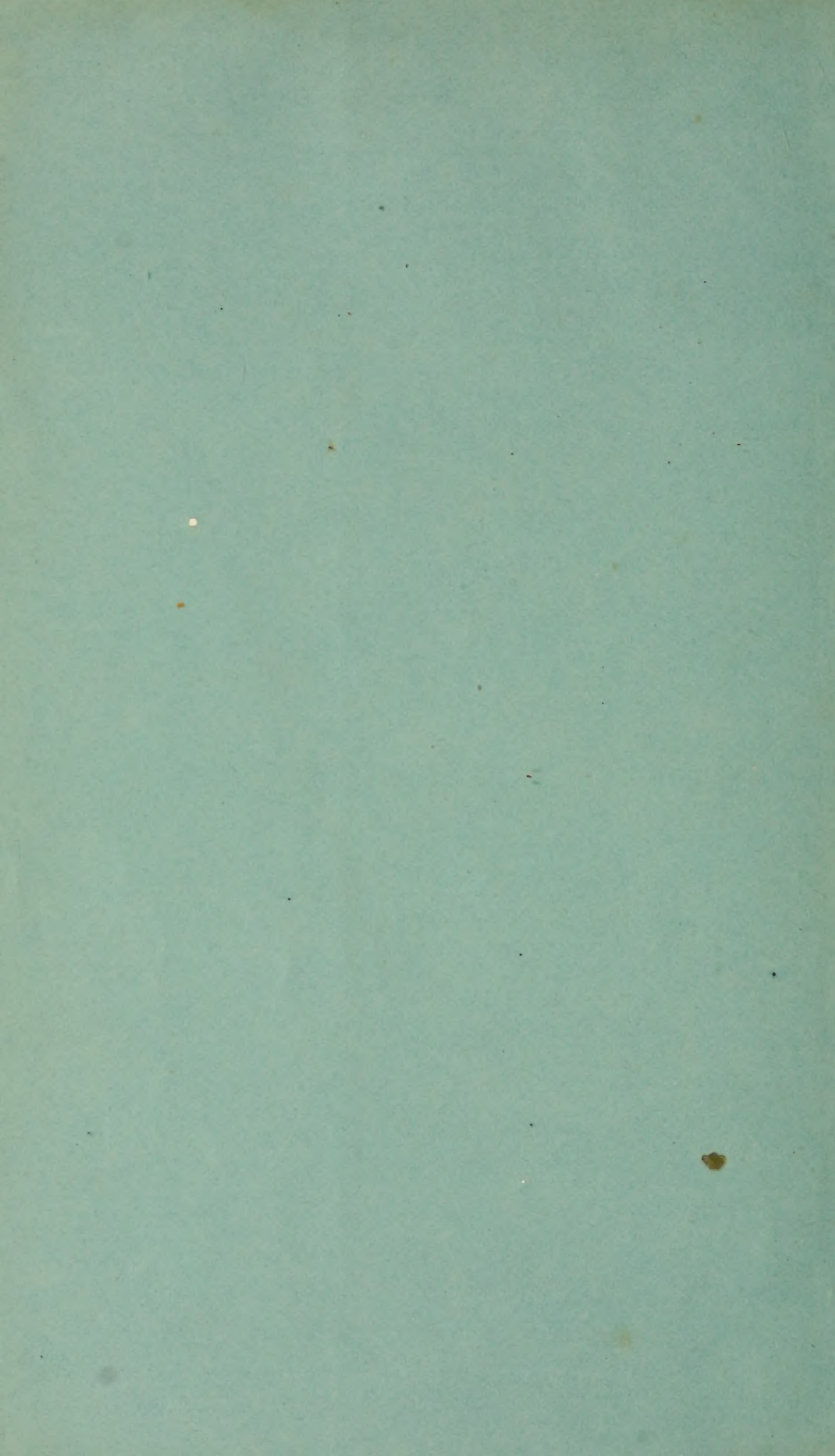


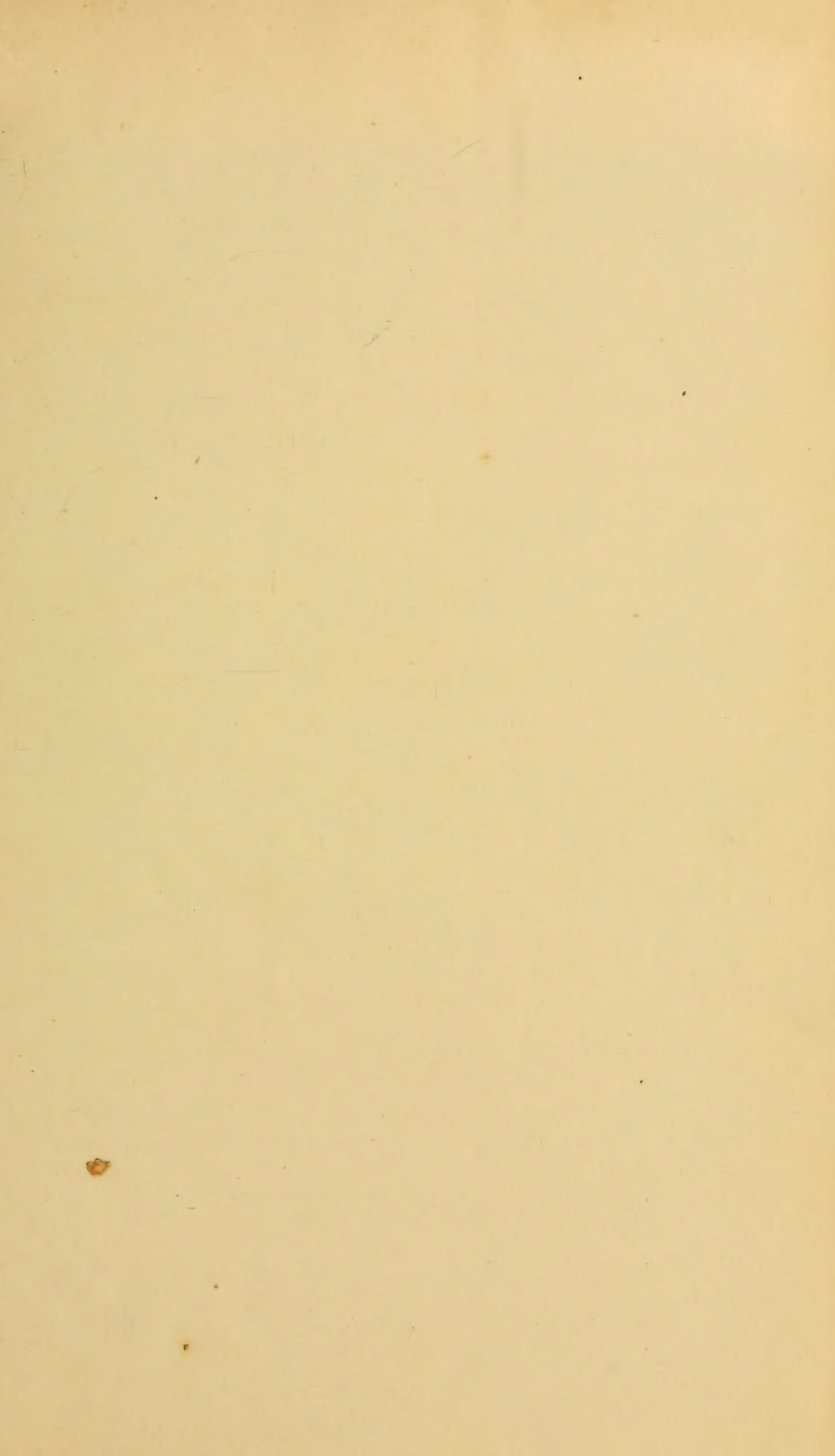
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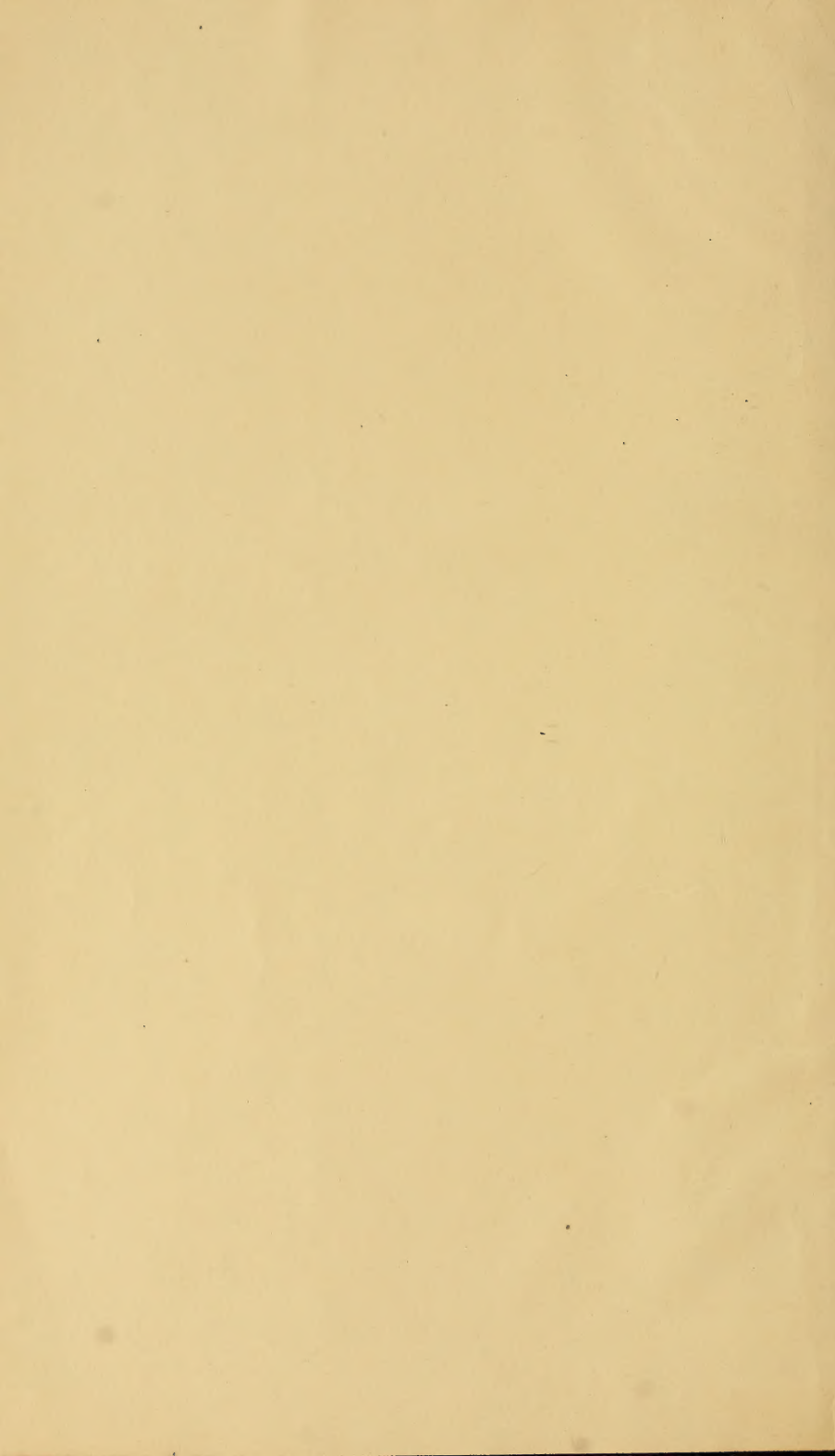
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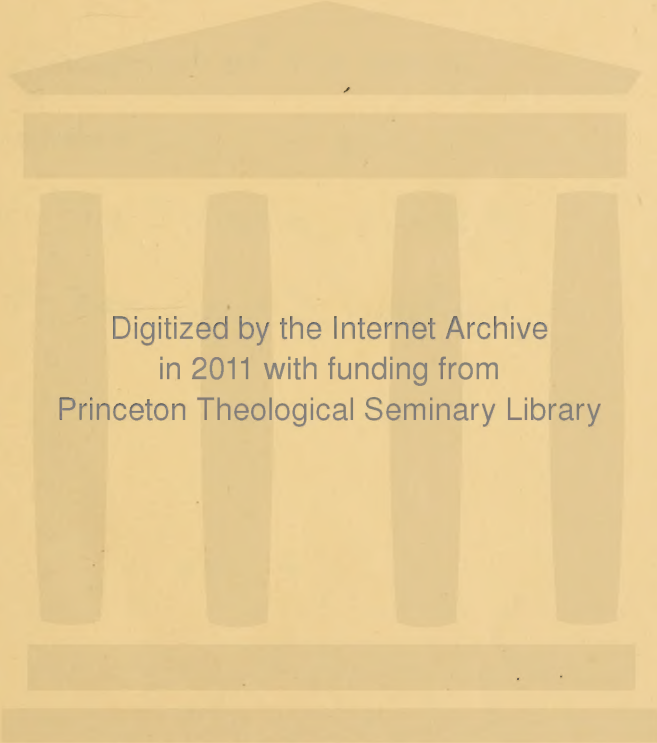
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The Didache.



A collection of the texts,
translations, reviews, etc.
of the Didache, made by
Dr. Benjamin B. Warfield.

Vol. 4

✓
DOCTRINA**DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM**✓
CANONES APOSTOLORUM ECCLESIASTICI**AC****RELIQUAE DOCTRINAE DE DUABUS VIIS
EXPOSITIONES VETERES****EDIDIT, ADNOTATIONIBUS ET PROLEGOMENIS ILLUSTRAVIT,
VERSIONEM LATINAM ADDIDIT****FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS FUNK**

**TUBINGÆ,
IN LIBRARIA HENRICI LAUPP.****MDCCCLXXXVII.**

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D. D. D.

PRAEFATIO.

Doctrina duodecim apostolorum postquam complura saecula ex verbis paucissimis tantum cognita fuit, quae veteres de ea communicarunt, exeunte anno 1883 tandem a Philotheo Bryennio, metropolita Nicomediensi, viro de litteris christianis egregie merito, in lucem edita est. Scriptura cum ad ecclesiam antiquissimam illustrandam permultum conferat, confestim ubique terrarum, citra et ultra oceanum, maximo cum studio investigabatur, et hoc tempore iam ducenti fere maiores minores tractatus de ea vulgati sunt. Plures viri docti textum graecum recudebant et adnotationibus illustrabant, alii scripturam in linguam patriam vertebant. Equidem mox translationem germanicam institui. Textum graecum mihi publicandum esse ratus sum, quando Patrum apostolicorum opera denuo edenda essent. Cum autem de scriptura plane nova copiosius atque accuratius agendum esset, quam ad editionem illam accommodatum est, monentibus viris doctis pluribus, inter quos est ille, cuius nomen illustre folium praecedens adornat, decrevi, ut scripturam separatim ederem. Quod consilium eo libentius cepi, quod occasionem dedit exemplarium Patrum apostolicorum, quae adhuc in promptu erant, monumento illo antiquissimo atque pretiosissimo augendorum, quodque Doctrinae apostolorum scripturae addendae erant, quae ab ea dependent, sive eam totam sive partem repetebant, inprimis Canones sanctorum apostolorum ecclesiastici et Constitutionum apostolorum liber septimus.

Plures viri docti, imprimis Philippus Schaff et Benjamin B. Warfield, Americani, libros vel tractatus de Doctrina apostolorum scriptos mihi liberalissime communicabant. Quae benignitas mihi eo gratior atque acceptior erat, cum tractatus nonnulli in ephemeridibus publicati essent, quae extra patriam raro leguntur. Itaque non possum viris illis hoc loco gratias non agere maximas.

Scribebam Tubingae mense Maio 1887.

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PROLEGOMENA.

DOCTRINA DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM.

I.

Anno 1843 I. Guilielmus Bickell ¹⁾ e codice Vindobonensi libellum veterem publicavit, qui inscribitur: Αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, Constitutiones per Clementem et canones ecclesiastici sanctorum apostolorum. Appellavit eum Ordinationem ecclesiasticam apostolorum, germanice *Apostolische Kirchenordnung*, et titulus apud nostrates plurimos invaluit. Equidem in hoc opere secundum inscriptionem codicis Vindobonensis libellum, cuius textus infra post Doctrinam apostolorum exhibetur, Canones ecclesiasticos apostolorum vel brevius Canones ecclesiasticos nomino.

Libellus iam inde ab anno 1691, quo Iob Ludolf ²⁾ versionem aethiopicam interpretatione latina adiecta typis impressit, viris doctis notus, neque vero diligentius investigatus erat. Whiston ³⁾ solus de eius ortu iudicium tulisse videtur, eum ex Constitutionibus apostolorum excerptum esse censens. Res textu graeco demum publicato aliter evenit. Confestim editor princeps sagacissime de libello iudicavit. Agnovit quidem eum plura continere, quae etiam in Constitutionibus apostolorum et in Barnabae epistula leguntur. Attamen verisimile putavit, eum non ex his scripturis, sed e tertia aliqua scriptura, Barnabae epistulae simili, et quidem saeculo III ineunte confectum esse.

1) *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* I.

2) *Commentarius ad Historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam.*

3) *Primitive Christianity reviv'd* 1711 III, 526 sq.

Quaesivit quoque, num scriptura eadem esset atque illa, quae ab Eusebio et Athanasio sub nomine Doctrinae apostolorum commemoratur, et plura attulit, quae huic sententiae favent. Altera ex parte autem perspexit, nonnullas esse rationes, ex quibus scriptura a Doctrina apostolorum diversa habenda esset, et considerans, scriptores veteres, qui huius libri mentionem fecerunt, praeter titulum de eo nihil tradidisse, iudicium ferre non est ausus ¹⁾).

Cum Bickell de ratione inter Canones ecclesiasticos ac Doctrinam apostolorum intercedente dubius esset, Anglus quidam ²⁾ aliquot annis post utramque scripturam nec non illam, quae a Rufino Duae viae vel Iudicium Petri appellata est, unum eundemque librum esse censuit. Similiter Hilgenfeld ³⁾ Canones ecclesiasticos et Duas vias vel Iudicium Petri unum librum declaravit eumque, cum locus a Clemente Alexandrino velut verba Scripturae laudatus in libro legatur, saeculo secundo adscripsit. De tempore libelli Lagarde ⁴⁾ iam aliquot annis ante idem censuit; quae autem ratio inter eum ac Doctrinam apostolorum vel Duas vias intercederet, non inquisivit. Posteriorum plurimi sententiae Hilgenfeldianae assensi sunt. Harnack ⁵⁾ tempus libelli tanquam non certo indagandum in suspenso reliquit.

Novam atque accuratorem quaestionem instituit Krawutzky ⁶⁾. Postquam nonnulla contra sententiam Hilgenfeldianam opposuit, demonstravit: 1) libellum, quamquam plura exhiberet, quae etiam in parte altera epistolae Barnabae legerentur, tamen non ex hac ipsa fluxisse, sed ex epistula potius in Aegypto paullo post scripturam compilatam esse, quae sententias rectius dispositas magisque cum doctrina Evangelii congruentes contineret; 2) scripturam hanc, cui verba illa adscribenda essent, quae a Clemente Alexandrino tanquam verba Scripturae laudantur, in ecclesia prae-

1) Bickell l. c. p. 90—97.

2) *Christian Remembrancer* 1854 p. 293 sq.

3) *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum* IV (1866), 95. Idem in editione libelli altera 1884 sententiam tuitus est.

4) *Reliquiae iuris eccles. antiquissimae* 1856 p. XIX.

5) *Patrum apostol. opp. fasc. I part. II ed. II p. XLVI.*

6) *Theolog. Quartalschrift* 1882 p. 359—445.

lectam et ad catechumenos erudiendos adhibitam atque ab auctore Duas vias vel Iudicium Petri appellatam esse, ut Barnabae nomini nomen maioris auctoritatis opponeretur; 3) ex hac scriptura saeculo quarto ineunte adhibita Barnabae epistula quemdam in Aegypto vel in Syria libellum Canonum ecclesiasticorum vel potius eius partem priorem confecisse singulas sententias apostolis singulis attribuentem; simili modo eundem scriptorem ignotum canones antiquos in usum suum convertisse eosque sententiis ethicis tanquam alteram libelli partem adiecisse; 4) scriptura etiam auctorem libri VII Constitutionum apostolorum usum esse, qui saeculo tertio exeunte in Syria vixisset. Denique Krautzcky scripturam illam ex duobus libellis, qui ex ea fluxerant, et ex Barnabae epistula, e qua ipsa exarata esse videbatur, restituere conatus est¹⁾.

II.

Cum haec dissertatio sagacissima scriberetur, codex iam inventus erat, in quo talis fere scriptura legitur, qualem Krautzcky quaerebat. Anno enim 1873 Philotheus Bryennias, tunc Constantinopoli professor scholae patriarchalis maioris, a. 1875 metropolita Serensis, a. 1877 metropolita Nicomediensis electus, inde ab anno 1877 usque ad annum 1884 membrum synodi patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Constantinopoli in bibliotheca monasterii patriarchalis Hierosolymitani codicem detexit membranaceum anno 1056 a Leone quodam notario scriptum vel finitum, qui foliis 120 formae octavae minoris secundum indicem haec continet:

1) Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου Σύνοψις τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἐν τάξει ὑπομνηστικοῦ (fol. 1—32), h. e. secundum indicem, revera codex Synopsin Veteris tantum Testamenti exhibet usque ad Malachiam prophetam;

2) Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή (fol. 33—51^b);

3) Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους α' (fol. 51^b med. fol. 70^a med.);

1) Scriptura restituta exstat l. c. p. 423—45. Anglice versam eam repetierunt Hitchcock et Brown, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* ed. II 1885 p. LXIX—LXXIV.

4) Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους β' (fol. 70^a med. — fol. 76^a med.);

5) Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων (fol. 76^a med. — fol. 80);

6) Ἐπιστολὴ Μαρίας Κασσοβόλων πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἱερομάρτυρα Ἰγνάτιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον θεουπόλεως Ἀντιοχείας (fol. 81—82 med.);

7) Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου θεουπόλεως Ἀντιοχείας πρὸς Μαρίαν, πρὸς Τραλλιανούς, πρὸς Μαγνησίους κτλ. (fol. 82^a med. — fol. 120^a init.).

Anno 1875 vir doctissimus e codice Clementis Romani epistulas edidit easque primus integras, cum codex Alexandrinus, qui eas antea solus suppeditabat, magnis lacunis laboret. Tum Adolpho Hilgenfeld codicis lectiones epistulae Barnabae, Ioanni Bapt. Lightfoot et mihi lectiones epistularum Pseudoignatii liberalissime communicavit. Anno 1883 denique exeunte codicis scripturam hucusque plane incognitam in publicum edidit, commentario et prolegomenis eam optime illustrans, scilicet Διδαχὴν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, Doctrinam duodecim apostolorum, vel illam scripturam, cuius pars prior fere eadem est cum scriptura, quam Krawutzcky ex aliis libris supra nominatis non frustra restituere ausus est. Quaeritur autem, num tempus libri a viro docto recte definitum sit. Hanc quaestionem aggredientibus ante omnia nobis inquirenda sunt, quae veteres de libro tradunt.

III.

Primus inter veteres Doctrinae apostolorum mentionem disertè facit Eusebius. Celeberrimo illo Historiae ecclesiasticae capitulo (III, 25), ubi scripturas canonicas et dubias apocryphasque enumerat, inter scripturas dubias Doctrinae quae dicuntur apostolorum nominantur. Postquam enim Eusebius libros sacros recensuit, cum eos, qui illo tempore ab omnibus recipiebantur, tum eos, qui a nonnullis vocabantur in dubium, scilicet epistulas Iacobi et Iudae, epistulam Petri secundam epistulasque Ioannis secundam et tertiam, pergīt scribens: Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφή, ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδασκαί,

ἔτι δέ, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἦν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις· ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη. Quod liber Doctrinae, non Doctrina apostolorum appellatur, nullius momenti esse videtur. Argumentum libri eiusmodi est, ut titulus facile numero plurali exprimi possit.

Alter, qui libri meminit, est Athanasius. Postquam in epistula paschali XXXIX ¹⁾, quam a. 367 scripsit, scripturas sacras vel canonicas enumeravit, praeter illas scripturas alios dixit esse libros, qui quidem non essent canonici, a patribus autem confecti, ut praelegerentur eis, qui ad fidem accederent et pietatis sermonem doceri vellent, et inter hos libros nominat Doctrinam quae dicitur apostolorum. Verba ipsius sunt: Ἄλλ' ἐνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθῃμι δὴ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως, ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ καὶ Ἑσθὴρ καὶ Ἰουδίθ καὶ Τωβίας καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ Ποιμήν. Καὶ ὅμως, ἀγαπητοί, κἀκείνων κανονιζομένων καὶ τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἀποκρύφων μνήμη, ἀλλ' αἵρετικῶν ἐστὶν ἐπίνοια κτλ.

Alii testes sunt auctor catalogi scripturarum sacrarum, qui tempore Iustiniani conscriptus et in codice Parisino Quaestionibus et Responsionibus Anastasii patriarchae Antiocheni († 599) adiectus est, et Nicephorus patriarcha Constantinopolitanus † 828. Ab illo discernuntur scripturae canonicae numero LX, et scripturae, quae sunt extra canonem, numero IX, et apocryphae, numero XXV, et inter has et quidem post Petri Apocalypsin et ante epistolam Barnabae et Pauli actus recensentur *Περίοδοι καὶ Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* ²⁾. Nicephorus in Stichometria post recensionem scripturarum canonicarum ac dubiarum, quae sunt in Novo Testamento Apocalypsis Ioannis,

1) Migne, Patrol. Gr. t. 26 p. 1438.

2) Cf. Patr. apost. ed. Cotelierius-Clericus 1724 I, 197. Credner, *Geschichte des neutest. Kanon* 1860 p. 241.

Apocalypsis Petri, Barnabae epistula et Evangelium secundum Hebraeos, velut libros apocryphos Novi Testamenti enumerat Itinera Petri et Ioannis et Thomae, Evangelium secundum Thomam, Doctrinam apostolorum, epistulas Clementis, Ignatii et Polycarpi, Pastorem Hermae, et Doctrinae apostolorum ducentos stichos attribuit ¹⁾. Quibus testibus adiungendus est catalogus librorum sacrorum, qui in Synopsi succincta divinae scripturae V. et N. T. vulgo Athanasio adscripta inest et circa saeculum decimum confectus esse videtur ²⁾. Inter easdem fere scripturas, quae a Nicephoro apocryphae declarantur, in catalogo tanquam inter ἀντιλεγόμενα vel scripturas dubias Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων locum obtinet, scilicet post Itinera Petri et Ioannis et Thomae et Evangelium secundum Thomam et ante Clementina.

Post Nicephorum Constantinopolitanum liber apud Graecos paulatim ex usu venit. Anno 1056 quidem teste codice Constantinopolitano supra laudato a Leone notario descriptus est; plerisque autem iam incognitus fuisse videtur. Cum enim saeculo XII ineunte Zonaras in Commentario ad Athanasii epistulam festalem XXXIX ³⁾ scribat, Doctrinam apostolorum quosdam dicere Constitutiones esse per Clementem conscriptas, quas synodus Trullana a. 692 velut ab haereticis adulteratas ac corruptas legi vetnerit, et Blastares saeculo XIV dicat, Doctrinam apostolorum a synodo sexta (vel Trullana) condemnatam fuisse ⁴⁾, librum se iam non vidisse produnt. Quae Nicephorus Callisti H. E. II, 46 refert: Ἐν νόθοις καὶ (sc. praeter Actus et Apocalypsin Petri atque Hermae Pastorem) ἡ Βαρνάβα φερομένη ἐπιστολὴ καὶ αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχαὶ κτλ., ea haud dubie ex Eusebii Historia ecclesiastica transcripta sunt.

Inter Latinos duo viri Doctrinae apostolorum mentionem faciunt. Alter est auctor libri De aleatoribus, qui sub nomine Cypriani ad nos pervenit. Postquam c. 4 verba Pauli apostoli plura et locum Scripturae incognitum laudavit, verba tanquam ex Doctrinis apostolorum deprompta allegat:

1) Credner l. c. p. 244 sq.

2) Credner l. c. p. 249 sq. Athan. opp. ed. Patav. 1777 II, 154.

3) Migne, Patrol. Gr. t. 138 p. 863.

4) Migne, Patrol. Gr. t. 144 p. 1142.

Si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec paenitentiam agat, et non recipiatur, ne inquinetur et inpediatur oratio vestra¹⁾. Cf. Doctr. apost. 14, 2; 15, 3. Alter est Rufinus, cui in vertenda Eusebii Historia ecclesiastica liber nominandus erat, et notandum est, eum librum non Doctrinas, ut scripsit Eusebius, sed Doctrinam quae dicitur apostolorum appellasse. Plures Rufinum alio quoque loco scripturam nostram commemorare putant. Cum in Expositione in symbolum apostolorum c. 36—38, ubi catalogum exhibet scripturarum sanctarum, qui cum catalogo Athanasii plerumque convenit, libellum laudet, qui appellatur Duae viae vel Iudicium Petri (vel, ut codices nonnulli legunt, Iudicium secundum Petrum), eumque eo fere loco ponat, ubi episcopus Alexandrinus Doctrinam apostolorum nominat, Bryennius²⁾ verbis illis Doctrinam apostolorum vel saltem capita scripturae sex priora designari coniecit, eique plurimi assensi sunt, praesertim Harnack³⁾, Schaff⁴⁾ et hoc testante omnes fere Angli et Americani. Et si libellus a Rufino Iudicium Petri appellatus idem est cum Doctrina apostolorum vel parte huius libri, etiam Hieronymus eius testibus adnumerandus est, quippe qui in Catalogo c. 1 inter scripturas apocryphas Petro apostolo adscriptas librum commemoret Iudicium vocatum. Sententia autem vix recta est. Libellum illum Doctrinae apostolorum sane similem fuisse titulus prior (Duae viae) probat. Difficillimum vero est ad intellegendum, Doctrinam Iudicium Petri (vel secundum Petrum) nominatam esse, cum nomen apostoli nec semel in scriptura nobis occurrat. Scriptura a Rufino Duae viae vel Iudicium Petri appellata, nisi forte cum libro aliquo tertio nunc deperdito, potius cum Canonibus ecclesiasticis eadem habenda est, cum hic libellus revera descriptionem duarum viarum contineat et Petrus in eo non solum saepius quam reliqui apostoli, sed etiam,

1) Cypr. opp. ed. Hartel III, 96.

2) *Διδασχὴ τ. δ. ἀποστόλων* σελ. κδ'.

3) *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 21 sq.

4) *The Teaching* p. 117. Animadverto, quod titulum a Rufino traditum iam Krawutzcky scripturae a se quaesitae attribuit, Cf. p. III.

id quod haud exigui momenti est, ultimus sermonem faciat¹⁾).

Tertius Latinorum, ut vidit Gebhardt²⁾, Doctrinam apostolorum interpretatus est. De fragmento versionis, quod ad nos pervenit, infra tractabo.

IV.

Cum scriptores hucusque laudati Doctrinae apostolorum expressam mentionem facerent, alii libro tacito nomine usi sunt.

Inter quos primum locum obtinet auctor epistolae Barnabae, qui non solum maiorem partem capitum I—V vel doctrinae de duabus viis ad verbum exscripsit, sed etiam sententiam capitis ultimi in scriptura sua recepit. Illa pars legitur Barn. 18—20 et infra ita edita est, ut ea, quae a Barnaba ex doctrina desumpta sunt, characteribus obliquis expressa, facile cognoscantur. Hanc sententiam Barnabas 4, 9 exhibet, ubi legimus: *Διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλοις, ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν.* Doctrina autem eadem fere ordine inverso exhibet, 16, 2—3 scribens: *Οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις κτλ.* Praeterea Barnabae verba 1, 4: *ἀγαπᾶν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου* e mandato Doctrinae 2, 7: *οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου* repetere licet. Illius porro verba 4, 1: *φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας*, et 4, 2: *μὴ δῶμεν τῇ ἐαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἄνεσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν*, in memoriam revocant Doctrinam 3, 1: *φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ*, et 3, 7: *οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος κτλ.* Denique Barnabas 10, 11 scribens: *κολλᾶσθε μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον, . . μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου καὶ τηρούντων*, in mente videtur habuisse Doctrinam 3, 7: *οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ κτλ.,*

1) Idem sentiunt Hilgenfeld (cf. p. II) et Cornely. *Introductio in U. T. libros sacros I* (1885), 215.

2) Cf. Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 275—282.

et 4, 1: τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ κτλ. ¹⁾).

Bryennius quidem nonnullis assentientibus contendit, non Barnabam Doctrinam, sed huius auctorem illius epistulam exscripsisse, et Harnack hanc sententiam rectam esse inde probare conatus est, 1) quod difficulter quis crederet, Barnabam, si esset posterior, omnia dicta evangelica, praesertim 1, 3—6, et sectionem 3, 1—6 omisisse et ordinem sententiarum consentaneum, quem Doctrina exhiberet, plane turbasse; 2) quod non esset verisimile, Barnabam e capite XVI, quippe quod esset compilatio ex locis biblicis et traditione de Antichristo facta, eam sententiam elegerisse, quae sola auctoris Doctrinae esse videretur; 3) quod Barnabas loco supra laudato finem mundi ante portam esse voce ὧν indicaret, cum in Doctrina haec vox deesset ²⁾). Sed etiam multo difficilior est ad credendum, scriptorem adeo sollertem, qui in describendis duabus viis ex rudi indigestaque mole, quam Barnabas dedisse ponitur, mira cum arte opus optime compositum efficeret, sententias fere omnes ab alio mutuatum esse et librum sic conscriptum insuper Doctrinam apostolorum vel Doctrinam Domini per apostolos gentibus traditam appellasse. Accedit, quod sententiae multae in Barnabae epistula eo modo digestae sunt, quo ab auctore ipso poni non potuerunt. Sententia Doctrinae 4, 12—13 apud Barnabam ita discerpta est, ut verba φυλάξεις, ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν vix comprehendi possint. Similiter quae Doctrina 4, 5—8 de officiis caritatis ergo proximum recte disposita exhibet, ea Barnabas (19, 8—11) ita divulsit, ut hunc esse compilatorem facile perspicias. Cum Doctrina 3, 9 porro mandata οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν et οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος bene inter se coniungat, Barnabas (19, 3) ea iterum separat, alia eis intermiscens. Praeterea post οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν addit: ἔση δὲ ταπεινῶν κατὰ πάντα, quae verba glossam compilatoris esse neminem effugiat. Plures denique sententiae potius a Barnaba amplificatae quam ab auctore Doctrinae decurtatae esse videntur. Cf. inprimis Barn. 19, 1—2. Quae cum ita sint, reliquis argumentis, quae

1) Cf. *The Andover Review* VI, 95.

2) Cf. *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 81—87; 287—88. *Die Apostel-lehre* p. 11—13.

Harnack attulit, vis magna non est attribuenda. Quod ad tertiam praecipue attinet, equidem non perspicio, cur fieri non potuerit, ut circa annum 100 aliquis finem mundi propinquiorem esse putet, quam aliquot annis antea. Quae respiciens Doctrinam Barnabae epistula priorem esse censui ¹⁾. Idem iudicium tulerunt plerique alii, quorum nomina infra c. V commemorantur. Nonnulli Barnabam et auctorem Doctrinae e tertia scriptura tanquam fonte communi hausisse. Equidem rationes non inuenio, quae nos impediunt, quin doctrinam de duabus viis a Barnaba traditam ex Doctrina apostolorum nostra fluxisse iudicemus. Ceteroquin de hac re infra c. V accuratius disputabo.

Post epistulam Barnabae vestigia Doctrinae apostolorum in Hermas Pastore inveniuntur. In Mandato XI de prophetis agens Hermas fortasse Doctrinam 11, 7—12 in mente habuit. In Mandato VIII, 5 catalogus peccatorum legitur, qui facile Doctrinam 5, 1 vel descriptionem viae malae in memoriam revocet. In Visione III, 4, 3 Hermas commemorat τοὺς διψύχους τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἄρα ἔστιν ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, cum Doctrina 4, 4 habeat: οὐ διψυχῆσεις, πότερον ἔσται ταῦτα ἢ οὐ. Non quidem certum esse dixerim, locos illos e Doctrina repetendos esse, cum priores duo non satis definiti sint, secundus et tertius etiam in Barnabae epistula exstent. Attamen probabiliter Doctrina eorum fons putatur, atque certius est, Mandatum II, 4—5 ex hac scriptura 1, 5; 4, 7 fluxisse. Loci hi sunt:

Doctrina.	Pastor.
4, 7: Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις. 1, 5: Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδωσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν· ἁθῶος γὰρ ἔστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἁθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ	Πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἀπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων, τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς· πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων. Οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διὰ τί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τι-

1) *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1884 p. 397—401; 1887 p. 278—281.

Doctrina.	Pastor.
μή χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί.	σουσιν δίκην. Ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀ- θῶός ἐστιν· ὥς γάρ ἔλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἀπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν, μὴθὲν διακρίνων, τίνι δῶ ἢ μὴ δῶ.

Sententia in utraque scriptura ergo aequalis est; plura verba quoque eadem sunt. Itaque verisillimum est, scriptores alterum exscripsisse alterum, et Doctrina si prior est epistula Barnabae, haud dubie etiam ante Hermae Pastorem est composita.

Harnack quidem dixit ¹⁾, sententias in hoc libro rectius sibi succedere quam in Doctrina, ita ut ille prior habendus esset. Mihi autem haec ratio non eiusmodi esse videtur, ut alter liber alteri postponi vel anteponi possit. Etiam Barnabae epistula Doctrina posterior declarata est, quamquam in hac sententiae longe rectius dispositae sunt quam in illa. Neque inde Doctrinam a Pastore pendere colligendum est, quod auctor illius libri de eleemosyna danda sententiam mitiorem proponit quam Hermas, qui Mand. II, 4—6 bis inculcat, ut homines dent, non dubitantes vel discernentes, cui dent aut cui non dent. Mandatum non solum mitius, sed etiam severius reddi potest. Neque ex eis, quae utraque scriptura de ieiunio dicit, Doctrinam Pastore posteriorem esse sequitur ²⁾. Pastor sane in hac re minus certus esse videtur quam Doctrina. Haec enim 8, 1 docet feria quarta et sexta ieiunandum esse, cum in libro illo pastor vel angelus Sim. V, 1, 2 se ignorare dicat, quid sit statio. Sed verba pastoris minus probant quam verba Hermae. Hic revera, de statione loquens, certis diebus se ieiunare prodit, neque dubium est, non paucos, sed multos vel plurimos hanc praxin secutos esse. Angelus stationem ignorans non contrarium probat; simulat tantum se eam non habere cognitam. Neque dicendum est, fore ut Hermas, si esset posterior, Doctrinam, quam alibi maximi ducit, plura ex ea transcribens, vel potius eius mandatum ad ieiunium pertinens prorsus reprobasse putandus esset. Hermas ieiunium nequaquam omnino condemnat, sed

1) Adnot. ad 1, 5.

2) Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen* III, 316 sqq.

potius ostendit, quomodo observandum sit, ut placeat Deo, scilicet ut homines ante omnia servant Dei mandata vel devitent peccata, cum alias ascesis illa nihil valeat. Cf. inprimis Sim. V, 3, 5. 6. Quod si consideraveris, rem ex contrario se habere te non fugiet. Hermas cum dicat accuratius de ascési ieiunii, posterior habendus est et quidem eo potiore iure, cum alias quoque recentioris se esse temporis indicet, praesertim Mand. III de divortio in casu adulterii, de paenitentia in baptismo et post baptismum agenda ac de secundo matrimonio disserens ¹⁾).

Iustinus quoque doctrinam sibi innotuisse indicat. Ex Apologia I, 61 quidem id non apparet, ut Zahn censuit ²⁾). Putavit enim vir doctus, verba, quae loco illo verbis Christi Ioann. 3, 3—5 et prophetae Iesaeiae 1, 16—20 laudatis legimus: καὶ λόγον δὲ εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμάθομεν τοῦτον, nonnisi de dicto aliquo apostolorum allegando, sive scriptura sive ore tradito, intellegenda esse, cumque dictum, quod ei annuntiatum esse videtur, non sequatur, vocem τοῦτον delet et verbum vel doctrinam, quam Christiani de hac re, scilicet de baptismo, ab apostolis accepisse dicuntur, de Doctrina apostolorum interpretatur. Mea quidem sententia textus traditus nequaquam adeo absonus est, ut mutandus sit ³⁾). Sin autem non illo, alio tamen loco apologeta notitiam Doctrinae apostolorum prodere videtur. Apol. I, 15—18 pauca quaedam ex Christi praeceptis commemoraturus, ut ipse dicit (c. 14), non solum plurima affert, quae Doctr. 1, 3—5 leguntur, sed mandatum amoris Dei c. 16 ita conceptum proponit, ut eum illam scripturam non respexisse vel in mente habuisse vix censere possimus. Postquam enim Matth. 4, 10 et Matth. 19, 39 vel potius Marc. 12, 29 commiscens scripsit: κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, addidit: κυρίον τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, i. e. eadem verba, quae Doctrina 1, 2 exhibet. Verba sane etiam in epistula

1) A. Link, *Christi Person und Werk im Hirten d. Hermas* 1886 p. 7—11, Hermam Similitudinem V scribentem etiamsi non Doctrinam ipsam, orationes saltem eucharisticas in ea contentas cognitae habuisse conicit.

2) *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* VIII (1885), 66—84.

3) Cf. *Theolog. Quartalschrift* 1887 p. 355—359.

Barnabae 19, 2 leguntur. Iustinus autem ea ex Doctrina deprompsisse putandus est, cum hanc alii quoque Iustini loci in memoriam revocent, cum verba plane eodem ordine afferat, quo Doctrina, Barnabas autem scribat: τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, cumque scriptura illa haud dubie multo notior fuerit quam huius epistula.

Nec Tatianus nec Theophilus in testibus Doctrinae enumerandis silentio praetereundi sunt. Ille in Diatessaron ¹⁾ dicta Evangeliorum Matthaei ac Lucae plane eodem modo inter se coniuncta exhibet quo auctor Doctrinae 1, 4 (cf. adnot.). Unde probabiliter colligitur, alterum legisse alterum. Posterior est autem haud dubie Tatianus, nisi forte versus 1, 3—2, 1 interpolati fuerint. De hac quaestione cf. infra c. V. Si enim particula non auctori principi, sed posteriori cuidam adiudicanda esset, interpolator a Tatiano dependere putari posset. Attamen res non esset plane certa. Teste Herma particula illa circa saeculum II medium iam exstabat. Dubitare autem licet, num Tatiani Diatessaron non postea sit compositum.

Theophilus Antiochenus in libro ad Autolycum II, 34 scribit: Deum humano generi legem dedisse ac sanctos prophetas misisse, qui unum Deum esse annuntiassent ac praeterea docuissent, ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλογατρείας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ φόνου, πορνείας, κλοπῆς, φιλαργυρίας, ὅρκου ψεύδους, ὀργῆς καὶ πάσης ἀσελγείας καὶ ἀκαρθασίας, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μὴ βούληται ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, μηδὲ ἄλλῳ ποιῆ. Praecepta quidem prophetis attribuuntur, tam prope vero ad Doctrinam 1, 3 et 2, 2—3 accedunt, ut inde repetenda esse videantur. Aut fortasse ad usum aliquem baptismalem vel sponsionem referenda sunt, quam baptizandi emittebant? Hoc indicare videtur sermo coram baptizatis habitus, quem Caspari ²⁾ nuper e codice Montepessulano saeculi X vel XI edidit, in quo verba leguntur, quae verbis Theophili laudatis simillima sunt. Auctor enim dicit: Et postea dies quadraginta cum discipulis duodecim (filius Dei) est conversatus et docuit eos, ut adnuntiarent suam resurrectionem per omnes gentes et baptizarent eos in nomine

1) Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentl. Kanons* I, 133 sq.

2) *Kirchenhistorische Anekdoten* 1883 p. 193—202; cf. p. 197.

patris et filii et spiritus sancti in remissionem peccatorum, et praeciperent eis, ut recederent a vitiis diaboli, id est ab homicidio, a furto, a periurio, a fornicatione, ab ebrietate et omni vitio malo, et quod sibi non velint, alii non faciant. Sin autem ita est, Doctrina probabiliter habenda est fons, e quo formula illa fluxit.

Cum in secundo fragmento a Christ. Pfaff sub nomine Irenaei invento (Ed. Stieren I, 854) legatur, eos, qui ultimas apostolorum constitutiones assecuti sunt (οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολουθήκοτες), Dominum novisse novum sacrificium in novo testamento instituisse secundum dictum Malachiae prophetae 1, 11, atque idem dictum in Doctrina 14, 3 allegetur, Bryennius in adnotatione ad hunc locum verisimile declaravit, δευτέρας illas τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις eandem scripturam esse cum Doctrina apostolorum. Et recte quidem, si fragmentum est episcopi Lugdunensis. Cum autem dubium sit, ut Bryennius ipse sentit, an fragmentum Irenaeo sit attribuentum, sententia non est certa. Si verba illa libro alicui Irenaeo posteriori adiudicanda sunt, etiam ad Constitutiones apostolorum VII, 30 referri possunt.

Sin Irenaeum Doctrinam legisse probari nequit, Clemens Alexandrinus pluribus locis libri haud dubie respexit. Protrept. c. 10, 108 p. 85; Paedag. II, 10, 89 p. 223; III, 12, 89 p. 305 praeter adulterium vel fornicationem puerorum corruptionem tanquam peccatum in Lege vel a Mose interdictum allegat, certe Doctrinam 2, 2 ante oculos habens, ubi eadem leguntur, cum mandatum οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις in S. Scriptura desit. In libro Quis dives salvetur c. 29 similiter ac Doctrina 9, 2 de sanguine vitis David loquens se non solum primam, sed etiam secundam scripturae partem cognitam habuisse prodit. Strom. I, 20, 100 p. 377 denique, verba Doctrinae 3, 5 allegans, librum Scripturam nominat. Cf. adnot. ad locos laudatos. Probabiliter fragmentum quoque, quod in Nicetae catena in Matth. 5, 42 et in editionibus Clementis (Klotz IV, 69 sq.) sub huius nomine legitur, ad Doctrinam referendum est, etiamsi locus prope etiam ad Hermae Mandatum II, 4—5 accedit. Cf. loci supra p. X transcripti. Fragmentum autem hoc est: Ποιητέον ἐλεημοσύνας,

ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἵνα εὖρωμεν ἀνταπόδομα παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου. Οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων καὶ δι' ὑπόκρισιν ἢ ἀργίαν λαμβάνων κατακριθήσεται.

Origenes Doctrinae notitiam prodit Hom. VI, 2 in Indic. (De la Rue II, 471), ubi de eucharistia loquens similiter ac Clemens de sanguine dicit verae vitis, quae ascendit de radice David, quae verba ad Doctr. 9, 2 referenda sunt. Instar magistri Doctrinam etiam Scripturam appellasse videtur. De princip. III, 2, 7 enim, sine Deo nihil fieri probans, haud dubie Doctr. 3, 10 respiciens scribit: *Propterea nos docet Scriptura divina, omnia quae accidunt nobis tanquam a Deo illata suscipere, scientes, quod sine Deo nihil fit. Quod autem haec ita sint, id est, quod sine Deo nihil fiat, quomodo possumus dubitare, Domino et salvatore pronuntiante et docente: Nonne passeretis etc.* Hos locos primi ad Doctrinam retulerunt Bornemann et Potwin¹⁾. Harnack ad Doctr. 1, 3 Hom. X in Lev. (De la Rue II, 246) contulit, ubi legimus: *Sed est alia ieiunandi ratio adhuc religiosa, cuius laus quorundam apostolorum litteris praedicatur; invenimus enim in quodam libello ab apostolis dictum: Beatus est, qui etiam ieiunat pro eo, ut alat pauperem; ipse autem locum ad Doctrinam non esse referendum fassus est.*

Eodem fere tempore auctor Canonum ecclesiasticorum scripturam in usum suum convertit, postea auctor Constitutionum apostolorum, de quibus infra egi.

Saeculo IV ineunte Doctrina usus est Lactantius. Divin. Instit. VI, 3—23 et Epit. div. inst. c. 59—60 non solum de duabus viis agit, sed in opere breviori Doctr. 1, 2 se legisse satis clare indicat exponens: primum iustitiae officium esse, Deum diligere ut patrem, qui nos genuit; secundum, hominem agnoscere velut fratrem; atque radicem iustitiae et omne fundamentum aequitatis esse illud, ut ne facias ulli, quod pati nolis, sed alterius animum de tuo metiaris, vel, ut Div. Inst.

1) Theolog. Literaturzeitung 1885 p. 413. The Independent, 21. Jan. 1886. Cf. Schaff ed. II p. 304.

VI, 23 scribit, ut non facias alteri, quidquid ipse ab altero pati nolis. Epit. c. 61 denique de affectibus tractans scribit, ex ira, nisi intra terminos compressa fuerit, caedes et bella, ex libidine illicitos amores, adulteria et stupra oriri, quae verba similia sunt Doctrinae 3, 2—3. Sententiae sane etiam in Canonibus ecclesiasticis inveniuntur. Haud dubie autem Lactantius ea non ex hoc libro paullo ante confecto et minus noto, sed ex illo antiquiore et vulgatiore hausit.

Postea notitia Doctrinae invenitur in scripturis nonnullis, quae sub nomine Athanasii ad nos pervenerunt. Auctor tractatus De virginitate sive de asceti c. 13 (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 266) Doctrinam 9, 3—4 exscripsit. Auctor Syntagmatis doctrinae ad monachos omnesque Christianos tam clericos quam laicos plures Doctrinae sententias transcripsit (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 833—46)¹). Multo autem liberius egit quam Barnabas vel auctores Canonum ecclesiasticorum et libri VII Constitutorum apostolorum. Quare scripturam non verbotenus, sed eius summam tantum repeto, locos e Doctrina desumptos graece communicans.

Ut ex titulo apparet et scriptura quoque ineunte animadvertitur, auctor vitam describere vult, quam ecclesiae catholicae filios et potissimum anachoretas vel monachos agere oportet. Itaque postquam dixit, gratia nos salvos esse, gratiam autem filios suos filios esse et sapientiae et omnis boni operis peroptare, pergit scribens: Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις· ἀπέχου πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ αἵματος (D. 1, 2; 2, 2). Quae peccata dicit esse conspicua; alia minora videri, monacho vero nihilominus vitanda

1) Ad librum de virginitate primus Swainson (cf. Schaff p. 194) animum advertit, ad Syntagma doctrinae Harris in tractatu *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books* 1885 p. 15. Hanc scripturam nuperrime Revillout, *Journal Asiatique* 7^e série t. V (1875) p. 514 sq., illam Eichhorn, Athanasii de vita ascet. testimonia 1886 p. 15 sq. 17 sq., rationibus vero non sufficientibus, Athanasio adiudicabant. Editores Benedictini illam scripturam inter opera Athanasii dubia, hanc inter spuria recensebant. Cf. *Theol. Quartalschrift* 1887 p. 361—364.

esse, ante omnia commercium feminarum. Deinde φυλάττεσθαι· τε μὴ εἶναι δίλογον, μὴ δίγνωμον, μὴ ψεύστην . . μὴ αὐθάδη (D. 2, 4. 5; 2, 3. 5. 6). Nec turpe dictum labiis proferendum esse nec iuramentum quodlibet (c. 1). Corpus non esse sine necessitate nudandum, neque festis gentilium communicandum neque sabbata custodienda: μὴ μαγεύειν, μὴ φαρμακεύειν, μήτε ἄλλο (lege ἄλλον) σοι ταῦτα πράττειν ἐπὶ νόσῳ ἢ πάθους ἀλγῆματι· μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπασιδόν, μήτε φυλακτήριον ἐαυτῷ περιτιθέναι, μήτε περικαθαίρειν, μήτε μὴν ταῦτά σοι ποιεῖν, μήτε ὑπὸ ἄλλου σοι γένηται (D 2, 2; 3, 4). Tum postquam auctor adhortatus est, ne quis haberet mulierem subintroductam neque cum haeretico vel gentili oraret (cf. D 8, 1. 2), uberius de ieiunio tractat, sic incipiens: μὴ παραβαίνειν νηστείαν, τουτέστι τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν (D 8, 1), εἰ μὴ τι ἐπὶ νόσῳ βεβάρησαι, χωρὶς Πεντηκοστῆς μονῆς καὶ τῶν Ἐπιφανιῶν. Deinde monens, ne quis conventus neglegat neque omittat aduentium fratrum pedes lavare (c. 2), dicit: μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος, μὴ αἰσχροκερδής, μὴ φιλοκτῆμων, μὴ φιλόπλουτος· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται, . . ἀγάπα πάντα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰρήνευε μετὰ πάντων, καὶ μεθ' ὧν οὐκ εὖχῃ, εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ἐκ σοῦ, ὥρις αἰρέσεως· ἔχων δὲ μεταδίδου τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι (D 3, 5; 2, 7; 4, 6). Denique postquam de usura non accipienda egit (c. 3), dicit c. 4: γίνου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος, τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου (D 3, 8. 9). Haec verba ultima sunt, quae ex Doctrina apostolorum repeti possunt. Quae c. 6 sequuntur: πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρόσφερε, ἔπειτα θέλε καὶ χήρας ἀναπαύειν καὶ ὀρφανούς καὶ λοιπούς ἀπὸ δικαίων πόνων, Doctr. 13, 4—5 quidem in memoriam revocant. Propius autem verba ad Constitutiones apostolorum VII, 29 accedunt, quas auctor cognitae se habuisse etiam eo prodere videtur, quod c. 4 de capillis non nutriendis loquitur atque tanquam dictum apostoli verba allegat: μὴ ξυρῶ τὸ γένειον καὶ μὴ περικουρείεις χρῶ κειρόμενος (Constit. ap. I, 3, cf. I Cor. 11, 14).

Cum Syntagmate doctrinae prorsus fere consentit pars Fidei Nicaenae ¹⁾ altera, cum pars scripturae prior professionem fidei

1) Auctorem huius scripturae Doctrina apostolorum usum esse prius vidit Orris, *The Independent*, Neo-Eboraci 1886 Aprilis 15.

contineat, et quidem symbolum Nicaenum pluribus additamentis adauctum, quorum postremo auctor Anthropomorphitarum doctrinam defendit (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 1836—44). Quae cum ita sint, paucis verbis sufficit exponere, in quantum haec scriptura ab illa discedat. Differentia autem haec est. Auctor Fidei Nicaenae non scribit: οὐ φονεύσεις, sed numero plurali utens: οὐ φονεύσωμεν κτλ.; post οὐ φαρμακεύσεις ponit mandata οὐ κλέψωμεν, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσωμεν (D, 2, 2. 3); pro ἀπέχου πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ αἵματος exhibet ἀπεχώμεθα πνικτοῦ καὶ αἵματος καὶ πλεονεξίας, addens: ὅρα, ἄνθρωπε, μήτις σε ἀπατήσῃ τῆς πίστεως ταύτης, ἐπεὶ παρεκτός σε θεοῦ διδάσκει (D 6, 1); inter μὴ ψεύστην et μὴ αὐθάδη inserit: μήτε ὀργίλον, μήτε πάροινον ἢ φιλάργυρον, μὴ ὑπερήφανον (D 3, 2. 5).

Quaeritur, quae ratio inter scripturas intercedat, num una ex altera, an ambae ex tertia ortum habeant. E communi fonte eas fluxisse censuit Warfield ¹⁾ et initium scripturae principalis (vel Doctr. 1, 2—2, 2) ita restituit: Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν· οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις· ἀπεχε πνικτοῦ [καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου] καὶ αἵματος [καὶ πλεονεξίας]. Revera si textus fideliter est traditus, iudicium illud ferendum est. Cum autem textus magnam suspicionem moveat, haud plane negaverim, Fidem Nicaenam ex Syntagmate profectam esse.

Saeculo VI exeunte denique Ioannes Climacus Sinaita Doctrinam 1, 4 respexisse videtur scribens: Εὐσεβῶν μὲν τὸ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν, δυναμένους μάλιστα, τάχα τῶν ἀπαθῶν καὶ μόνων ἴδιον καθέστηκεν (Migne t. 88 p. 1029).

Tempore posteriore, ut iam cognovimus, plures quidem Doctrinae mentionem fecerunt, nonnulli autem ex eis librum iam non viderunt vel legerunt.

Priusquam autem ad aliam quaestionem progredimur, nobis investigandum est, num Pseudophocylidi atque auctoribus

1) *Journal of the Exegetical Society* 1886 p. 86—91.

Libri Iubilaeorum et Oraculorum Sibyllinorum Doctrina apostolorum innotuerit. Illius Sententiae sane sylloge praeceptorum moralium parti Doctrinae morali adeo similis sunt, ut Harris annuente Warfield ¹⁾ non dubitet contendere, scripturam illam ab hac pendere atque Doctrinam esse quasi ratione metrica refictam. Sententia quidem omnino reprobanda est, si I. Bernays ²⁾ plerisque assentientibus nuperrime de scriptura pseudographa recte iudicavit, post Ptolemaeum Philometorem et ante Neronem sive saeculis I—II ante vel parte saeculi I priore post Christum natum a Iudaeo ad gentiles a Iudaeorum sacris non abhorrentes instruendos compositam esse censens. Doctrina apostolorum autem inventa res denuo inquirenda et ante omnia pars scripturae Doctrinae similis transcribenda est, ut lector facilius ipse iudicium ferre possit.

Ταῦτα δίκης ὁσίοισι θεοῦ βουλεύματα φαίνει

Φωκυλίδης ἀνδρῶν ὁ σοφώτατος ὄλβια δῶρα·

μήτε γαμοκλοπέειν, μήτ' ἄρσενά Κύπριν ὀρίνειν,

μήτε δόλους ῥάπτειν, μήθ' αἵματι χεῖρα μιαίνειν·

5 μὴ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὁσίων βιοτεύειν·

ἀρκεῖσθαι παρεούσι καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι·

φεύδεα μὴ βάζειν, τὰ δ' ἐτήτυμα πάντ' ἀγορεύειν.

Πρῶτα θεὸν τίμα, μετέπειτα δὲ σεῖο γονῆας.

Πᾶσι δίκαια νέμειν, μηδὲ κρίσιν εἰς χάριν ἔλκε·

10 μὴ ῥίψῃς πενιῆν ἀδίκως, μὴ κρίνε πρόσωπον·

ἦν σὺ κακῶς δικάσῃς, σὲ θεὸς μετέπειτα δικάσσει.

Μαρτυρίην ψευδῇ φεύγειν, τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν.

16 Μὴδ' ἐπιорκήσῃς, μήτ' ἀγνώως μήτε ἐκοντί·

φεύδορκον στυγέει θεὸς ἄμβροτος ὅστις ὁμόσση.

22 Πτωχῷ δ' εὐθὺ δίδου, μὴδ' αὔριον ἔλθεμεν εἴπῃς·

πληρώσας σέο χεῖρ' ἔλεον χρήζοντι παράσχου.

1) Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books* 1885. Cf. Schaff ed. II p. 299 sq. Warfield, *Journal of the Exeg. Society* 1886 p. 93. *The Andover Review* VI, 95.

2) *Ueber das Phokylideische Gedicht* 1856. Cf. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* ed. Usener I, 192—261. Primi ad hanc scripturam cum Doctrina apostolorum comparandam animum adverterunt Usener l. c. p. V sq. et Sabatier, *La Didachè* p. 51.

- 28 Πλοῦτον ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεξον·
 ὦν τοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρήζουσι παράσχου.
 30 Ἐστω κοινὸς ἅπας ὁ βίος καὶ ὁμόφρονα πάντα.
 32 [Αἶμα δὲ μὴ φαγέειν, εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπέχεσθαι.]
 42 Ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἀπάσης.
 48 Μηδ' ἕτερον κεῦθους κραδίῃ νόον, ἀλλ' ἀγορεύων·
 μηδ' ὥς πετροφυῆς πολύπους κατὰ χῶρον ἀμείβου·
 πᾶσιν δ' ἀπλὸς ἴσθι, τὰ δ' ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγόρευε.
 149 Φάρμακα μὴ τεύχειν, μαγικῶν βίβλων ἀπέχεσθαι.
 153 Ἐργάζου, μοχθῶν ὥς ἐξ ἰδίων βιοτεύης·
 154 πᾶς γὰρ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ζῶει κλοπίμων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.
 183 Μηδὲ γυνὴ φθείροι βρέφος ἔμβρυον ἐνδοθι γαστρός,
 μηδὲ τεκοῦσα κυσὶν ῥίψη καὶ γυψὶν ἔλωρα ¹⁾).

Addo versionem latinam, in margine dextera locos Doctrinae apostolorum similes indicans.

- Numinis haec plenus monstrat caelestia dona
 Phocylides, nulli cuius sapientia cedit:
 Furtivam vita Venerem taedasque viriles. 2, 2.
 Mitte dolos, servaque manus a sanguine puras.
 5 Ne male ditiescas, de iuste vive paratis;
 Sis contentus eo, quod adest, aliena nec aufer.
 Et verum loquitor, nunquam mendacia dicas. 2, 3.
 Principio venerare Deum, cole deinde parentes. 1, 2.
 Fac iuste cunctis, ne te favor abstrahat ullus. 4, 3.
 10 Ne spernas inopem, aut personae deditus esto.
 Iudicio si quem falles, Deus ipse rependet.
 Sis testis verax, et ne non iusta loquaris. 2, 3.
 16 Ne iusiurandum viola, nolensve volensve; 2, 3.
 Nam Deus aeternum periurum quemlibet odit.
 22 Des inopi cito, nec redeat cras ille iubeto. 1, 5.
 Plena dona manu praebens, miseretor egeni.
 28 Si tibi opes fuerint, his auxiliieris egeno. 4, 6.
 Pauperibus des inde, Deus tibi quae dedit olim.
 30 Publica sunt vitae iura et concordia cuncta. 4, 8.
 32 [Sanguine ne vescaris, idolothyta devites.] 6, 3.
 42 Mater avaritia est cunctorum et causa malorum.

1) Cf. Poetae lyriici graeci rec. Th. Bergk ed. III. 1866 II p. 450 sqq.
 Versio est Viti Amerpachii, Poemata Pythag. et Phocyl. Basileae 1554.

- 48 Pectore ne claudas aliudque aliudque loquaris; 2, 4.
 Neve ut per petras polypus muteris ubique;
 Omnibus sis simplex; quae sentis corde, loquaris.
- 149 Nulla venena pares, magicos et defuge libros. 2, 2.
- 153 De proprio ut vivas, duros tractato labores; 12, 3.
- 154 Namque piger manibus vitam sustentat iniquis.
- 183 Nec mulier foetum tenerum corrumpat in alvo, 2, 2.
 Nec partum canibus det vulturibusve vorandum.

Poema profecto complura cum Doctrina apostolorum communia habet. Nihilominus valde dubium est, num Pseudophocylides ex hac scriptura hauserit. Quae enim Doctrinae maxime propria sunt, in poemate non leguntur. Desideratur mentio viarum duarum, viae vitae ac viae mortis. Desiderantur tria mandata principalia. Locum mandati amoris Dei quidem praeceptum obtinet timoris Dei; sed hoc non prorsus idem est cum illo neque ex Doctrina, sed haud dubie ex S. Scriptura repetendum est; cetera mandata, mandatum amoris proximi ac regula quae dicitur aurea, plane desunt. Desideratur mandatum grave Doctr. 2, 7 et mandatum eximium Doctr. 3, 10. Desideratur omnino caput III Doctrinae totum et capitis IV pars maior, quamquam hic plures sententiae exstant, quas Phocylides non potuit praeterire, si id egit, ut scripturam in versus redigeret, quas vix omisisset, si eam cognitam tantum habuisset. Et si ea, quae in poemate desunt, Pseudophocylidi Doctrinam non innotuisse indicant, altera ex parte sententiae, quae in utraque scriptura leguntur, vix eiusmodi sunt, ut poeta eas ex Doctrina deprompsisse iudicandus sit. Quae vers. 3—8 leguntur, ex Decalogo repetenda sunt. Reliqua praecepta, ad iustitiam praecipue et caritatem ergo pauperes pertinentia, cum in tractatu de officiis hominum vix potuerint praeteriri, non urgere licet, nisi forte ita expressa fuerint, ut ratione certa ad Doctrinam possint referri. Quod non accidit. Fons potius principalis, e quo Pseudophocylides hausit, est Vetus Testamentum. In versu 22 etiam verbum S. Scripturae (Prov. 3, 28) repetiit. Cf. adnot. ad Doctr. 4, 7. Quae cum ita sint, Pseudophocylides Doctrinam non legisse videtur. Cumque in eius opere vestigia fidei chri-

stianae certa omnino desiderentur, ne Christianus quidem habendus est ¹⁾).

Idem dicendum esse videtur de auctore Libri Iubilaeorum. Verba quidem, quibus Noe Iubil. XXVIII nepotes adhortatur, ut iustitiam operentur, creatorem benedicant colantque patrem et matrem, invicem se diligant animasque ab omni fornicatione et immunditia et omni iniustitia custodiant, atque monet, eos non in iustitia ambulare, sed in via perniciiei, alium separari ab alio, mutua inter se invidia flagrare neque consentire ²⁾), paene propius ad Doctrinam (1, 2; 2, 2; 3, 2; 4, 3) accedunt quam verba Pseudophocylidis. Attamen non adeo cum hac scriptura conveniunt, ut ex ea derivari possint, eoque minus ad hanc referenda sunt, cum auctor Libri Iubilaeorum, si non omnia fallunt, Iudaeus fuerit.

Ad Oracula Sibyllina transeuns praetermitto II, 56—148, ubi omnes fere Pseudophocylidis versus leguntur, quos supra exhibui, cum locus ex huius opere transcriptus sit ³⁾). Quaeritur autem, num aliquot versus libri III e Doctrina repetendi sint scilicet:

- 36 [Αἰ] γένος αἰμοχαρές, δόλιον, κακόν, ἀσεβέων τε
 ψευδῶν ἢ διγλώσπων καὶ κακοηθῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 λεκτροκλόπων, εἰδωλολατρῶν, δόλια φρονούντων,
 οἷς κακὸν ἐν στέρνοισιν ἐνι μεμανημένος οἴστρος,
 40 αὐτοῖς ἀρπάζοντες, ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.
 86 Καὶ πύλον οὐράνιον καὶ ἡματα καὶ κτίσιν αὐτὴν
 εἰς ἐν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

Loco priore quidem plura leguntur, quae Doctrina 2, 2—6 exhibet. Hic locus Doctrinam 16, 5 in memoriam revocat. Neuter tamen eiusmodi est, ut Oracula Sibyllina a Doctrina pendere iure concludi possit. Si peccata hominum enumerantur, fieri non potest, quin scriptores plus minus conveniant. Similiter alii loci rem in dubio relinquunt, scilicet II, 167 (cf. Doctr.

1) Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* I, 105, poema nuperrime Christiano attribuit, sententiam vero non probavit.

2) Cf. *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* ed. Ewald II, 248. Gottingae 1354. Warfield de loco agit in *Journal of the Exeg. Society* 1886 p. 95—98.

3) Oracula Sibyllina ed. I. H. Friedlieb 1852 p. 32—36.

16, 4), II, 253—256 (D 16, 5), IV, 164 (D 7, 1), VIII, 399 (D 1, 1).

V.

Quaeritur autem, num scriptura codice Constantinopolitano tradita eadem sit cum ea, quam testes modo laudati legerunt. Plures enim indicaverunt, praeter scripturam nostram aliam Doctrinam apostolorum exstitisse, vel Doctrinam nostram non esse primam, sed ex priore, eaque fortasse iudaica, factam, quae non nisi capita I—VI sive doctrinam duarum viarum vel paullo plus amplexa esset. Sententiae vero pauca favent, plura adversantur. Veteres non solum partem scripturae priorem, sed etiam alteram testantur. Barnabas praeter capita I—V verba Doctrinae 16, 2—3 exscripsit; Clemens et Origenes respexerunt 9, 2, Pseudo-athanasius 9, 3—4, Pseudocyprianus 14, 2; compiler Canonum apostolorum 12, 3 (cf. adnot. ad h. l.) notitiam Doctrinae 10, 3 prodit; auctor libri VII Constitutionum apostolorum scripturam totam explicuit. Certum est igitur, Doctrinam iam tempore antiquissimo universam exstitisse, et si res ita se habet, valde nobis cavendum erit, ne sine rationibus vere idoneis ex testimoniis veterum aliam scripturae recensionem colligamus. Profecto patres testes Doctrinae nostrae haberi possunt ¹⁾.

Ante omnia Eusebius et Pseudocyprianus ²⁾ de Doctrinis apostolorum loquentes se aliam scripturam cognovisse ac nostram non probant, cum haec secundum doctrinas, quas exhibet, facillime etiam numero plurali appellari potuerit. Neque inde, quod locus a Pseudocypriano laudatus cum textu Doctrinae nostrae non prorsus consentit, hunc scriptorem alium textum legisse sequitur. Summam loci saltem ad scripturam

1) Cf. quae de integritate scripturae (excepta particula 1, 3—2, 1) Warfield disputavit contra Mc Giffert in *The Andover Review* VI, 91—96.

2) Argumenta, quae in sequentibus refutantur, proponuntur in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 1886 p. 302—311. Chiapelli, *Studii* 1887 p. 118—148, integritatem Doctrinae similibus argumentis impugnavit censuitque praeterea, capita I—VI a Christiano e Iudaeis, capita VII—XVI a Christiano e gentilibus composita, utramque scripturam saeculo primo exeunte exaratam, postea autem, non dicit quo tempore, alteram cum altera coniunctam fuisse."

nostram referendam esse facile tibi persuades, si locos utriusque scripturae inter se comparas, quare hic transcribantur:

Si quis frater delinquat in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic non colligatur, donec poenitentiam agat, et non recipiatur, ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra.

D. 4, 14: Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου. 14, 2: Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθῆτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινοῦθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. 15, 3: καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλεῖτω, . . . ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ.

Plus autem a Pseudocypriano postulari non potest, cum in scripturis laudandis omnino non sit diligens. Quae enim ex Pauli epistulis ad Timotheum, verba utriusque epistulae coniungens eisque alia intermiscens, et ex aliis scripturis allegat, a verbis apostoli ceterorumque scriptorum vix minus discrepant, quam verba supra citata a Doctrina. Pauci tantum loci exscribantur.

De aleatoribus.

4. Apostolus idem Paulus commemorat, quando ad Timotheum docendum . . . dicens: O Timothee fili, commendatum serva; noli spernere donum, quod in te est per impositionem manuum seniorum: accingere fortiter et viriliter age, ministerium tuum cum integritate persupple: esto ceteris in bonis exemplum. Nemo tibi contradicat, nemo iuventutem tuam contemnat: peccantem coram multis argue, ut et ceteri metum habeant, et ne communicaveris peccatis alienis.

9. Et apostolus beatissimus Paulus similiter dicit: Videte fratres, ne configuremini huic saeculo et pompis et deliciis et voluptatibus eius, sed continete vos ab omni iniustitia saeculi.

10. Et Ioannes apostolus dicit: Omnis, qui peccat, non est de Deo, sed de diabolo est: et scitis, quoniam ideo venturus est filius Dei, ut perdat filios diaboli.

Pauli epp. ad Timotheum I. II.

I, 6, 20: Ὡ Τιμόθεε, τὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον. 4, 14: μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. II, 4, 5 (cf. I Cor. 16, 13): οὐ δὲ νῆφε ἐν πάσιν, κακοπαθήσον, . . . τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον. I, 4, 12: μηδεὶς σου τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τύπος γίνου τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ κτλ. 5, 20: τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἐλεγχε, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ φόβον ἔχωσιν. 5, 22: μηδὲ κοινωνῇς ἁμαρτίαις ἀλλοτρίαις.

Rom. 12, 2: Καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ. Iac. I, 27: ἀσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου.

I Ioann. 5, 18. 20: Οἶδαμεν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει . . . Οἶδαμεν δέ, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἦκει καὶ δέδωκεν ἡμῖν διάνοιαν, ἵνα γινώσκωμεν τὸν ἀληθινόν.

Athanasius quidem fortasse non de scriptura tota, sed de parte tantum locutus est, Doctrinam catechumenis praelectam fuisse tradens, cum non scriptura universa, sed capita I—VI sola ad proselytos instituendos apta essent. Res vero nequaquam certa est. Pars una quoque scripturae, modo ad catechumenos erudiendos revera idonea fuit, praelegi poterat, altera autem praetermitti. Ceterum minime omnino nego, Athanasium exemplar decurtatum ante oculos habuisse. Ob usum commodiorem facile fieri potuit, ut capita sex priora sola transcriberentur. Similiter eam Pastoris partem solam, quae ad catechumenos instruendos apta erat, transcriptam esse inde sequi videtur, quod Athanasius Mandatum I initium libri Hermae appellat¹⁾. Praeterea Nicephorus probare videtur, exemplaria eiusmodi decurtata tempore posteriore profecto circumlata esse. Numerus ducentorum stichorum, quos Doctrinae attribuit, sane ad capita I—VI, neque vero ad scripturam totam quadrat, id quod hoc modo perspicies. Si numeros linearum, quas in editione Hilgenfeldiana epistolae Barnabae et Clementis obtinent, cum numeris stichorum Nicephori comparaveris, illos circiter dimidiam horum partem esse animadverteres²⁾. Itaque si eandem rationem in Doctrina statuimus, stichos 480 exspectare licet, cum scriptura in editione Hilgenfeldiana lineas 240 habeat. Capita Doctrinae sex priora autem in eadem editione lineas 100 obtinent, capita VII—XVI lineas 140, et inter hos numeros eadem ratio intercedit atque inter numeros 200 et 280 (= 480). Itaque, si quidem numeri stichorum a Nicephoro traditorum fide digni sunt, vix dubium est, Nicephorum de parte vel de capitibus I—VI Doctrinae locutum esse. Testis autem partis scripturae minime iam testis alius recensitionis habendus est, praesertim cum de scriptura dicat, cuius altera pars diu ante eum exstitit, atque de ea parte, quam ab altera separatam et solam transcriptam esse facillimum est intellectu.

Quae cum ita sint, nec Rufinus aliam scripturam manibus tractasse putandus est, si Doctrinam, quod autem minime

1) Cf. Larsoy, *Die Festbriefe des h. Athanasius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt* 1852 p. 117.

2) In mea editione numerus paullo maior est.

constat, Duas vias appellavit. Accedit, quod ex hoc titulo ne id quidem colligi potest, Rufinum capita Doctrinae sex priora tantum cognita habuisse. Cum scriptura incipiat verbis: Duae viae, illo nomine haud dubie designari potuit, etiamsi praeter doctrinam duarum viarum plura alia continebat.

Nonne autem recensiones doctrinae duarum viarum reliquae eiusmodi sunt, ut ab exemplari nostro derivari nequeant? Plures hoc iudicium tulerunt. Argumenta vero, quae attulerunt, non satis firma esse videntur.

Barnabae epistula ab aliis recensionibus omnibus tantopere discedit, ut nobis valde cavendum sit, ne nimium ex eius textu colligamus. Ordo sententiarum prorsus turbatus est; multae sententiae, imprimis Doctr. 1, 2 - 2, 1 et 3, 1—6, omissae, nonnullae additae sunt. Ne propositio principalis quidem vel tria mandata, quae omnes recensiones in exordio exhibent, intacta relictæ sunt; tertium mandatum plane omissum est, duo alia ubique coniuncta a Barnaba discerpta, secundum insuper mutatum.

Expositio duarum viarum, quae in Canonibus ecclesiasticis legitur, particula exigua excepta, tam prope ad Doctrinam 1, 1—4, 8 (plura non sunt transcripta) accedit, ut eius auctor hanc, non aliam similem scripturam manibus tractasse iure existimetur, praesertim cum 12, 3 partem Doctrinae posteriorem quoque se legisse indicet. Idem dicendum est de Doctrina latina. Quae enim haec praeter textum nostrum graecum continet, ea haud dubie non auctori scripturae principi, sed posteriori attribuenda sunt, qui ea cum ex epistula Barnabae deprompsit tum ex suo ingenio addidit. Auctorem denique Constitutionum apostolorum non aliam recensionem quam codicis Constantinopolitani legisse inter omnes constat.

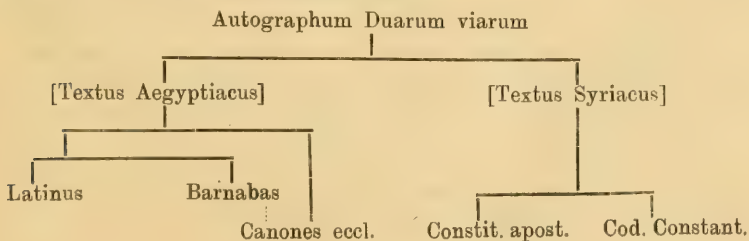
Unum tantum quaeritur, num exemplaria, quibus Barnabas, auctor Canonum ecclesiasticorum et interpret latinus usi sunt, Doctrinam 1, 3—2, 1 continuerint, quam particulam omnes pariter omiserunt, vel particula illa genuina sit. Barnabas quidem in hac re non multum probat. Ut tertium mandatorum principalium, ne de Doctrina 3, 1—6 dicam, ita particulam sequentem praeterire potuit. Idem fere de auctore Syntagmatis

doctrinae dicendum est, qui non tantum Doctrinae transcripsit, ut eam particulam non legisse cum certitudine contendere possumus. Neque testes reliqui, nisi uterque eandem particulam omitteret, difficultatem pararent maiorem. Auctor Canonum ecclesiasticorum cum doctrinam duarum viarum non integram transcriberet, sed non solum descriptionem viae mortis, sed etiam finem expositionis viae vitae praeteriret, in exordio quoque nonnullas sententias omittere potuit. Doctrina latina, in quantum fragmentum nobis servatum iudicium ferre sinit, non est versio pura. Plura exhibet additamenta, sive ab auctore exemplaris graeci sive ab interprete latino facta, et si nonnulla textui genuino adiecta sunt, nonne particulam etiam praetermissam esse cogitare licet? Cum autem testes in eadem re conveniant, non sunt contemnendi, ac revera quaeritur, num particula ab auctore Doctrinae profecta sit.

Particulae authentiam plures viri docti in dubium vocaverunt, Krawutzcky, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Gordon, Warfield, Mc Giffert ¹⁾, Bratke, nuperrime etiam Harnack, atque considerans particulam in eis scripturis deesse, quae in Aegypto exortae esse videntur, in eis vero legi, quorum patria Syria vel Palaestina est, Warfield descriptiones viarum duarum hucusque cognitae in duas familias divisit, aegyptiacam et syriacam ²⁾.

1) Mc Giffert in *The Andover Review* V, 430—442 etiam particulam 3, 1—6 et caput VI Doctrinae principali abiudicat. Barnabas vero, qui solus illam particulam omisit, testibus ceteris omnibus contradicentibus nihil probat. Similiter de authentia capitis VI, quippe quod praeter codicem Constantinopolitanum ab auctore Constitutionum apostolorum et a Pseudo-Athanasio distincte agnitum sit, vix dubium exoriri potest. Cf. quae disputavit Warfield ibid. VI, 90—91.

2) In *Bibliotheca Sacra* 1886 p. 106 et in *The Andover Review* VI, 88 Warfield hoc stemma composuit:



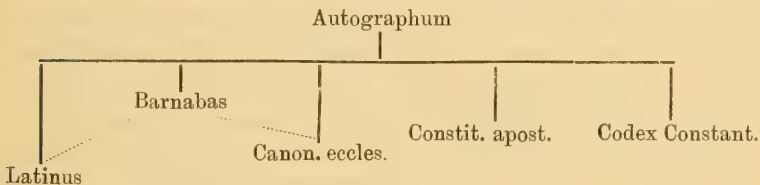
Et si verba δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς 2, 1 ita intellegenda essent, ut interpretes hucusque voluerunt, scilicet de mandato amoris proximi, particula vix genuina declarari posset. Si enim interpretatio illa recta esset, verba τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ δι-
δαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη de mandato amoris Dei explicanda essent, quam interpretationem falsam esse ex sequentibus evidenter apparet, cum dicta evangelica, quae postea proponuntur, non tam ad amorem Dei quam ad amorem proximum pertinent. Attamen verba δευτέρα ἐντολὴ nequaquam de amore proximi sumenda sunt; denotant potius aliam explicationem mandatorum principalium indicantque eam viae vitae expositionem, quam Dominus Matth. 19, 18 ipse dedit.

Ex rationibus ergo quas dicunt intrinsecis particula non interpolatio habenda est. Rationes vero extrinsecae authenticæ loci non minus favent quam adversantur. Particula quidem apud testes laudatos desideratur. Eam vero antiquissimam esse, non solum liber VII Constitutionum apostolorum testatur, in quo simili modo ac reliqua scripturae pars recepta est, sed etiam Hermas Pastoris auctor, qui Doctrinam 1, 5 exscripsit. Probabiliter verba Clementis Alexandrini quoque supra p. XV laudata ad hunc locum referenda sunt. Si particula autem iam ante saeculum II medium lecta fuisse videtur, si ab eo teste certe agnoscitur, qui primus ac solus totam de duabus viis doctrinam transcripsit, cum ceteri, Latino fortasse excepto, eius partem tantum exhibeant, iure meritoque quaerimus, nonne potius auctori quam interpolatori adscribenda sit. Fieri sane potuit, ut particula ab alio in scriptura insereretur. At fieri quoque potuit, ut mox in exemplari aliquo casu evanesceret, si forte Doctrina cum aliis scripturis in uno volumine coniuncta in altera folii pagina ita incipiebat, ut locus folium sequens expleret, quod deperditum fuisse conicere licet ¹⁾, vel ut a librario vel a testibus laudatis praetermitteretur, et si consideravero, quod modo dixi, testes maiorem minorem Doctrinae partem neglexisse, hoc mihi verisimilius esse videtur. Omitti autem potuit, quod testes

1) Sic Gebhardt in editione Harnackiana maiore p. 279–282 omissionem particulae explicare studuit.

illi scripturam decurtare voluerunt quodque mandata, quae particula continet, minus ad catechumenos quam ad Christianos perfectos pertinere putari potuerunt.

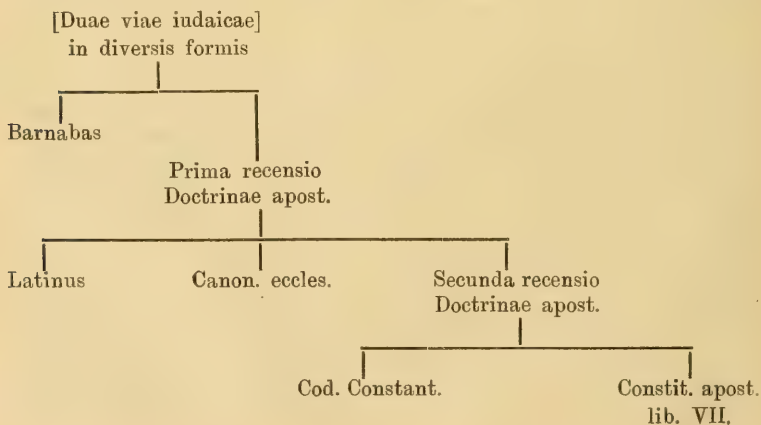
Si particula, de qua agimus, genuina est, causa principalis est inanis, qua adducti formam Doctrinae codice Constantinopolitano traditam non ab auctore scripturae ipso exortam esse nonnulli contenderunt, atque ratio inter diversas doctrinae de duabus viis descriptiones intercedens sic exprimenda est:



Quomocunque autem haec res se habet, sive Doctrina ab auctore talis confecta est, qualis nunc legitur, sive plus minus diversa, haud dubie ei falluntur, qui censent, partem scripturae priorem apud Iudaeos ad erudiendos proselytos confectam, postea vero a Christianis sententiis evangelicis, inprimis eis, quae Doctr. 1, 3—5 leguntur, auctam atque partem alteram adiectam fuisse¹⁾. Etiamsi enim particula 1, 3—2, 1, verba ἐπεὶ οἱ πράξεις κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν 3, 7 ac nonnulla alia delentur, tamen vestigia fidei christianae luculentissima in scriptura remanent, ita ut religio auctoris non sit dubia. Ante omnia exordium (1, 2) ex Novo Testamento repetendum est. Hoc enim mandata

1) Primi hanc sententiam proposuisse videntur Massebieau, in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 1884 p. 168 partem scripturae nostrae priorem doctrinam exhibere iudicans, quae prius ad proselytos iudaicos quam ad catechumenos christianos erudiendos adhibita esset, et Lightfoot in *The Expositor* 1885 p. 8 coniciens, Barnabam et auctorem Doctrinae apostolorum doctrinam de duabus viis exponentes ex scriptura aliqua iudaica hausisse. Postea similiter senserunt Taylor, *The Teaching of the Tw. Ap. with illustrations from the Talmud* p. 21 sq., scripturam iudaicam ad saeculum ante vel post Christum natum primum referens; Harris, *The Teaching of the Ap. and the Sibylline Books* p. 25; Harnack, *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege* p. 27 sqq. Harnack p. 52—59 etiam textum scripturae iudaicae restituere conatus est et p. 32 hoc stemma construxit:

amoris Dei ac proximi, quae in illo leguntur, coniungit eaque praeterea vocibus *πρῶτον* et *δεύτερον* inducit, cum Vetus Testamentum his vocibus non utatur et mandata diversis locis exhibeat. Quibus mandatis auctor regulam quam dicunt auream addit et quidem ita expressam, ut ipsam quoque e Novo Testamento deprompsisse putandus sit. Nec vero hoc solum originem scripturae christianam probat, sed etiam alia res. Quomodo Iudaeus, si Doctrinam composuisset, fecisset exordium, testis est Pseudophocylides, qui eodem fere loco, quo Doctrina mandata tria principalia proponit, modo mandata V—X Decalogi praemittens, lectorem adhortatur, ut primum Deum honoret, deinde parentes. En Christianus et Iudaeus! Ille a mandatis illis proficiscitur, quae Iesus Christus Matth. 7, 12; 22, 37—39 summam legis ac prophetarum declaravit; hic a praeceptis Decalogi atque eis praesertim, quae in tabulis legis Veteris Testamenti primum locum obtinent. Porro auctor 2, 2 scripsit haud dubie respiciens Matth. 19, 18. Deinde 5, 1 quinque peccata commemorantur, quae, et quidem in eodem ordine, quamquam nonnulla alia intermiscens, Matthaeus 15, 19 enumerat. Quae denique 2, 7 de amore proximi et 4, 10 de vocatione hominum dicuntur, ea certe doctrinam evangelicam, neque vero iudaicam sapiunt. Haec ad sententiam illam refutandam hic sufficiunt. Nonnulla aliae ori-



ginis christianae indicia inveniuntur in notis ad 2, 6; 3, 1—2; 5, 1—2 ¹⁾).

VI.

In tempore Doctrinae definiendo id inprimis agitur, num Barnabas et Hermas eam cognitam habuerint, an huius auctor Barnabae epistula et Hermae Pastore usus sit. Si illud accidit, tempus epistulae Barnabae est terminus ad quem; sin hoc, eadem epistula vel potius Pastor est terminus a quo.

Editor princeps, Doctrinam illarum scripturarum fontem esse censens, eam annis 120—160 adscripsit, et plures eum secuti sunt, quamquam de tempore non plane eodem modo iudicaverunt. Harnack ²⁾ scripturam ad annos 120 (140)—165 retulit, Bonet-Maury ³⁾ partem priorem ad a. 130—140, alteram ad a. 150—160. Volkmar ⁴⁾, scripturam seditione Iudaeorum duce Barkochba exorta confectam esse censens, eam annis 133—135 adiudicavit. Cum autem hi viri scripturam paullo post Hermae Pastorem vel epistulam Barnabae exaratam esse putent, nonnulli eam tempori etiam recentiori attribuerunt. Krawutzcky ⁵⁾ eam circa annos 190—200 et quidem a Theodoto seniore vel coriario conscriptam esse iudicavit. Long ⁶⁾ et Cotterill ⁷⁾, Doctrinam sine dubio false posteriorem putantes Constitutionibus apostolorum, de quarto saeculo locuti sunt, Nelson ⁸⁾ etiam de saeculo quinto vel sexto.

Equidem iam supra demonstrasse mihi videor, Doctrinam Barnabae epistula priorem esse. De tempore huius scripturae

1) Cf. quae de hac re disputavi in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1887 p. 281—289. Sententiam etiam Hilgenfeld reprobavit in *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie* 1887 p. 118.

2) *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 158—170. Hanc sententiam probabiliorem habet Meyboom, *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 1885 p. 630, dubitat vero de integritate Doctrinae.

3) *La doctrine des douze apôtres* 1884 p. 34—36.

4) *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* 1885 p. 44.

5) *Theolog. Quartalschrift* 1884 p. 585.

6) *Baptist Quaterly* 1884 Jul.—Sept. Cf. Schaff p. 152.

7) *The Scottish Church Review* 1884 Jul.—Sept.

8) *Proceedings of Am. Philol. Assoc.* 1884 Jul.

non omnes quidem iudicium idem ferunt. Nonnulli anno demum 120 fere, alii iam circa annos 70--80 eam exaratam esse censent. Mea sententia epistula Nerva imperatore vel saeculo I exeunte scripta est. Cf. quae infra de epistulae tempore disputavi. Sin res ita se habet, Doctrina apostolorum ante finem saeculi I exorta est. Quot autem annis antea confecta sit, accurate definiri nequit, et alii aliter iudicaverunt.

P. Sabatier ¹⁾, considerans ritus baptismi et eucharistiae simplicissimos, munera ecclesiastica praeter ac iuxta charismata exoriri incipientia atque characterem ut putat iudaicum, Doctrinam iam saeculo I medio conscriptam esse putat. Quomodo, inquit, saeculo I exeunte liturgia tam simplex constitui potuit? Quomodo scriptura hoc tempore confecta non mentionem fieri explicandum est litterarum commendatitiarum, neque uxorum, quae tum temporis rebus ecclesiasticis tantopere studebant, neque osculi pacis neque aliarum rerum, quas in libro eiusmodi exspectare licet? Quomodo autem, inquam ego, his argumentis prorsus fere negativis scriptura ad saeculum I medium referenda est? Nonne insuper quaedam indicia tempus posterius dilucide produnt, praesertim ea, quae de apostolis et Christianis aliis recipiendis (10, 4. 5; 12) et de prophetis diiudicandis (10, 7—12) dicuntur, ac notitia librorum Novi Testamenti, quam auctor habuisse videtur? Locos omnes, quos e S. Scriptura repetimus, e traditione orali haustos esse minime est verisimile. Quae Sabatier denique de muneribus ecclesiasticis dixit, ea vix recta sunt. Ex capite XV nequaquam apparet, ecclesiam, in qua Doctrina exorta est, charismata tantum cognita habuisse neque vero ordines ecclesiasticos. Et contra auctor ecclesiis simpliciter praecipiens, ut episcopos et diaconos eligant, hos ordines non suo tempore constitutos esse, sed iam aliquamdiu exstitisse satis clare indicat. Alioquin ei accuratius de muneribus agendum erat.

Cornely ²⁾ inde, quod auctor, semper de Evangelio (15, 3) vel de Evangelio Domini (8, 2; 15, 4) loquens, unum tantum

1) *La Didachè* 1885 p. 159—159.

2) *Introductio in U. T. libros sacros* I, 214.

Evangelium cognitum ei habuisse videbatur, quodque de doctorum et prophetarum munere extraordinario agit, quod post apostolicam aetatem omnino disparuisset, Doctrinam paullo post saeculum I medium exortam esse conclusit. Quam sententiam München¹⁾ eo confirmari censuit, quod omnes loci, qui in Doctrina tanquam dicta Evangelii vel Domini afferuntur, praeter laudatos 9, 5; 14, 3 (Malach. 1, 11. 14) et 15, 7 (Zach. 14, 5), ut putat, in Evangelio Matthaei leguntur, et scripturam potius ante quam post annum 70 confectam esse iudicavit. Sed illo modo auctor etiam aliquamdiu postquam Evangelium Lucae iam compositum erat, loqui potuit. Deinde nequaquam omnia dicta Domini, quae in Doctrina allegantur, in Evangelio Matthaei inveniuntur; nam dicta Malachiae et Zachariae, quorum alterum distincte tanquam verbum Domini inducitur, in hoc Evangelio, nisi fallor, non repetuntur. Denique, id quod maximi momenti est, ne dicam certum, saltem verisimillimum est, auctorem Evangelium Lucae cognitum habuisse. Cf. adnot. ad 1, 3. 4 et infra caput IX.

Bestmann²⁾ perspexisse sibi visus est, Doctrinam esse professionem fidei, quam Hierosolymis deletis Christiani e Iudaeis Antiochiae Christianis e gentilibus proposuissent cuique hi a. 79 epistolam Barnabae opposuissent. Ad idem fere tempus (annos 70—76) scripturam retulit Nirschl³⁾, eam velut editionem auctam partis epistolae secundae vel moralis Barnabae apostolo attribuens, quem anno 76 mortuum esse putat. At rem magis affirmaverunt quam demonstraverunt. Doctrina praeterea a Barnabae epistula tantopere discrepat, ut eidem auctori sine argumentis gravissimis adiudicari nequeat.

Equidem librum iam circa annum 80 fortasse exortum esse haud nego. Attamen eum profecto hoc tempore exaratum esse non audeo dicere, cum rationes temporis tam accurate definiendo desint. Id solum certum esse videtur, librum Barnabae epistula

1) *Zeitschrift f. kath. Theologie* 1886 p. 643—73. Similiter Majocchi, *La Dottrina* p. 10—16, scripturam apostolis adhuc viventibus compositam esse conicit.

2) *Geschichte der christlichen Sitte* II, 136—153.

3) *Litterarischer Handweiser* 1884 p. 400. *Lehrbuch der Patrologie* III, 643.

priorem itaque aliquamdiu ante finem saeculi I scriptum esse. Eiusdem sententiae sunt vel Doctrinam adscribunt annis 80—100 vel 120, ad quem annum nonnulli epistolam Barnabae referunt, inter Germanos praecipue Th. Zahn (a. 80—120), Petersen, J. Langen, Aberle, G. Lechler, G. Bickell, quibus adnumeretur C. P. Caspari Christianiae docens, natione Germanus; inter Gallos L. Massebieau, E. Ménégos; inter Anglos Romestin, Farrar (circa annum 100), Lightfoot (a. 80—120), I. Wordsworth, C. Spence, qui insuper Simeonem episcopum Hierosolymitanum auctorem scripturae declarare conatus est; inter Americanos Potwin, Hitchcock (haud procul ab anno 100), Ph. Schaff (a. 90—100); inter Italos Chiapelli ¹⁾. Commemorandi sunt hoc loco etiam Arnold, qui de tempore scripturae quidem similiter sentit ac Volkmar eamque decennio saeculi II quarto adscribit, nihilominus eam et Barnabae epistula et Pastore Hermae priorem iudicat ²⁾, atque B. Warfield, qui formam Doctrinae codice Constantinopolitano traditam ad tempus posterius refert, altera ex parte vero minime dubitat, Barnabam ex Doctrina duarum viarum iam existente hausisse, non vice versa.

Doctrinam saeculo I exeunte, non postea exortam esse etiam rationes intrinsecae probant. Scriptura tota antiquitatem sapit maximam. Quae de cultu et constitutione ecclesiae dicuntur, ea tam simplicia sunt, ut in saeculum II vix quadrent. Vox ἐμπλησθῆναι 10, 1 indicare videtur, eucharistiam adhuc cum agape coniunctam celebratam fuisse, cum certe iam saeculo II ineunte, si non prius, ab ea separata esset. Eo modo, quo auctor 15, 1, nonnisi scriptores antiquissimi episcopos et diaconos tanquam ministros ecclesiae commemorant. Altera ex parte quae 11, 7—12 et 13, 1—7 de prophetis leguntur, difficulter ad saeculum II referenda sunt. Etiam si enim saeculo II ineunte prophetae christiani nondum evanuerant, attamen eorum numerum satis exiguum fuisse testantur Clemens Romanus, Ignatius et

1) Tituli librorum vel tractatum ab his viris compositorum infra c. XI leguntur.

2) *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* 1885 p. 407—454. Cf. inprimis p. 436—438; 445—54.

3) *Bibliotheca sacra* 1886 p. 101 not. 2.

Polycarpus, in epistulis suis eorum omnino non mentionem facientes, cum Doctrina praecepta dans ad prophetas pertinentia eos adhuc crebriores fuisse annuat. Cf. adnot. ad 9; 11, 7; 15, 1. Falsae doctrinae auctori quidem iam cognitae sunt (cf. 6, 1; 11, 1. 2); nusquam autem haereses certae commemorantur. Modus quoque, quo auctor S. Scriptura usus est, magis ad saeculum I exiens quam ad saeculum II convenit. Non solum paucas tantum Novi Testamenti scripturas in usum suum convertit, sed etiam S. Scripturam nonnisi raro proprie allegat, et si verba ex illa deprompta esse indicat, formulas incertas adhibet, quae apud scriptores antiquissimos usitatiores, apud posteriores autem rariores sunt. Omnes loci biblici tanquam dicta Scripturae (1, 6; 16, 7) vel Evangelii vel Domini (8, 2; 9, 5) inducuntur; dictum Malachiae quoque Domino attribuitur (14, 3).

At nonnulli vestigia haeresum saeculi II vel alia huius temporis indicia in libro invenire sibi visi sunt. De haeresibus in capite VIII dicitur. Quod autem ad alia temporis recentioris indicia adinet, Harnack¹⁾ librum non ante Hadrianum vel annum 117 confectum esse inde praesertim colligere voluit, quod in ordine apostolorum et prophetarum iam magna corruptio appareret, ad sustendendam prophetarum auctoritatem ecclesiis praecepta singularia darentur (11, 7), auctor iam generationem prophetarum christianorum decessisse proderet et Evangeliiis Matthaei et Lucae usus esse videretur. At Pauli tempore iam res eo evenerunt, ut apostolo II Cor. 11, 13 de pseudoapostolis, operariis subdolis, dicendum esset, et si circa annum 56 ita erat, vitia, quae Doctrina c. 11 commemorat, usque ad finem saeculi I certe in rem publicam christianam irrepere potuerunt. Neque ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται (11, 11), sin aliter prophetae christiani habendi sunt, testes saeculi II putentur oportet. Similiter Clemens Romanus I, 44, 3 generationem presbyterorum iam mortuorum cognitam habuit. Idem tandem pater non solum Evangelium Matthaei, sed etiam Evangelium Lucae legisse videtur. Illis itaque argumentis Doctrina eo minus saeculo II attribuenda est, cum Har-

1) *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* p. 165 sq.

nack ipse non pauca in scriptura concedat inveniri, quae facilius ad annos 80—120 quam ad annos 120—165 referri possint ¹⁾).

VII.

De patria scripturae sententiae non minus variae sunt quam de tempore. De Aegypto cogitaverunt praesertim Bryennius, Harnack, Zahn, Bonet-Maury, Farrar, Romestin, Hitchcock et Brown; de Syria vel Palaestina Caspari, Sabatier, Arnold, Volkmar (Pella in Peraea); de Antiochia Bestmann; de Hierosolymis Spence, Langen, München; de Antiochia vel Hierosolymis Schaff; de Asia minore Hilgenfeld; de Graecia vel Macedonia Wordsworth; de Roma Massebieau; Cotterill etiam de Constantinopoli locutus est. Warfield ²⁾), scripturam paullatim in eam formam redactam esse censens, quam in codice Constantinopolitano habet, formam priorem (sine particula 1, 3—2, 1) Aegypto, posteriorem Syriae attribuit. Similiter sentiunt Bratke et Mc Giffert ³⁾).

Cum Doctrina maxime a scriptoribus Alexandrinis lecta et commemorata esset, eam in Aegypto confectam esse sequi videtur. Idem Harnack ⁴⁾ eo probare voluit, quod doctores liberi nec non »apostoli« in terra illa diutissime mansissent et Pantaeus solus esset, quem Eusebius inter saeculi II apostolos nominare potuit, quodque in doxologia Sahidica vel Aegypti superioris aequae ac in doxologiis Doctrinae 8, 2 orationi Domini et 9, 4; 10, 5 precibus liturgicis adiectis, ut formulas breviores 9, 2. 3; 10, 2. 4 praetereamus, vox βασιλεία deesset. Argumenta vero paullum valent. Inde, quod de doctoribus in aliis terris nihil traditum est, nequaquam sequitur, eos ibi multo prius quam in Aegypto esse desiisse. Plures doctorum insuper, quos scriptores Alexandrini commemorant, erant doctores audientium nec

1) Cf. quae München, *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theol.* 1886 p. 631—40, contra Harnack disputavit.

2) *The Andover Review* IV, 595; VI, 82. Cf. stemma supra p. XXVII. propositum.

3) Lightfoot scripturam primo ad Aegyptum retulit; postea (*The Apost. Fathers* II, I, 739) autem respiciens 9, 4 illum ortum in dubium vocavit.

4) *Die Lehre der zw. Ap.* II, 168.

cum doctoribus confundendi esse videntur, de quibus Doctrina dicit. Eusebium autem praeter Pantaenum alios saeculi II apostolos non potuisse nominare non licet dicere. Cum scriptor H. E. V, 10 expressis verbis pronuntiet, etiamtum complures fuisse evangelistas sermonis Dei, potius etiam nonnulla nomina cognita habuisse putandus est, et id solum dicere possumus, eum nomina plura tradere noluisse. Praeterea Pantaenum ne apostolum quidem distincte appellat. Loco laudato potius de evangelistis sermonis Dei loquitur, qui apostolorum exemplo studium suum ad aedificationem fidei et ad incrementum verbi divini contulissent. Quod ad doxologiam attinet, omissio vocis βασιλεία eo minus est urgenda, cum formulae, de quibus agitur, etiam voce illa praetermissa inter se minime convenient. Doctrina enim legit: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, doxologia Sahidica est haec: *quoniam tuum est robur et potentia in aevum aevi*, vel graece: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Loco vocis δόξα ergo doxologia Sahidica habet vocem ἰσχὺς, neque ullo iure in ea illam vocem defuisse dubitandum est. Accedit denique, quod vocem βασιλεία Gregorius quoque Nyssenus omisit, hanc doxologiam exhibens: ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα.

Itaque remanent nonnisi testimonia extrinseca. Quae haud dubie non parvi aestimanda sunt. Attamen originem scripturae aegyptiacam non reddunt certam. Probant sane Doctrinam in Aegypto diligenter lectam fuisse, vel potius denotant, plura scripturae testimonia ab Alexandrinis profecta ad nos pervenisse. Cum autem fieri posset, ut scriptura etiam extra patriam in usum frequentem veniret, non iam Doctrinam in Aegypto extortam esse demonstrant.

Quaeritur ergo, num forte vestigia in scriptura sint, quae alium ortum indicent. Cuiusmodi indicia revera inveniuntur. Mentio quae 9, 4 fit frumenti in montibus sati non tam in Aegyptum quam in Syriam vel Palaestinam convenit. Harnack quidem contendit, orationem, in qua montes commemorarentur, a Syria vel Palaestina in Aegyptum tradi potuisse. Iure potiore autem, si locus ille in Aegypto scribi non potuit, scripturam ipsam alibi confectam esse colligitur.

Quae cum ita sint, Syria vel Palaestina probabiliter Doctrinae patria habendae sunt. Syria ideo praeferenda esse videtur, quia scriptura orationi Domini iam doxologiam adicit, quae in illa terra originem habuisse censetur. Palaestinae vero favet caput VIII, ubi auctor, hypocritas vel Pharisaeos respiciens, medios inter Iudaeos se esse prodit.

VIII.

De fide auctoris vel quo tendat scriptura, iudicia diversissima facta sunt. Auctor et Christianis et Iudaeis et Christianis et gentilibus et Ebionitis haereticis adnumeratus est. Hic eum Gnosticos et Montanistas, ille eum Paulum apostolum impugnare putavit, tertius in ea vestigia Montanismi invenire sibi visus est. Alii aliter censuerunt.

Doctrinam Gnosticis et Montanistis adversari editor princeps (Proleg. § 8') e pluribus locis colligere voluit. Quae autem in parte scripturae priore vel capitibus I—VI leguntur, nequaquam ad eos inter Gnosticos referenda sunt, qui legem Dei vel praecepta Decalogi solvere studebant. Auctor in hac parte neminem impugnat, sed simpliciter summam doctrinae christianae moralis exponit. Neque verba scripturae de alia doctrina, qua proposita dissolvatur (11, 2), vel de pseudoprophetae ad Montanistas referenda sunt. Verba illa scribi potuerunt, antequam Montanus doctrinam suam edidit et prophetae Montanistarum exstiterunt.

Nec maiore iure Paulus in Doctrina impugnari dicitur ¹⁾. Ad summum contendere potest, de edendis immolatis simulacrorum auctorem (6, 3) aliter iudicare quam apostolum I Cor. 8—10, et ne hoc quidem certum est, cum Pauli sententia diligentius investigata a decreto apostolorum Hierosolymis congregatorum non vel paullulum tantum divergere videatur.

Doctrinam Ebionitis vel Monarchianis attribuendam esse Krawutzcky ²⁾ inde sequi putavit, quod neque operis redemptionis

1) Hoc contendit Sadler. Churton in scriptura non solum doctrinam doctrinae Pauli adversantem, sed etiam haereticam et Sadducaeismum sapientem invenire voluit. Cf. Schaff p. 125 not.

2) *Theolog. Quartalschrift* 1884 p. 581—585.

neque divinitatis redemptoris certa mentio fieret, Christus potius aequae ac David (9, 2) puer Dei, *παῖς θεοῦ*, appellaretur (9, 3; 10, 2. 3) et verba de redemptore glorificando, quae Barnabas mandato amoris Dei addidisset, deleta essent. Sententia fortasse approbanda esset, si auctor Doctrinae Barnabae epistulam legisset atque mutasset. Cum autem ratio altera inter scripturas intercedat, res aliter se habet. Auctor Doctrinae cum verba Barnabae de redemptore non eliminaverit, sed simplicius tantum de Christo locutus sit, minime protinus Ebionita habendus est. Accedit, quod *παῖς θεοῦ* vel *κυρίου* Christus etiam a Barnaba (6, 1; 9, 2), Clemente Romano (I Cor. 59, 2. 3. 4) et ab aliis patribus antiquioribus vocatur, neque Doctrina Christum semper hoc nomine, saepius potius filium (7, 1) vel filium Dei (16, 4) et Dominum (cf. index vocabulorum) appellat. Haec autem nequaquam parvi aestimanda sunt, ut Krawutzcky censet. E contrario, 14, 3 dictum Veteris Testamenti Domino attribuens, i. e. secundum locutionem alibi usitatam Iesu Christo, et 16, 8 de adventu Domini loquens, cum S. Scriptura eodem loco, quem respicit, de filio hominis dicat, auctor Doctrinae se Christum non purum hominem habere satis clare indicat.

Hilgenfeld ¹⁾ scripturam non quidem a Montanista exaratam esse contendit. Censet autem, eam et quidem ambas partes, primam (1—6, 2) et alteram (6, 3—16), quas non eidem auctori vel saltem non eidem tempori adiudicat, in Montanismi usum redactam esse. Argumenta vero, quas ad sententiam probandam proposuit, minime firma sunt. Si verba *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν* 1, 4 recte interpretatus fueris, eis neque nexus interrumpitur neque Montani duritia denotatur. Vocem *τέλειος* 1, 4 et 6, 2 autem Montanismum sapere vix aliquis concesserit, cum vox bis in Evangelio Matthaei legatur, sc. 5, 48 et 19, 21. Neque 6, 3 additamentum Montanistae habendum est. E contrario, si locus a Montanista esset scriptus, verba *ὁ δὲ δύνασαι* certe deessent, cum legibus ad ieiunium pertinentibus a schismaticis auctoritas tanta attribueretur, ut singulis

1) Nov. Test. extra can. rec. fasc. IV ed. II p. 94. 104 sq. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theologie* 1885 p. 88—94.

aegre facultas earum implendarum vel non implendarum daretur, cuius in Doctrina mentio fit. Porro quomodo 10, 6 manus Montanistae agnoscenda sit, equidem non perspicio. Etiam si Tertullianus Montanismo non addictus Apolog. c. 39 scripsit, Christianos pro mora finis orare, plures tamen adventum Domini et interitum huius mundi desiderare potuerunt. Deinde quae c. 11 et 13 et 15, 1 de prophetis et apostolis et doctoribus leguntur, ea sane ad Montanistas referenda essent, si librum post saeculum II medium exortum esse constaret. Sin scriptura iam saeculo I exeunte confecta est, non est quod de prophetis schismaticorum illorum cogitamus. Nomen ἀπόστολος quidem Hilgenfeld a catholicis nunquam cuilibet praedicatori fidei datum esse dixit. Neque vero nomen apud Montanistas usitatum fuisse ostendit. Denique neque ex eis, quae Apollonius vel Eusebius H. E. V, 18 refert, scilicet Montanum doctrinam suam praedicantibus salaria praebuisse, ut per foedam ventris ingluviem doctrina convalesceret, Doctrinam 11, 4—6 de praedicatoribus Montanistarum loqui colligendum est. Inde quod Montanus praedicatoribus doctrinae suae salaria praebuit, Doctrina vero apostolis omnino interdicat, ne pecuniam accipiant, potius eius auctorem a partibus Montanistarum non stetisse concludi potest.

Quod si nonnullas alias sententias plane falsas praetermittimus, id solum quaeritur, num auctor Christianus e Iudaeis sit an Christianus e gentilibus vel, ut vocatus est, Christianus e gentilibus vulgaris. Hanc sententiam praesertim Harnack¹⁾ tuetur, illam Sabatier, Schaff et plures alii. Iudicium maxime ex interpretatione vocis βρώσις 6, 3 pendet. Estne vox de legibus Veteris Testamenti cibariis intellegenda an de ascensi quadam ad cibos et in primis esum carnum spectante? Cum illa interpretatio praefenda sit, scriptura a Christiano e circumcisione exarata esse putanda est. Idem elucet ex 13, 3, ubi auctor officium primitiarum prophetis offerendarum eo probat, quod prophetae Christianorum ἀρχιερείς sint, et ex 13, 5, ubi idem officium, haud dubie Vetus Testamentum respiciens, simpliciter mandatum nominat. Non minoris momenti est, quod auctor 1, 3 voci biblicae

1) Cf. *Die Apostellehre* p. 14—20.

ἀγαπᾶν vocem νηστεύειν substituens ascenin ieiunandi instar Iudaeorum aestimet maximi. Neque formula μαρὰν ἀθὰ 10, 6 hic praetermittenda est. Quae vocabula aramaica facilius Christiano e Iudaeis quam e gentilibus attribui possunt, et si oratio eucharistica, cuius conclusionem faciunt, fortasse non sit auctoris scripturae ipsius, tamen a quo illa composita fuerit indicant.

Sin auctor autem Christianus e circumcissione erat, nequamquam totam legem observari voluit. Minime enim est verisimile, verbis ζυγὸς τοῦ κυρίου 6, 2 legem Veteris Testamenti designari. Praeterea de circumcissione prorsus tacet. Ne praecepta quidem ad cibos pertinentia omnino servanda esse dicit. Unum solum severe praecipit, scilicet ut Christiani ab idolothytis se abstineant. De reliquo monet, ut faciant, quidquid possint.

Quae cum ita sint, quaestio haud magni momenti est. Christianus e Iudaeis, qualis auctor fuit, a Christiano e gentilibus (vulgari) paullum differebat, praesertim cum ab apostolis Hierosolymis congregatis etiam Christianis e gentilibus nonnulla praecepta Veteris Testamenti ad cibos spectantia data essent.

IX.

Cum auctor id ageret, ut doctrinam Domini exponeret, S. Scriptura ei tanquam fons adhibenda erat. Revera ex hac plurima deprompsit, quamquam eam non semper verbotenus secutus est, sed multos locos liberius reddidit. Octies vel distincte dicit, se verba S. Scripturae proponere, vel saltem lectores ad S. Scripturam revocat. Duo loci (14, 3; 16, 7) Veteris Testamenti sunt, prophetarum Malachiae et Zachariae. Quinque loci Novi Testamenti sunt, et quidem ter (11, 3; 15, 3. 4) auctor ad Evangelium in universum revocat nec locum biblicum certum afferens; quarto loco (8, 2) orationem dominicam velut ex Evangelio depromptam exhibet; quinto loco (9, 5) dictum Domini Matth. 7, 6 allegat. Scriptura, e qua locus octavus (1, 6) depromptus est, ad nos non pervenit. Non solum autem loci Novi Testamenti, sed etiam verba Malachiae tanquam dictum Domini inducuntur.

Alia auctor ex S. Scriptura hausit, quin se non sua, sed aliena tradere indicaret, modo sententiam tantum, modo etiam

verba librorum sacrorum reddens. Loci verbotenus transcripti in hac editione characteribus obliquis expressi sunt. Libri autem Veteris Testamenti, quibus auctor ita usus est, praeter prophetas iam laudatos hi sunt: Exodus, Deuteronomium, Psalmi, Sapientia Salomonis, Sirach, Iesaias. De reliquis libris, quos respexit, cf. Index locorum S. Scripturae.

Ad Novum Testamentum transeuntes cum certitudine affirmare possumus, auctorem Evangelium Matthaei legisse, in quo fere omnia inveniuntur, quae vel distincte vel tacite tanquam dicta Evangelii sive Domini afferuntur. Sabatier quidem locos illos ex traditione orali repetendos esse putavit; sed haud dubie sese fefellit. Numerus locorum et consensus cum Evangelio Matthaei tantus est, ut hoc iure meritoque eorum fons habeatur. Accedit, quod verba Domini similiter inducuntur ac dicta prophetarum Veteris Testamenti.

Auctor etiam Evangelium Lucae cognitum habuisse putandus est. Namque non solum 1, 5 mandatum παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου κτλ. in ea forma affert, quam in hoc Evangelio habet, non autem in illo, sed etiam 1, 4 mandatum ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν, μὴ ἀπαίτει, proponit, quod apud Lucam legitur, apud Matthaeum vero plane deest. Denique verba οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες, quae 16, 1 media inter verba evangelica exstant, rursus apud Lucam, non autem apud Matthaeum inveniuntur. Quae cum ita sint, auctorem tertium Evangelium legisse vix negare licet, nisi forte omnes loci evangelici ex Evangelio aliquo deperdito repetendi sunt.

Revera Krawutzcky¹⁾ verisimile esse censet, Evangelium, quo auctor usus est, Evangelium fuisse, quod legebant Nazaraei et Ebionitae, vel Evangelium secundum Hebraeos vel secundum Aegyptios vel secundum duodecim apostolos, quibus nominibus veteres scripturam appellabant, idque inde concludit, quod illud Evangelium una ex parte Evangelio Matthaei simillimum fuerit, altera ex parte praeceptum rigidum, quod Doctrina 15, 3 exhibet, scilicet ne quis loquatur cum eo, qui in proximum delinquit, ex eo repeti possit, in quo teste Hieronymo *maxima*

1) *Theolog. Quartalschrift* 1884 p. 548 sq.

inter crimina ponatur, qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit. Quam sententiam Chiapelli ¹⁾ eo confirmari putat, quod praeceptum Evangelii secundum Hebraeos: *nunquam lacti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate* ²⁾, non solum ad Doctrinam 15, 3, sed etiam ad Doctrinam 14, 2 prope accedat. Argumenta vero minime sufficiunt. Hic Doctrinae locus rectius ex Evangelio Matthaei 5, 24 repetitur. Quod autem ad illum locum attinet, scripturae non tantopere consentiunt, ut una ad alteram cum certitudine possit referri. Praeterea verba Doctrinae laudata a sententia Matthaei 18, 15—17 non tantopere dissentire, quantopere Krawutzcky putavit, ex loco praecedente apparet, ubi Christiani admonentur, ut invicem se arguant in pace. Sin autem Evangelio secundum Hebraeos auctorem usum esse probari nequit, ex Doctrina 2, 2—3 eum illud Evangelium non legisse apparet. Mandata enim, quae hoc loco proponuntur quaeque, si fieri potest, e Scriptura Sacra repetenda sunt, Evangelium secundum Hebraeos non exhibet, sed simpliciter dicit: *legem et prophetas fac.*

Praeter duo Evangelia auctor notitiam nonnullarum epistularum prodit. Ex 5, 1. 2 apparet, eum Pauli epistolam ad Romanos cognitam habuisse. Vox *μαρὰν ἀθά*, quam S. Scriptura nonnisi I Cor. 16, 22 exhibet, eum hanc quoque epistolam probabiliter legisse indicat. 1, 4 tam prope ad I Petr. 2, 11 accedit, ut neque huius epistolae ignarus fuisse censendus sit. Etiam nonnullas alias scripturas in eius notitiam pervenisse conicere licet. Langen³⁾ contendit, eum praeter scripturas laudatas Evangelium Ioannis eiusdemque Apocalypsin, Actus apostolorum, Pauli epistulas ad Ephesios, ad Timotheum primam, ad Titum, ad Philippenses, ad Hebraeos, in usum suum vertisse. Equidem auctorem unam vel alteram ex his scripturis cognitam habuisse non prorsus negaverim. Neque vero indicia invenio satis luculenta, ut certum iudicium ferre audeam. Cf. Index locorum S. Scripturae.

1) *Studii* p. 226—29.

2) Fragmenta collegit Hilgenfeld, Nov. Testam. extra can. fasc. IV.

3) *Historische Zeitschrift* t. 53 (1885) p. 212—214.

X

Scriptura ab omnibus fere in duas partes dividitur, partes vero diverse circumscribuntur. Plerique partem priorem capite VI terminant. Rectius autem Harnack partem capite X concludere videtur. Capitibus VII—X enim de baptismo et eucharistia, de ieiunio et oratione agitur, atque formulae proponuntur, quae in sacramentis administrandis et in oratione adhibendae sint. Particula igitur liturgica est. Ad liturgiam vel cultum vero etiam capita I—VI pertinent. Ut verba ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε κτλ. 7, 1 clare indicant, id quod primi perspexerunt Bielenstein ¹⁾ et Ménégos ²⁾, particula sermo est baptizandis vel catechumenis ante baptismum pronuntiandus. Quae cum ita sint, capita VII—X potius cum praecedentibus quam cum sequentibus coniungenda sunt, quae ad disciplinam et constitutionem ecclesiae spectant. Pars prior autem ipsa in duas sectiones dividi potest, quarum una capita I—VI, altera capita VII—X amplectitur.

Ordo sententiarum hic est.

Postquam auctor 1, 1 duas vias earumque differentiam indicavit, viam vitae 1, 2—4, 14 describit. Proponuntur 1, 2 tria mandata principalia, mandata amoris Dei ac proximi et praeceptum, ne quis alteri faciat, quod sibi ipsi fieri nolit, et additur explicatio duplex. Summa primae explicationis 1, 3—6 ex sermone Domini in monte habito vel ex Evangelio Matthaei 5 deprompta est. Altera explicatio mandatis incipit, quae Dominus Matth. 19, 16—18 adulescenti intimavit roganti, quid boni faceret, ut vitam haberet aeternam (2, 1—3), scilicet non occides, non adulterium facies etc., et multa alia adiciuntur. Quorum pars prior (2, 3—7) similiter expressa est ac mandata e S. Scriptura repetita. In parte altera (3, 1—6) mandata verbis τέκνον μου incipiunt, et praeceptis singulis ratio additur, ob quam peccata quaedam devitanda sint, scilicet quod alia ac maiora peccata ex eis proficiscuntur. Haec peccata graviora sunt 1) ho-

1) *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten für die evang. Kirche in Russland*. 1885. Febr.—Martius.

2) *Le Témoignage* 1885. Martius 16.

micidium, 2) fornicatio et adulterium, 3) idololatria, 4) furtum, 5) blasphemia, et singulis bina peccata vel terna seu quaterna, cum secundo loco duo et nonnunquam tria peccata inter se propinqua una enumerentur, tanquam radices praemittuntur. Peccata autem illa respondent mandatis 2, 2—3 propositis; 1) non occides; 2) non adulterium facies, non pueros corrumpes, non fornicaberis; 3) non furaberis; 4) non incantabis; 5) non perjurabis. Utroque igitur loco eadem peccata maiora in eodemque ordine enumerantur; modo peccata idololatriae et furti invertuntur, id quod fortasse inde explicandum est, quod ordo prior vel 2, 2—3 exhibitus S. Scriptura statutus erat, idololatria autem, unum ex tribus peccatis ecclesiae veteris capitalibus, auctori gravius crimen esse videbatur quam furtum. Ceteroquin 5, 1 furtum aequae ac 2, 2 ante idololatriam vel magiam legitur. In tertia denique parte 3, 7—4, 14 forma prior iterum adhibetur, mandata autem non solum negative exprimuntur, ut in partibus duabus praecedentibus, sed etiam positive, ut in explicatione prima. Summa partis haec est. Primo loco (3, 7—10) leguntur officia Christiani erga se ipsum; secundo (4, 1—4) officia erga ecclesiam, cum praepositos tum alios fratres; tertio (4, 5—8) officia erga pauperes; quarto (4, 9—11) officia erga familiam, filios et servos, servorumque officium erga dominos; quinto denique (4, 12—14) praecepta nonnulla generalia exhibentur, praecipue devitandi omne quod non placet Deo, custodiendi mandata Domini ac confitendi peccata in ecclesia. Descripta via vitae exponitur c. 5 via mortis. Animadvertendum est, initio eadem peccata graviora et in eodem ordine enumerari, quae 2, 2 et ordine paullisper mutato 3, 2—5 leguntur, scilicet 1) homicidia, 2) adulteria, cupidines, fornicationes, 3) furta, 4) idololatriae et magiae. Blasphemiae autem, quae 3, 6 distincte et 2, 3 verbis *οὐκ ἐπιτοκήσεις* expressa est, hic non amplius fit mentio. Postremo lector c. 6 monetur, ne ab hac doctrina abducatur, ut, si non totum Domini iugum possit portare, saltem faciat, quidquid possit, omnino autem ab immolatis simulacrorum abstineat.

Sermone baptismali finito auctor c. 7 exponit, quomodo baptismus administrandus sit. Deinde c. 8 de ieiuniis disserit,

et ostendens, Christianis non ieiunandum esse neque orandum modo hypocritarum, sed sicut Dominus instituit, orationem Domini proponit, animadvertens, ter in die sic orandum esse. Denique c. 9—10 de eucharistia agit, tres orationes eucharisticas tradens, quarum duae dicendae sunt ante, tertia post communionem, monensque baptizatos tantum sacrae mensae participes esse.

In parte secunda (c. 11—15) primum exponitur, eos tantum in ecclesiam venientes recipiendos esse, qui non aliam doctrinam habent ac propositam (11, 1—2). Deinde de apostolis vel praedicatoribus fidei peregrinantibus suscipiendis (11, 3—6), de prophetis diiudicandis (11, 7—12), de advenis christianis accipiendis (c. 12), de prophetis ac doctoribus sustentandis (c. 13) agit. Porro de die dominica celebranda (c. 14), postremo de episcopis et diaconis ordinandis ac de fratribus arguendis sermo fit.

Capite XVI libellus concluditur. Lectores admonentur, ut vigilent et ad adventum Domini parati sint, crebro convenientes ac saluti animarum consulentes, atque regnum Antichristi et adventus Domini describitur.

Hilgenfeld partem priorem vel Doctrinam apostolorum principalem, quo nomine eam appellat, 6, 2 terminat. Quae divisio minime constat. Particula 6, 3, quippe quae praeceptum morale contineat, cum antecedentibus, non cum sequentibus coniungenda est. Itaque nisi fortasse capite XI, certe capite VII, non 6, 3, pars altera aperienda est.

XI.

In hoc capite litterae ad Doctrinam apostolorum spectantes commemorandae sunt. Primum locum obtineant editiones ac versiones.

Editio princeps sic inscribitur:

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῆς Συνόψεως τῆς Π. Δ., τῆς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, σύγκρισις καὶ μέρος ἀνέκδοτον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειρογράφου. Ὑπὸ Φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου, μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1883. Pag. CXXXXIX (ρμθ'), 75.

Editores sequentes plurimi scripturam etiam in linguam patriam transtulerunt, ita ut fere eidem sint cum interpretibus. Excipiendi sunt Hilgenfeld, Luthardt, Harnack in editione secunda vel minore, Prins et editor Scandinavus, qui textum graecum solum typis expresserunt. Majocchi et Funk textui translationem latinam adiecerunt. Alii e contra scripturam in linguam vernaculam transtulerunt, textum graecum non publicantes. Qui post editores et quidem characteribus minoribus adhibitis enumerantur, ne cum illis confundantur. Sunt autem editores et interpretes

I. Inter Germanos.

1) Adolphus Hilgenfeld, *Evangeliorum secundum Hebraeos, secundum Petrum, secundum Aegyptios, Matthiae Traditionem, Petri et Pauli Praedicationis et Actuum, Petri Apocalypseos, Didascaliae apostolorum antiquioris quae supersunt addita Doctrina XII apostolorum et libello qui appellatus »Duae viae« vel »Iudicium Petri« collegit, disposuit, emendata et aucta iterum edidit et adnotationibus illustravit, vel: Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum, fascic. IV ed. II. Lipsiae 1884. Pag. 129.*

2) Adolphus Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts.* Lipsiae 1884. Pag. 70, 294.

— Denuo: *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege.* Lipsiae 1886. Pag. 59.

3) Aug. Wünsche, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel nach der Ausgabe des Metropolitani Phil. Bryennios mit Beifügung des Urtextes nebst Einleitung und Noten.* Lipsiae 1884. Pag. 34. — Editio II facta est eodem anno.

4) E. Friedberg in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* IX, 408—425. Friburgi et Tubingae 1884.

5) C. E. Luthardt in *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* V, 139—143. Lipsiae 1884.

6) F. X. Funk, *Opera patrum apostolicorum I.* Editio nova Doctrina duodecim apostolorum adaucta. Tubingae 1887.

a) Harnack in *Theologische Litteraturzeitung* IX, 53—55 (c. 7—16). Lipsiae 1884.

- b) F. X. Funk in *Theologische Quartalschrift* LXVI, 381—393. Tübingae 1884.
- c) Anonymus in *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* XIII, 193—198. Lipsiae 1884.
- d) G. Volkmar, *Urchristliches Andachtsbuch. Die neuentdeckte urchristliche Schrift der Lehre der zwölf Apostel an die Völker*. Lipsiae et Tiguri 1885. Pag. 47. Edit. III 1887.
- e) N. Liebert, *Die neue aufgefundene Lehre der zwölf Apostel. Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*. Appendix tomi Constitutiones apostolorum continentis. Pag. 27. Campiduni 1885.
- f) Aberle in ephemeride quae inscribitur: *Ut omnes unum*. No. 72. 73. 76. Erfordiae 1885—86.

Hoc loco versio quoque hungarica commemoretur, quam G. Boros paravit in ephemeride *Magneto* et etiam separatim edidit. Claudiopoli (Kolozswar in Transilvania) 1885. Pag. 17.

II. Inter Gallos.

P. Sabatier, *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἑβ' ἀποστόλων. La Didachè ou l'enseignement des douze apôtres*. Parisiis 1885. Pag. 165.

- a) L. Duchesne in *Bulletin critique* V, 91—94 (c. 7—16). Parisiis 1884.
- b) G. Bonet-Maury, *La doctrine des douze apôtres, essai de traduction avec un commentaire critique et historique*. Parisiis 1884. Pag. 36.
- c) Anonymus in *La controverse et le Contemporain* II, 297—311. Parisiis et Lugduni 1884.

III. Inter Italos.

R. Majocchi, *La dottrina dei dodici apostoli. Documento della chiesa primitiva pubblicato nel suo testo originale con versione (latina) e commento*. Mediolani 1885. Pag. 83. (Editio recusa est e *La scuola cattolica*). Editio II Modenae 1887. Pag. 288.

- a) G. Andrullo in ephemeride *Scienza e fede*. Neapoli 1884. Translatio secundum versionem gallicam supra tertio loco commemoratam facta est, non secundum textum graecum.
- b) E. Comba in *Rivista Cristiana* XIII, 352—366. Florentiae 1885.
- c) A. Chiapelli, *Studi di antica letteratura cristiana*. Taurini 1887. Pag. 238. Idem versionem publicavit in *Nuova Antologia* 1885.

IV. Inter Batavos.

I. I. Prins, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* e codice Hierosolymitano, nunc Constantinopolitano, nuperrime edidit Ph. Bry-

ennios, in usum studiosae iuventutis repetiit. Lugduni Bat. 1884. Pag. 16.

H. U. Meiboom, *Theologisch Tijdschrift* XIX, 533—551. Lugduni Bat. 1885.

V. Inter Scandinavos.

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- a) C. Warming, *De tolv apostles laerdom. Et skrift fra det andet Kristelige arhundrede*. Hafniae 1884. Pag. 35.
- b) A. S. Paulssen in *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den danske Folkekirke* I, 576—589. Hafniae 1884,
- c) Fr. Helveg in *Dansk Kirketidende* 1884.
- d) I. E. Berggren in *Teologisk Tidsskrift grundat af A. F. Beckmann* XIII, 200—206. Upsalae 1884.
- e) C. P. Caspari in *Luthersk Ugeskrift* 1884.

VI. Inter Anglos.

1) H. de Romestin, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Illustrative Passages*. Oxonii et Londini 1884. Pag. 118.

2) C. Spence, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. A Translation with Notes; and Excursus Illustrative of the „Teaching“ and the Greek Text*. Londini 1885. Pag. 183.

- a) Fr. Farrar in *The Contemporary Review* 1884 p. 698—706.
- b) C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles with Illustrations from the Talmud*. Cantabrigiae 1886. Pag. 136.

VII. Inter Americanos.

1) R. D. Hitchcock et Fr. Brown, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles recently discovered and published by Phil. Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Edited with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes*. Neo-Eboraci 1884. Ed. II 1885. Pag. CXV, 85.

2) I. Fitzgerald, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Neo-Eboraci 1884.

3) S. St. Orris, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Text and Translation together with Critical and Illustrative Papers by Eminent Scholars*. Neo-Eboraci 1884. Pag. 84.

4) Ph. Schaff, *The oldest Church Manual called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. The Didachè and Kindred Documents in the Original with Translations and Discussions of post-apostolic Teaching, Baptism, Worship and Discipline and with Illustrations and Fac-Similes of the Jerusalem Manuscript.* Neo-Eboraci 1885. Ed. II 1886. Pag. 311. Editio post Harnackianam priorem locupletissima.

5) Hoc loco denique commemorantur tres tabulae, quibus plures codicis Constantinopolitani loci (sc. particulae epistularum Barnabae et Clementis, initium Doctrinae, catalogus librorum V. T. atque pagina codicis ultima) arte photographica repetiti et Baltimori 1885 publicati sunt sub titulo: *Three Pages of the Bryennios Manuscript, reproduced by photography for the Johns Hopkins-University. Edited, with notes, by I. Rendel Harris.*

a) Fr. Gardiner, *The recently discovered Apostolic Manuscript.* Neo-Eboraci 1884. Pag. 26.

b) I. H. Hall et I. T. Napier in *Sunday School Times.* Philadelphiae 1884.

c) C. O. Starbuck et E. C. Smyth in *The Andover Review.* Bostonii 1884.

Cum plurimi editorum atque interpretum diligenter de scriptura egerint, una cum editionibus et versionibus iam tractatus de Doctrina insigniores nominati sunt. Praeterea autem multi alii viri de scriptura disputaverunt. De prioribus tractatibus Ph. Schaff in editione Hitchcockiana (p. 65—77) et accuratius in sua (p. 140—158; ed. II p. 297—306) retulit, de recentioribus Harnack in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1886 N. 12 et 15; 1887 N. 2. Equidem non id ago, ut disputationes omnino omnes, etiam minimas ac levissimas, enumerem, eoque minus, cum plures in ephemeridibus publicatae fuerint, quas legendi paucissimi occasionem nanciscuntur. Graviorum tantum et recentissimarum hic synopsis est instituenda. Nonnullarum aliarum iam supra mentio facta est. Cf. p. XXXI—XXXIII; XLIV.

Aberle, *Die Didache und ihre Nebenformen in Literarische Rundschau.* Friburgi 1885 N. 8—9. — *Die Quellen der Lehre der zwölf Apostel in ephemeride: Ut omnes unum.* Erfordiae 1886—87 N. 87. 90.

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- Gordon, A., *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* in *The Modern Review*. Londini 1884 p. 446—480; 563—569.
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- Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*. Cantabrigiae 1885. Pag. 36.
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- Holtzmann, *Die Didache und ihre Nebenformen* in *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie* XI, 154—166. Lipsiae 1885.
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Quod denique ad hanc editionem addinet, codicem Constantinopolitanum, quantum fieri potuit, secutus sum. Paucos tantum locos correxi, sive codex lectionem certe falsam tradit, sive ceteri testes, scilicet versio latina, Barnabae epistula, Canones apostolorum ecclesiastici et Constitutionum apostolorum liber VII, lectionem haud dubie meliorem exhibent. Cf. 1, 6; 2, 2. 7; 4, 3. 7. 11; 8, 2; 9, 4; 10, 2. 4. 6; 11, 5. 9; 12, 1. 3; 13, 1; 14, 1; 15, 3. Warfield (*Bibl. Sacra* 1886 p. 100—138), reliquos testes diligenter inspiciens atque inter se conferens, suadet, ut plures alii loci emendentur, praecipue ut in inscriptione priore

vox δώδεκα omittatur, quae a patribus scripturam laudantibus non sit agnita, et articulus τῶν uncinis includatur; ut inscriptio altera deleatur; ut 1, 2 scribatur θέλῃς pro θελήσῃς et ποιήσεις pro ποίει; ut particula 1, 3—2, 1 omittatur; ut 2, 5 pro ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει scribatur κενός, οὐ ψευδής. Ego fidem illorum testium non tanti aestimo, ut codicem Constantinopolitanum adeo corrigere audeam.

Sigla, quibus in libro usus sum, haec sunt: c. = cum; add = addit vel addunt; praem = praemittit; om = omittit; con = coniecit; em = emendavit; Br = Bryennius; cod = codex Constantinopolitanus.

CANONES APOSTOLORUM ECCLESIASTICI.

Hic libellus praeter exordium (c. 1—3) et conclusionem (c. 30) in duas partes dividitur. Pars prior (c. 4—14) continet descriptionem duarum viarum vel potius viae bonae, cum haec sola exponatur, quamquam in exordio partis de duabus viis sermo sit. Pars altera de ordinatione et officiis episcopi (16), presbyterorum (17—18), lectoris (19), diaconorum (20. 22), viduarum (21) agit exponitque, quales illos oporteat esse, quomodo laici se gerere debeant (23), cur mulieribus praeter curam feminarum aegrotarum ministerium non sit commissum (24—29). In utraque parte sententiae singulae singulis apostolis attribuuntur.

Summa partis prioris e Doctrina apostolorum hausta est. Attamen auctor hanc scripturam vel eius partem moralem non totam exscripsit. Plura omisit, praesertim 1, 3—2, 1, si quidem hanc particulam in exemplari suo legit, 4, 9—14 et 5 vel finem viae vitae atque viam mortis, alia inseruit et quidem nonnulla, quae in epistula Barnabae leguntur et de quibus conferantur adnotationes ad inscriptionem, 4, 2; 12, 1; 14.

Krawutzcky ¹⁾ cum animadvertere sibi videretur, sententias

1) *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1882 p. 399—420. Cf. quae disputavi ibid. 1887 p. 364—374.

alias ad antiquitatem summam, alias ad tempus posterius referendas et nonnullos locos non esse intellegendos, nisi ponere-mus, auctorem scripturam aliquam veterem exscripsisse nec semper feliciter mutasse, ut priorem ita etiam alteram libelli partem ex aliis scripturis compilatam esse conclusit. Harnack, cum de diaconis bis sermo sit, ab auctore duas scripturas adhibitas et ex una capita 16—21, ex altera capita 22—28 vel 29 deprompta esse contendit. Illam, in qua Κατάστασις τοῦ κλήρου exposita fuisset, idem olim ¹⁾ ad saeculum III iniens, hanc vel Κατάστασιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ad saeculum II exiens retulit; nuperrime ²⁾ utramque tempori Iustini martyris et epistularum pastoralium, quas non a Paulo apostolo, sed circa vel paullo post saeculum II medium confectas esse putat, adscripsit atque fragmenta nobis servata tanquam monumenta antiquissima separatim edidit et commentario amplissimo instruxit.

Equidem sententiae assentiri nequeo. Auctorem libelli secundam partem totam ex ingenio suo scripsisse nequaquam dico. E contrario verisimile puto, eum hic ut in parte priore alias scripturas in usum suum convertisse. Eumque epistula Clementis ad Corinthios usum esse insuper plane patet. Cf. adnot. ad 12, 2; 22, 2; 23, 1—3. Minime autem demonstratum est, eum ex duobus fontibus tantum hausisse, quantum Harnack ex scripturis antiquioribus repetendum esse censuit. Inde, quod duobus locis de diaconis loquitur, nequaquam sequitur, eum duas scripturas de ordinatione cleri vel ecclesiae agentes exscripsisse. Non enim secundo loco idem dicit, quod primo exposuit, sed potius unam vel duas ex sententiis prioribus amplificat confirmatque. Praeterea cum c. 21 de viduis vel diaconissis sermo sit, loci non proprie separati sunt; capita 20—22 potius coniungenda ac pars habenda sunt, quae officia diaconorum et viduarum vel diaconissarum continet. Porro dicendi genus capita ab uno eodemque auctore profecta esse satis clare probat. Neque ex eo, quod c. 19—20 (22) de lectore prius agitur quam de diaconis, cum c. 3 diaconi lectori anteponantur, colligendum est, illam libelli

1) *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel* II, 212—217.

2) *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. altchristl. Litteratur* II, V (1886), 55.

partem ex scriptura antiquiore depromptam fuisse. Fieri potuit, ut auctor ordinem, quem in introductione secutus est, postea inverteret, atque ideo hoc fecisse videtur, quia de lectore non post viduas vel diaconissas agere voluit, quarum officia una cum officiis diaconorum exponenda erant. Fortasse etiam eo, quod in capite praecedente, ut Duchesne coniecit ¹⁾, de liturgia et de clericis ministerio altaris occupatis dixit, adductus est, ut confestim ad eum clericum transiret, qui in liturgia quidem munere fungebatur, extra eam autem officium ecclesiasticum non exercebat. Neque propter verba libelli 18, 1 denique auctor scripturam antiquiorem adhibuisse eamque minus prudenter mutasse putandus est. Cf. quae ad hunc locum adnotata sunt.

Cum praeter lectorem nullius ordinum minorum mentio fiat, libellus parte saeculi III priore neque postea conscriptus esse videtur. De provinciis ecclesiasticis c. 3 loquens auctor tempus posterius non prodit, ut putaverunt Krawutzcky et Harnack, qui libellum ad initium saeculi IV retulerunt. Vox ἐπαρχία quidem in litteris christianis primo nobis occurrit saeculo IV ineunte, quo tempore a Synodo Nicaena can. 6 adhibita fuit. Docet autem eadem synodus, de more antiquo in ecclesia conservando dicens, τὰς ἐπαρχίας saeculo IV ineunte non fuisse aliquid novi, sed iam diu exstitisse. In Oriente insuper ecclesiam iam saeculo III in provincias divisam fuisse inde apparet, quod Firmilianus Caesareensis ad Cyprianum Carthaginensem scribit, apud sese per singulos annos seniores et praepositos in unum convenire ad disponenda ea, quae curae ipsorum commissa essent, ut, si qua graviora essent, communi consilio dirigerentur (Epist. inter Cypr. 75, 4).

Testis libelli inter veteres Rufinus esse videtur. Namque verba: Duae viae vel Iudicium Petri, quibus in Expositione in symbolum apostolorum (c. 38) scripturam designat, potius ad illum quam ad Doctrinam apostolorum referenda sunt. Et si haec interpretatio recta est, etiam Hieronymus notitiam libelli habuisse putandus est, cum in Catalogo c. 1 inter scripturas apocryphas Petri adscriptas librum commemoret Iudicium ap-

1) *Bulletin critique* 1886 p. 367.

pellatum. Res autem non est certa. Libellus a Rufino commemoratus fortasse scriptura similis nunc deperdita fuit. Cf. supra p. VII.

Ubi libellus confectus sit, ex ipso cum certitudine colligi nequit. Fontes enim, ex quibus auctor hausit, non idonea testimonia sunt, cum scripturae non solum ibi legantur, ubi exortae sunt, sed etiam in alias provincias perveniant. Cum autem libellus in ecclesia aegyptiaca auctoritatem adeptus sit, eum in Aegypto compositum esse concludere licet.

Libellus tribus codicibus graecis et versionibus pluribus veteribus traditus est.

Codices illi sunt:

1) Vindobonensis hist. graec. olim numero 45, nunc 7 signatus, saeculi XII ut videtur, membranaceus, in folio. Scripturam fol. 4^b—7^b exhibet. Bickell eum primus et quidem satis accurate excussit. Postea Pitra eum inspexit legitque praesertim verba οὗς δὲ παρακαλοῦντες 20, 3, quae ille praetermisit. Nonnulla autem uterque minus recte legit. Codex et pluribus mendis foedatus est, et aliquot locis textum meliorem habet, quam viri illi viderunt vel adnotaverunt. Cf. 6, 3; 11, 3; 12, 1; 16, 2; 23, 3. Lectiones, quae alicuius momenti sunt, in notis exscripsi. Scripturae vitia autem ex itacismo exorta vel alia scriptionis menda, etiamsi Bickell eorum rationem non reddidit, non notanda esse mihi videbantur.

2) Ottobonianus 408 saec. XIV. Lectiones publicavit Pitra in editione, quam instituit. Codex autem non totum libellum exhibet, sed partem priorem tantum vel descriptionem viarum duarum, neque hanc integram; praeterit enim non solum inscriptionem et capita tria priora, sed etiam plurima, quae auctor Canonum Doctrinae apostolorum adiecit, praesertim in capite VIII, et caput XIV, pro quo autem nonnullas sententias ex ea Doctrinae parte communicat, quam ille neglexit. Neque plura quam exhibet codex ipse promittere videtur, cum titulus libellus his verbis conceptus sit: Ἐπιτομή ὅρων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καθολικῆς παραδόσεως.

3) Mosquensis, biblioth. S. Synodi 125 saec. X. Codex eandem fere libelli partem continet, quam Ottobonianus, scilicet

capita IV—XIV; plura quoque omisit, praeter sententias breviores (cf. 8, 3; 12, 1—3; 13, 1—4) caput XI totum, et caput XIV capiti XII praeposuit. Vulgavit codicis scripturam O. de Gebhardt in editione Patrum apostolicorum secunda, quam una cum A. Harnack et Th. Zahn instituit, fasc. I part. II p. XXIX—XXXI.

Versiones veteres sunt:

1) *Aethiopica*, quam a. 1691 una cum versione latina typis expressit Iob Ludolf in Commentario suo ad Historiam Aethiopicam p. 314—323.

2) *Coptica*, quam a. 1848 H. Tattam vulgavit in libro qui inscribitur: *The Apostolical Constitutions, or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic*, adiecta versione anglica, quam repetiit Philippus Schaff in editione *Doctrinae apostolorum* p. 249—257.

3) *Thebaica*, de qua nonnulla nobis communicavit I. B. Lightfoot in Appendice editionis epistularum S. Clementis (1877) p. 466—469, quamque totam imprimendam curavit a. 1883 P. A. de Lagarde in libro, qui inscribitur *Aegyptiaca*, p. 239—248;

4) *Syriaca*, cuius lectiones variantes a. 1856 publici iuris fecit Lagarde in Reliquiis iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimis p. XXI sq.

Editionem principem ex codice Vindobonensi collata versione aethiopica paravit a. 1843 I. Guil. Bickell in tomo primo *Historiae iuris ecclesiasticae* p. 107—132. Secutus est P. A. de Lagarde. Editione illa ac versione coptica adhibita editionem instituit, quam C. I. Bunsen in tomo secundo *Analectorum Antenicænorum* p. 451—460 a. 1854 imprimendam curavit. Denuo idem textum recensuit in Reliquiis iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimis p. 74—79 a. 1856. Quartam editionem debemus Cardinali I. B. Pitra, qui codice Vindobonensi denuo inspecto ac codice Ottoboniano adhibito libellum a. 1864 publicavit in tomo primo p. 77—86 operis, cui titulus est: *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*. Cui successit A. Hilgenfeld. Recepit scripturam in fasciculo quarto p. 95—106 *Novi Testamenti extra canonem recepti* a. 1866, eamque in huius operis vel fasciculi editione altera a. 1884 iterum recusat. Nuperrime denique editores *Doctrinae apostolorum* non-

nulli etiam Canones ecclesiasticos typis expresserunt, cum in eos pars scripturae illius prior transisset, et quidem Ph. Bryennius repetiit editionem Hilgenfeldianam priorem, A. Harnack lectionibus codicum graecorum et versionum veterum diligenter collatis textum denuo recensuit, partem libelli alteram tanquam fragmenta scripturarum antiquissimarum idem, ut iam supra (p. LIV) vidimus, commentario amplissimo adornavit, huiusque textum recusit Ph. Schaff. Emendationes aliquot proposuit a. 1876 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in ephemeride, cui titulus est *Hermes*, t. X p. 341 sq. not. 1.

Textum denuo recensens praeter codices graecos, inter quos primum locum obtinet Vindobonensis, cui soli libellum integrum debemus, adhibui praesertim Doctrinam apostolorum, quippe quae sit fons partis libelli prioris. Contuli etiam versiones veteres, quae nonnullis saltem locis ad emendandum textum aliquid contribuunt. Versio thebaica autem accuratius consuli non potuit, cum Lagarde eam ediderit interpretatione latina non adiecta et ego linguae copticae ignarus sim. Libellus in capita XXX divisi, sequens versionem thebaicam et plures editores, inter quos Lagarde primus est. Lectiones codicis Vindobonensis, quem anno 1886 ipse excussi ac signavi V, praeter menda scripturae omnes notatae sunt. Lectiones autem codicum Ottoboniani (O) et Mosquensis (M) non omnes exscriptae sunt, sed eae tantum, quae maioris momenti esse videntur vel a duobus testibus traduntur. Versiones signantur aethiopica A, coptica C, syriaca S, thebaica T, Doctrina apostolorum D. Quae auctor ex hac scriptura desumpsit, ea characteribus minoribus expressi.

CONSTITUTIONUM APOSTOLORUM

LIBER VII.

Quaestio de ortu Constitutionum apostolorum difficillima hic non uberius est tractanda. Pauca tantum exponantur.

Libri sex priores in duabus recensitionibus leguntur. Recensio brevior versione tantum syriaca traditur, quam Lagarde

et edidit et in linguam graecam retrovertit ¹⁾. Recensio longior in libris sex prioribus operis graeci, quod ad nos pervenit, atque in ceteris versionibus orientalibus exstat. Diu disputabatur, utra recensio prior, num Didascalia apostolorum vel recensio brevior a posteriore interpolata atque amplificata an Constitutiones apostolorum decurtatae fuissent. Hoc tempore omnes consentire videntur, Didascaliam apostolorum priorem esse.

Scriptura haud dubie saeculo III exorta est. Qua autem saeculi parte conscripta sit, minus clarum est. Cum episcopus II, 11—18 graviter admoneatur, ut peccatores paenitentes recipiat neque semper reiciat, eam nonnisi schismate Novatiani exorto confectam esse aliquis concluderit. Sed auctor l. c. etiam Montanistas vel alios disciplinae severioris sectatores respicere potuit. Itaque non est certum, scripturam post Novatianum compositam esse. Nihil sane continet, quod impediatur, quin eam saeculo III medio vel etiam paullo prius exaratam esse censeamus.

De recensione longiore vel Constitutionibus apostolorum ante omnia nobis quaerendum est, num libri I—VI et liber VII ab uno eodemque viro conscripti vel potius interpolati fuerint, cum utraque scriptura e libro veteriore proveniret. Quaestio affirmanda esse videtur. Non solum nihil contrarium indicat, sed etiam plura utramque scripturam ab eodem auctore amplificatam esse probant. In utraque enim libri Psalmorum et Proverbiorum praesertim ad textum illustrandum ab interpolatore adhibiti sunt. Deinde quae VII, 2 de paederastia et fornicatione et furto dicuntur, eis simillima sunt, quae interpolator II, 10 et VI, 28 Didascaliae apostolorum inseruit. Cf. adnot. ad VII, 2. Neque praetermittendum est, quod auctor libri VII c. 22 lectorem distincte ad partem priorem provocat. Unde non solum evidenter apparet, eum librum VII cum prioribus coniunxisse, sed etiam verisimile fit, eum utramque partem in eam formam redegisse, quam in Constitutionibus apostolorum habet ²⁾.

Quo autem tempore interpolator vixit? Plerique eum Se-

1) Didascalia apostolorum syriace 1854. *Analecta Antenicaena* ed. Bunsen t. II 1854.

2) Zahn. *Forschungen* III, 282, verisimile censet, non interpolatorem librorum I—VI, sed posteriorem aliquem libros VII—VIII illis addidisse.

miarianum putantes saeculo IV medio scripsisse indicant. Harnack eum ad annos 340—380 vel potius 340—343 retulit¹⁾. Rationes vero, quibus sententiam probare studuit, non satis firmæ sunt. Cum in symbolo, quod VII, 41 legitur, uberius de Christo agatur, colligendum esse censuit, tempore interpolatoris controversiam Arianam vel Nicaenam iam exortam fuisse, cumque symbolum vocem *ὁμοούσιος* non contineat, exhibeat autem verba *ὅ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*, quae formula, ceteroquin aliis verbis expressa, primum in symbolis synodi Antiochenae a. 341 apparet et Marcellum Ancyranum respicere putatur, contendit, symbolum formulis huius synodi et re et tempore propinquum esse. At de Christo non minus copiose iam symbolum Luciani martyris agit²⁾. Verba *ὅ τῆς βασιλείας κτλ.* autem non solum Marcello, sed etiam Sabellio et Paulo Samosatensi opponi potuerunt³⁾. Quae cum ita sint neque alia vestigia temporis posterioris certa in opere inveniantur, interpolatorem etiam ante synodum Nicaenam vel saeculo IV ineunte scripsisse statuere licet.

Aliter de aetate interpolatoris sentiendum esset, si idem esset cum eo, qui epistulas Ignatii amplificavit quique non ante annum 360, probabiliter non ante finem saeculi IV scripsit. Harnack revera nuperrime, aequè ac saeculo XVII Usher, Pseudoclementem et Pseudoignatium eundem esse contendit⁴⁾. Rem autem non demonstravit. E contrario plura argumenta Pseudoignatium alium fuisse ac Pseudoclementem indicant. Unum hic commemoretur. Pseudoignatius non solum post Nicaenam scripsit, sed etiam haud dubie a partibus Apollinaristarum stetit. Itaque tempore vixit, ad quod Pseudoclementem nemo referre audet⁵⁾.

Num interpolator librorum I—VII cum his etiam librum

1) *Die Lehre der zw. Ap.* Proleg. p. 170 sq. 265 sq.

2) Athan. De synod. Arim. et Seleuc. c. 23. Socrat. H. E. II, 10. Symbolum a synodo Antiochena a. 341 repetitum est. Lucianum autem esse auctorem testatur Sozomenus H. E. II, 5; VI, 12.

3) Drey, *Neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutionen und Kanones der Apostel* 1832 p. 101 sq.

4) L. c. p. 244—266.

5) Cf. Funk, *Opp. patrum apost. t. II* p. X—XIII. Lightfoot, S. Ignatius 1885 t. I p. 249 sqq.

VIII coniunxerit, etiam difficilius est ad definiendum. Attamen nonnulla indicia probare videntur, illum totum opus, appendice Canonum apostolorum excepta, in eam formam redegisse, in qua nunc legitur.

Haec hic satis dicta sint. Accuratius de quaestione brevi disputabo in *Theologische Quartalschrift*.

Librum VII diligenter inspicientes animadvertimus, Pseudoclementem Doctrinam apostolorum fere totam transcripsisse, pauca vero omisisse vel mutasse, scilicet ea, quae ad statum ecclesiae, qui erat suo tempore, iam non erant consentanea, praesertim Doctr. 11, 3--12, ubi de apostolis vel praedicatoribus fidei peregrinantibus et prophetis agitur. Quae autem Doctrinae adiciebantur, ea maximam in partem e S. Scriptura desumpta sunt. Exempli gratia mandata, quae Doctrina c. 2^a exhibet, fere omnia dictis biblicis confirmantur. Ut facile cognoscas, quae sint auctoris Doctrinae, quae interpolatoris, quae S. Scripturae, verba Doctrinae characteribus minoribus, verba S. Scripturae a Pseudoclemente addita in versione latina litteris obliquis expressi; verba autem biblica iam in Doctrina exstantia non denuo nec litteris mutatis nec in notis indicanda esse mihi videbantur.

Editionem Constitutionum apostolorum principem paravit Fr. Turrianus Venetiis a. 1563, editiones novissimas P. A. de Lagarde (Constitutiones apostolorum, Lipsiae 1862) et I. B. Pitra, S. E. R. Cardinalis, in primo volumine operis, quod inscribitur: Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta (Romae 1864). Equidem textum repetii editoris recentissimi, qui decem codices inspexit; aliquot autem locos, ubi Pitra per negligentiam vel alia ex causa errasse videtur, respiciens editionem Lagardianam emendavi.

EPISTULA BARNABAE.

De ratione inter Doctrinam apostolorum et Barnabae epistolam intercedente iam supra disputatum est. Cf. VIII—X. Alia infra dicentur, ubi epistolae capita XVIII—XX ita recusa sunt,

ut ea, quae e Doctrina apostolorum repetita quaeque Barnabae sunt, litteris discernantur. Hic pauca de auctore et tempore scripturae addenda sunt.

Non defuerunt nostris diebus, qui epistolam Barnabae apostolo attribuendam esse censebant, quippe qui a veteribus omnibus auctor haberetur, praesertim Freppel ¹⁾, Jungmann ²⁾, Nirschl ³⁾. Argumenta vero, quae attulerunt, non sunt valida. Testimonia veterum non omnino probant. Vix minus unanimes veteres opera pseudoclementina Clementi Romano adiudicant quam epistolam nostram Barnabae apostolo, et nihilominus nemo est, qui opera illa aliam originem habere ignoret. Quod autem maxime prohibet, ne epistolam a Barnaba apostolo scriptam esse iudicemus, est scripturae sententia de vetere testamento, apostolorum sententiae plane repugnans. Cum enim apostoli agnoscant, sacrificia et praecepta caerimonialia testamenti veteris, modo ad tempus, a Deo instituta esse, auctor epistolae eis omnem vim abiudicat eaque nonnisi per errorem vel Satana Iudaeos decipiente (cf. Barn. 9, 4) orta esse exponit copioseque demonstrat. Num apostolus vel socius apostolorum talia scripsisse putari potest? Equidem valde dubito.

Tempus epistolae plures e capite XVI elucere putant. Cum ibi de templo erigendo sermo sit ac Hadrianus imperio ineunte Iudaeis permissionem templi reaedificandi dedisse tradatur, epistolam annis 117—120 vel 117—125 confectam esse colligunt. Loman ⁴⁾ nuper loco illo innisus epistolam ad annos imperio Hadriani ultimos vel 135—138 retulit. At templum, quod aedificatum iri dicit Barnabas, non templum Iudaeorum lapideum, sed templum spirituale vel ecclesia Christi est. Etiam si autem locus de templo Hierosolymitano intellegendus esset, epistolam Hadriano imperante confectam esse nequaquam sequeretur. Non enim certum est, hunc imperatorem Iudaeis templum reaedificare permisisse. Praeterea cum Iudaei templum, postquam deletum erat, semper reaedificatum iri sperarent, Barnabas etiam priore

1) *Les pères apostoliques et leur époque* ed. III 1870 p. 88 sqq.

2) *Revue catholique de Louvain* 1882 t. 53 p. 271 sqq.

3) *Lehrbuch der Patrologie* 1881 t. 1 p. 53—57.

4) *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 1884 t. 18 p. 182—218.

tempore de eo erigendo loqui potuit. Quam ob rationem Harnack ¹⁾ nuperrime scripturam inter annos 96 et 125 exaratam esse concessit.

Mihi tempus epistolae potius e capite IV definiendum esse videtur, ubi rex parvus commemoratur, decem antecessores habens eorumque tres simul humilians. Locus haud dubie ex historia Romanorum explicandus est, et Nerva revera undecimus ille rex haberi potest. In catalogo imperatorum quidem nostro Nerva duodecimum locum obtinet; facile autem undecimus appellabatur, cum Vitellius in Aegypto non fuisset agnitus. Idem vero tres antecessores simul deposuisse dici potuit, et quidem duplici ex causa, tum quia Vespasianus, Titus ac Domitianus unius stirpis erant, tum quia Domitianus teste Suetonio (Domit. c. 15) duos filios Titi Flavii Clementis consulis Caesares elegit. Nerva ergo profecto tribus regibus simul depositis ad imperium pervenit. Nonnulli regem parvum de Vespasiano vel de Domitiano interpretati sunt. Sed ille, etiamsi iam Iulius Caesar numeratur, inter imperatores nonnisi decimum locum obtinet; hic quomodo tres antecessores simul humiliaverit, plane incognitum est. Itaque scripturam Nerva imperante vel tempore proximo exortam esse iure meritoque censemus. Cf. quae de tempore epistolae disputavi in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1884 p. 3—33.

FRAGMENTUM LATINUM.

Fragmentum Doctrinae apostolorum latinum, quod in hoc libro quinto vel ultimo loco typis expressi, codice traditur, qui in clauastro Melk in Austria inferiore sito asservatur. Iam a Bernardo Pez a. 1723 in parte secunda tomi quarti Thesauri anecdotorum novissimo p. 5 sq. editum est. Nuperrime O. de Gebhardt primus animum ad fragmentum advertit eiusque textum in editione Doctrinae Harnackiana p. 275—286 recusit illustravitque.

Codex, qui aliquamdiu deperditus esse videbatur, mense

1) *Die Lehre der zw. Ap.* Proleg. p. 85 not. 9.

autem Augusto anni 1886, quo in claustro aderam, rursus inventus est, est membranaceus, saec. IX vel X, formae octavae maioris, numero 914, olim Q 52 signatus. Continet primo homilias super pericopas epistolarias anni ecclesiastici a dominica prima post Pentecosten usque ad dominicam primam ante nativitatem Domini. Deinde sequuntur homiliae super epistulas festorum Dedicationis ecclesiae, omnium apostolorum, sanctorum martyrum, sacerdotum et virginum atque nonnullae aliae. Quibus succedit fol. 114^a—115^a Ammonitio sive praedicatio sancti Bonifatii episcopi de abrenuntiatione in baptismo. Fol. 115^b denique leguntur nonnulla dicta S. Augustini et fragmentum Doctrinae apostolorum. Hoc B. Pez una cum sermone S. Bonifatii de abrenuntiatione in baptismo imprimendum curavit et ego infra accuratius edidi. Dicta autem illa sunt verba, quibus Augustinus librum de fide et symbolo terminavit, scilicet: *Haec est fides, quae paucis verbis tenenda in symbolo novellis Christianis datur. Quae pauca verba fidelibus nota sunt, ut credendo [subiungitur Deo], subiugati recte vivant, recte vivendo cor mundent, corde mundato quod credunt intellegant. Verba subiungitur Deo, quae uncinis inclusi, desunt in codice*¹⁾.

Quando versio exorta est? Inde quod Lactantius Divin. Instit. VI, 3 de duabus viis agens etiam de duobus ducibus viis praepositis dicit atque sectatores viarum alterum luce perenni potiri, alterum ad occasum et tenebras deferri exponit, colligendum esse videtur, hunc scriptorem iam textum nostrum latinum cognitum habuisse, qui doctrinam de duabus viis proponens solus imagines illas omnes exhibet. Praeterea denotare licet, Lactantium Epit. c. 64 praeceptis non occidendi, non adulterandi, non falsi testimonii dicendi propositis de adulando agere et de hoc vitio dicentem propius ad versionem nostram accedere, in qua (2, 6) ὑποκριτής adulator appellatur. Attamen Lactantium versionem legisse minime certum est. Div. Instit. VI, 3 accuratius inspiciens cognoscet, sententiis vel imaginibus apud gentilibus usitatis eum commotum fuisse, ut de ducibus duabus viis praepositis atque de luce et tenebris diceret

1) Cf. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1886 p. 650—655.

(cf. adnot. ad 1, 1), et si hoc ita est, alteri argumento nimium ponderis non est attribuendum. Cum Lactantius Epit. c. 64 quatuor tantum peccata impugnet et quidem tria, quae in Decalogo quoque enumerantur, dubitaverim, num locum scribens Doctrinam apostolorum in mente habuerit, et ex versione latina ipsius expositio eo minus repetenda est, cum ad peccata designanda, voce *adulari* sola excepta, aliis prorsus verbis utatur quam Latinus. Sin autem Lactantius versionis testis non est habendus, de quaestione supra proposita id tantum cum certitudine dici potest, versionem ante saeculum IX vel X confectam esse, quo tempore codex Mellicensis scriptus est. Rufinus et Pseudocyprianus, Latini ceteri, qui Doctrinam apostolorum cognitam habuerunt, ad quaestionem solvendam nihil conferunt, cum ille praeter titulum scripturae nihil exhibeat, hic locum alleget ex ea Doctrinae parte, quae in versione deest. Attamen considerans, patres latinos veteres nullam fere scripturae notitiam prodere, non sine iure concludere mihi videor, versionem tempore potius recentiore quam antiquiore exaratam esse. Si enim Doctrina iam saeculis prioribus apud Latinos circumferebatur, nonne mirum est, in sermonibus ad catechumenos et competentes crebris, qui ex saeculis IV—VII ad nos pervenerunt, eius nusquam fieri mentionem? Aut fortasse ponendum est, scripturam quidem dignam existimatam fuisse, quae in linguam latinam transferretur, translata vero prorsus neglectam fuisse ¹⁾?

Quomodo scriptura latina confecta est? Eam non puram versionem textus graeci esse iam Gebhardt vidit. Latinus aliquot verba habet, quae nullus alius testis agnoscit, scilicet 1, 1 *in sacculo*, 1, 2 *aeternum*, 2, 6 *cupidus*. Deinde 1, 1 nonnulla exhibet, quae nonnisi in epistula Barnabae vel in Hermiae Pastore leguntur. Porro ordo sententiarum 2, 2. 3 in fragmento latino plane singularis est. Duo tantum commemorentur. Cum reliqui testes, scilicet Doctrina apostolorum graeca vel codex Constantinopolitanus, Canones ecclesiastici, Constitutiones apostolorum et Syntagma Doctrinae (in quo autem mandatum secundum non transcriptum est; Barnabas praetermittendus est, cum ordinem

1) Cf. *Theologische Quartalschrift* 1887 p. 359—61.

sententiarum prorsus deturbaverit), particulam mandato non occidendi incipiant et mandato falsi testimonii non dandi locum undecimum attribuant, Latinus illud mandatum secundo, hoc tertio loco ponit, exordium praecepto non adulterandi faciens. Denique apud Latinum aliqua verba desunt, quae apud reliquos testes (sc. οὐ κλέπτεις 2, 2) vel saltem in codice Constantino-politano (ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει 2, 5) leguntur. Interpres igitur, cum a testibus ceteris omnibus tantopere discedat, vix exemplar graecum fideliter transtulisse putandus est, sed potiore iure est concludendum, eum versionem ita confecisse, ut exemplari graeco nonnulla seu de suo seu de aliqua alia scriptura adderet, nonnulla mutaret vel omitteret. Alias statuendum esset, illud exemplar una cum reliquis eiusdem recensiois exemplaribus deinceps aut brevi deperiisse aut ab omnibus neglectum fuisse ²⁾).

Warfield ³⁾ quidem aliter sentit vel censet, Latinum non a Barnaba aliquid esse mutuatum, sed potius ambo, interpretem et Barnabam, recensione Doctrinae apostolorum vetastiore pariter usos esse, et inde proficiscens, quod alias exordium Doctrinae latinae vel verba: *in his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus acquitatis, alter iniquitatis*, non solum a Barnaba (18, 1), sed etiam a Pastore Hermae (Mand. VI, 2, 1) pendere putanda essent, ad sententiam illam reprobendam ita argumentatur: nisi statuerimus, Latinum et Barnabam e communi fonte hausisse vetustissimo, nobis ponendum esse: 1) Hermam locum composuisse, Barnabam deturbasse et Latinum (casu) ab huius forma in illius formam redegissee; 2) Barnabam locum scripsisse, Latinum autem et Hermam, alterum ab altero non pendentem, adeo similiter mutasse; 3) Barnabam et Latinum invicem se non respicientes ab Herma velut auctore loci principe mutuatos esse; 4) Latinum a Barnaba atque Hermam a Latino pendere; omnes vero has solutiones aequaliter a veri similitudine abhorreere. At

2) Latinam Barnabae epistolam respexisse etiam Mc Giffert sentit in *The Andover Review* V, 430—442 cf. VI, 84.

3) Bibliotheca sacra 1886 p. 106. *The Andover Review* VI, 85 sq. Cf. stemma supra p. XXVII propositum. In tractatu priore, quem Schaff in sua Doctrinae editione p. 220—225 inseruit, Warfield textum latinum etiam Barnabae fontem esse iudicavit.

de loco vel locis non illis tantum modis sentiendum est. Cogitare quoque licet, Latinum respexisse et Barnabam et Hermam horumque dicta in unum conflavisse, atque haec sententia illi eo magis praefenda est, cum Warfield praeterea ponat necesse sit, exemplar illud sane antiquissimum, quo Barnabas usus est, iam corruptum fuisse. Similiter multi alii locos scriptorum diversorum similes in unum contraxerunt. Lectorem ad Iustinum martyrem sufficit provocare, qui mandatum maximum vel mandatum amoris Dei (Matth. 22, 36--38) ita allegat, ut verbis quoque utatur, quae Dominus Satanae se tentanti dixit (Matth. 4, 10) eisque, ut iam supra vidimus, etiam verba Doctrinae apostolorum addat. Scripsit enim Apol. I, 16: Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, οὕτως ἔπεισεν εἰπὼν· Μεγίστη ἐντολὴ ἐστὶ· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, κύριον τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε. Quod si Iustinus fecit, estne difficilius intellectu, interpretem nostrum exordium Doctrinae verbis Barnabae aliquot illustrasse et amplificasse atque Barnabae verbis pauca similia e Pastore Hermae addidisse?

ADDENDA.

Ad Doctr. 1, 2. Locis regulam auream continentibus notatis adde S. Augustini sermonem de symbolo vel ad catechumenos alterum c. 6, ubi legimus: Ad diem et mortem latentis peccati lex ista est generalis: Quod tibi non fieri vis, alii ne feceris. Aug. Opp. ed. Bened. Venet. 1763 VII, II, 1634.

Ad Doctr. 6, 3 cf. etiam Martyrium Sanctorum Carpi et Papyli et Agathonices, quod B. Aubé, *L'Église et l'État dans la seconde moitié du III^e siècle* 1885 p. 499—506, nuper primus edidit. Consuli monenti, ut sacrificet diis, Carpus respondet: οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς οὐ θύουσιν (p. 501).

Ad Doctr. 9, 2. Vitem David h. l. commemoratam Behm (cf. p. LI) respiciens Iust. Dialog. c. 110, ubi vitis a Deo et Christo salvatore plantata ipsius populus declaratur, vix recte, de populo Dei (cum capite arcissime coniuncto) interpretatur.

I. B. de Rossi (cf. p. LII) e disciplina quam dicunt arcani explicat, quod Doctrina de eucharistia agens de mysterio corporis et sanguinis redemptoris non verba facit, de quo praeter Paulum apostolum I Cor. 10, 16 Ignatius ad Smyrn. 7, 1 et Iustinus Apol. I, 65—67 diserte loquuntur. Verba Doctrinae 7, 2. 3 per auctorem Constitutionum apostolorum idem censet ideo esse suppressa, quia eius tempore iam piscinae baptismales exstabant, ita ut aqua ad hominem immergendum necessaria raro deesset atque forma immersionis, nisi baptizandus fuit aegrotus, fere semper adhiberi posset.

Ad pag. XLVIII. Versio hungarica apparuit 1884 (non 1885) et in ephemeride *Magvető-Böl* (non *Magneto*).

Ad pag. LI addas: Bonhöffer, *Der religiöse Standpunkt der Zwölf-apostellehre in Theologische Studien aus Württemberg* VIII, 151—178. Ludovicoburgi 1887.

T E X T U S.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

I. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, δια-
5 φορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. 2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς

Tit. Codex duos exhibet titulos, de quibus magna controversia exorta est. Quaeritur, num uterque genuinus sit, et si non, uter auctori sit attribuendus. Plerique, qui unum authenticum putant, secundum praeferunt, cum minus sit verisimile, posteriores breviori titulo longiorem substituuisse, et si recte sentiunt, vox *ἔθνη* de Christianis e gentilibus intellegenda est, quem sensum in literis christianis veteribus saepius habet. Harnack contulit Rom. 11, 13 (?); Gal. 2, 12. 14; Eph. 3, 1; Testam. patriarch. XII, 11 et inscriptiones epistulae ad Hebraeos et Evangelii secundum Hebraeos. Titulus ergo titulis harum scripturarum similis esset, in quibus Hebraei sunt Christiani ex Iudaeis. Sententiae dicunt neque patres obstare, qui titulum breviorē omnes allegant, neque verba *ταῦτα πάντα προοιπόντες βαπτίζατε* 7, 1, e quibus partem scripturae priorem ad catechumenos instruendos destinatam fuisse eluceat; Christianos certe fuisse, qui sermo-

nem pronuntiaverint, et verba *κυρίου διὰ* facile a posterioribus omitti potuisse, quippe qui scripturam ab apostolis ipsis confectam esse putaverint nec perspexerint, quo sensu *διδαχὴ κυρίου* appellata sit. Argumenta, quibus sententia nititur, non parvi aestimanda sunt. Attamen ei assentiri non possum. Cum pars scripturae prior seu ea, quae titulum protinus sequitur, de catechumenis instituendis agat, vox *ἔθνη* potius de gentilibus ad Christianam religionem se convertentibus quam de Christianis e gentilibus intellegenda est. Inde autem, quod titulus ad partem scripturae tantum refertur, non est colligendum, scripturam olim ex capitibus I—VI solis constitisse aut titulum longiorem a librario adiectum esse. Cum dimidia fere scripturae pars catechumenis erudiendis inserviret, auctor ipse titulum longiorem priori addere potuit, ut indicaret, quibus pars illa destinata esset. Si res ita se habet, alius sane titulus parte priore finita expectan-

DOCTRINA DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM.

Doctrina Domini per duodecim apostolos gentibus tradita.

I. Duae viae sunt, altera vitae et altera mortis, sed multum interest inter duas vias. 2. Via igitur lucis haec est: 5

us esse videtur. Titulus vero ab auctore facile omitti potuit, cum verbis *ταῦτα πάντα προσιπόντες* satis clare partem alteram incipere indicaret. — Voces *διδασχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* et *διδασχὴ τοῦ κυρίου* etiam in S. Scriptura leguntur, illae Act. 2, 42, hae Act. 13, 12. Tit. 2, 10 *διδασκαλία τοῦ σωτῆρος*, II Ioann. 9 *διδασχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* commemoratur. Iustinus Apol. I, 53 *τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ* (sc. Ἰησοῦ) *διδασχῆς* mentionem facit. Auctor Ascensionis Iesaeiae (saeculo II ineunte ut videtur conscriptae) c. 3 ed. Dillmann p. 13 scribit, Christo adveniente praedicaturos esse discipulos eius doctrinam duodecim apostolorum. Vocem *δέδεκα* Warfield (Biblioth. sacra 1886 p. 110) in titulo breviori, quem solum genuinum habet, delendam esse putat, cum neque a Latino neque a patribus scripturam laudantibus agnita sit. Sed res ex contrario evenisse videtur. Longe enim verisimilius est, titulum a patribus abbreviatum quam a librario ampli-

catum fuisse. Auctori vox ideo quae addenda erat, quia etiam de aliis apostolis quam de duodecim loqui voluit. Cf. 11, 3.

I, 1. De viis in S. Scriptura sexcenties sermo est, de via Domini et de via hominum, de via iustorum et de via peccatorum, de via aequitatis et de via iniquitatis etc. Viae vitae et mortis commemorantur Ierem. 21, 8. Cf. Baruch 4, 1; Prov. 12, 28; Matth. 7, 13—14. Barnabas 18, 1, descriptionem duarum viarum exordiens, loquitur de via lucis et de via tenebrarum (I Ioann. 1, 5—7); 19, 2 et 20, 1 autem etiam viam mortis dicit. Auctor Testam. patriarch. X, 1 de viis boni et mali loquitur. Clemens Alexandrinus cum Strom. V, 5, 31 p. 664 ed. Potter scribat, duas vias statuere Evangelium et apostolos et prophetas (Ps. 1), credere aliquis possit, eum initium Doctrinae apostolorum ante oculos habuisse. Res vero non est certa. Clemens potuit etiam I Ioann. 1, 5—7 respicere.

ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει. 3. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδασχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη· *Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν*

2. πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις κτλ.] Vocibus πρῶτον et δεύτερον et mandata amoris Dei et proximi coniungens auctor prodit se Novum Testamentum respexisse, ubi verba leguntur Matth. 22, 37—39; Marc. 12, 30—31. Vetus Testamentum mandata diversis locis exhibet, alterum Deut. 6, 5, alterum Lev. 19, 18. Primum mandatum valde abbreviatum redditur. Auctor non solum vocem κύριον ante τὸν θεόν, sed etiam verba ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου κτλ. omisit, quibus gradus amoris exprimitur. Altera ex parte addidit τὸν ποιήσαντά σε ex Sirach 7, 30, ubi legimus: ἐν ὅλῃ δυνάμει ἀγάπησον τὸν ποιήσαντά σε. Cf. Deut. 32, 6. — πάντα δὲ κτλ.] Matthaeus 7, 12 mandatum his verbis exhibet: πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς. Similiter Lucas 6, 31. Evangelistae igitur vocem μὴ omittunt. Eodem autem modo quo in Doctrina, i. e. negative expressa sententia persaepe apud veteres exstat. In codice Cantabrigiensi et nonnullis aliis codicibus, in Irenaei libro adv. haeres. III, 12, 14 et in Cypriani libro ad Quirinum III, 119 (Cyp. opp. ed. Hartel I, 184) tanquam additamentum ad Act. 15, 20 et 29 legitur. Act. 15, 20 enim post verba ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος additur: καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλωσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν, Act. 25,

29: καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλητε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖτε. Cf. Westcott-Hort, *The New Test. Notes* p. 96. Similiter Theophilus in libro ad Autolycum II, 34 postquam dixit, per legem et sanctos prophetas nos edoctos fuisse, ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ φόβου, πορνείας, κλοπῆς, φιλαργυρίας, ὄρκου ψεύδους, ὀργῆς καὶ πάσης ἀσελείας καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας, pergit scribens: καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μὴ βούλεται ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μηδὲ ἄλλῳ ποιῇ. Deinde sententia legitur in Pseudo-Theophili libro Allegoriarum III, 31 (Ed. Zahn, *Forschungen* II, 61), in inscriptione Iuliae Concordiae inventa (de Rossi, *Bulletino* 1874 p. 137), et in Vita Alexandri Severi c. 51, ubi Lampridius narrat, imperatorem clamasse saepius, quod a quibusdam sive Iudaeis sive Christianis audisset et teneret, idque per praeconem, cum aliquem emendaret, dici iussisse: Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris; quam sententiam usque adeo eum dilexisse, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus eam perscribi iuberet. In Recognitionibus Clement. VIII, 58 haec leguntur: Omnis propemodum actuum nostrorum in eo colligitur observantia, ut quod ipsi pati nolumus, ne hoc aliis inferamus; sicut enim ipse occidi non vis, caveas oportet ne alium occidas, et sicut tuum non vis violari matrimonium, nec tu alterius macules torum, furtum pati non vis, nec ipse facias; et intra

primum diliges Deum, qui te creavit, deinde proximum tuum sicut te ipsum; omnia vero, quaecunque non vis tibi fieri, nec tu alteri facias, 3. Doctrina autem horum verborum haec est:

hanc regulam humanorum gestorum singula quaeque concurrunt. Denique Constitutiones apostolorum commemorantur, quae, praeter librum VII, 1, sententiam bis exhibent, I, 1 et III, 15, eamque hoc loco sic expressam: *ὁ μισεῖς σοι γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ σὺ ποιήσεις*. Sententia autem non solum apud Christianos, sed etiam apud Iudaeos usitata neque gentilibus incognita fuit. Tob. 4, 15 legimus: *ὁ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσης*, quem locum Clemens Alex. Strom. II, 23, 139 p. 503 verbis reddit: *ὁ μισεῖς, ἄλλῳ οὐ ποιήσεις*. Philon in libro de Iudaeorum exodo de Aegypto perditum dictum commemoravit: *ἅ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν*. Cf. Eus. Praepar. evang. VIII, 7. Teste Talmud (Babyl. Sabbat 31 a) Rabbi Hillel officia erga proximum verbis comprehendit: Quod tibi displicet, id alteri ne facias. Isocrates (Nicocles c. 61 ed. Benseler p. 40 sq.) scribit: *ἅ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιεῖτε*. Sinenses sententiam non ignorasse ex iis apparet, quae scripsit Bülfinger in Specimine doctrinae vet. Sin. 1724 p. 53—55, atque Taylor in libro de Doctrina duodecim apostolorum (*The Teaching of the Tw. Ap.* 1886) p. 10 adnotavit. Cf. J. Bernays, *Ges. Abhandlungen* I (1885), 274—76. Inter Christianos testis sententiae in formam negativam redactae primus est auctor noster, et cum S. Scriptura sententiam positive expressam exhibeat, conicere licet, Doctrinam esse fontem principalem, ex quo poste-

riores hauserint. Auctor Doctrinae autem formam illam ipse creasse putari potest, cum infra 4, 12. 13 quoque dicta S. Scripturae positiva modo negativo reddat.

3. *τούτων δὲ τ. λ. ἡ διδαχὴ*] Indicatur explicatio verborum praecedentium, et quidem omnium, cum auctor unum vel alterum mandatum solum explicare se velle non dicat. Erraverunt ergo, qui respicientes 2, 1 atque hunc locum de mandato amoris proximi interpretantes verba *τούτων τῶν λόγων* ad mandatum amoris Dei referebant. Revera verbis *ἐβλογεῖτε κτλ.* non hoc, sed alterum mandatum maxime explicatur. Quod autem verba *ἐβλογεῖτε κτλ.* ad sententias propositas explanandas primum allegantur, id inde explicandum esse videtur, quod illa verba in eadem S. Scripturae parte exstant, in qua sententia tertia: *πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς κτλ.*, etiamsi non prorsus iisdem verbis expressa, legitur, scilicet in sermone Domini in monte pronuntiato. Partem sequentem, *ἐβλογεῖτε — διδαχῆς* 2, 1, plures interpolatam esse putarunt, ita ut verbis *διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη* protinus adiungenda essent verba *οὐ φονεύσεις κτλ.* 2, 2. Particula quidem deest in fragmento latino, in Barnabae epistula et in Canonibus ecclesiasticis. Cum autem per Pastorem Hermae et Constitutiones apostolorum agnoscatur, genuina habenda est. Cf. quae de ea disputavi in Prolegomenis. — *ἐβλογεῖτε — διωκόντων ὑμᾶς*] Verba omnia leguntur Matth. 5, 44. Modo

καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οἷχί καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. 4. Ἀπέχου τῶν
 5 σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν, ἵπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δίο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. 5. Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί

νηστεύετε deest in S. Scriptura; vocem ἐχθρῶν evangelista non post προσεύχεσθε posuit, ubi habet ἐπιθυμῶντων, sed ante ἐλλογεῖτε, verba nonnulla praemittens. Versus enim S. Scripturae hic est: ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, ἐλλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιθυμῶντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. Cf. Luc. 6, 27. Rom. 12, 14. Mandata hic proposita etiam in Clem. Hom. XII, 32 inde colliguntur, quod Christianus proximum diligere debet sicut se ipsum, et postquam Pseudoclemens plura exempla attulit, concludit, ut uno verbo dicat: ὁ θέλει ἐαντῷ, θέλει καὶ τῷ πλησίον, scilicet ὁ τὸν πλησίον ἀγαπῶν ὡς ἐαντόν. Phrasis νηστεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων praeter hunc locum in litteris christianis nusquam invenitur. Auctor Constitutionum apostolorum verba omisit. Origenes in Hom. X in Lev. (de la Rue II, 246) quidem de ieiunandi ratione loquitur religiosa, cuius laus quorundam apostolorum litteris praedicetur, cum in quodam libello ab apostolis dictum invenitur: Beatus est, qui etiam ieiunat pro eo, ut alat pauperem. Sed sensus huius loci alius est ac sensus verbo-

rum Doctrinae. — ποία — ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς] Haec scribens auctor non solum Matth. 5, 46 respexit, sed hunc locum et Luc. 6, 32 in unum conflavit. Voces γὰρ ἐάν habet Matthaeus, cum Lucas scribat καὶ εἰ. Verba ποία χάρις exhibet hic, cum Matthaeus dicat: τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε. Membra sententiae apud utrumque evangelistam invertuntur. — οὐχί κτλ.] Matth. 5, 46. 47. Versu 47 haec leguntur: οὐχί καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ οὕτως ποιοῦσιν; Verba τὸ αὐτό exhibet versus 46, in quo locum gentilium obtinent publicani. Lucas 6, 32. 33 de peccatoribus dicit. — ἀγαπᾶτε τ. μ. ὑμᾶς] Verba leguntur, modo aliter disposita, Matth. 5, 44 et Luc. 6, 27. 28. Contextus etiam magis Luc. 6, 35 in memoriam revocat, ubi evangelista, postquam 6, 32—34 exposuit, hominibus nullam esse gratiam iis tantum beneficientibus, qui ipsis beneficerent, pergit scribens: πλὴν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀγαθοποιεῖτε κτλ. — καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐ.] Num praeceptum dat auctor, an indicat, quod eis eventurum est, qui inimicos diligunt? Huic interpretationi quidem favet Lucas 6, 35, verbis modo laudatis addens: καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς κτλ.

Benedicite maledicentibus vobis et orate pro inimicis vestris, ieiunate pro persequentibus vos; quae enim gratia, si diligitis eos, qui vos diligunt? Nonne et gentes idem faciunt? Vos autem diligite eos, qui oderunt vos, neque inimicum habebitis. 4. Abstine a carnalibus et corporalibus cupiditatibus. Si quis tibi plagam intulerit in dexteram maxillam, praebe illi et alteram, et eris perfectus; si quis angariaverit te mille passus, vade cum illo duo milia; si quis sustulerit pallium tuum, da ei et tunicam; si quis abstulerit a te, quod tuum est, ne repetas; neque enim

Illa autem praeferenda est. Infra 2, 7 Doctrina dicit: οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον.

4. 5. σωματικῶν cod: κοσμικῶν Constit. ap. VII, 1 et plures edd., praesertim Bryennius. — ἀπέχον κτλ.] I Petr. 2, 11. Cf. Tit. 2, 12; II Clem. 17, 3 (κοσμικὰ ἐπιθυμία). Si contextum respexeris, haec verba vix de cupiditatibus immundis, sed potius de desideriis hominum cupidinem carnis sequentium in universum interpretaberis. Auctor dicere videtur: devitans cupiditates carnales, si quis te percusserit in maxillam dexteram, noli repercutere, sed potius praebe et alteram maxillam. — εἰάν τις κτλ.] Matthaeus 5, 39 exhibet: ὅστις σε ῥαπίσει ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν κτλ. Cf. Luc. 6, 29. — ἔση τέλειος] Auctor hand dubie respexit Matth. 5, 48, ubi evangelista laudatis singulis Domini praeceptis ad perfectionem christianam pertinentibus concludit: ἔσεσθε οὖν ὡς περὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τέλειος ἐστίν. Vox etiam infra 6, 2 legitur; verbum τελειῶν 10, 5; 16, 2. Cf. Matth. 19, 21. Luc. 6, 40. — εἰάν ἀγγαρεύῃ κτλ.] Matth. 5, 41. Lucas hanc particulam non habet. — εἰάν ἄρῃ κτλ.] Matth. 5, 40, ubi autem voces ἡμῶν

τιον et χιτῶν invertuntur. Luc. 6, 29 has voces eodem quidem ordine posuit, quo Doctrina, sed alias ab huius textu magis discrepat. — εἰάν λάβῃ κτλ.] Luc. 6, 30. Matthaeus haec non habet. Una ergo sententia huius versus apud Lucam, una apud Matthaeum deest. Utraque vero in Tatiani Diatessaron exstat. In hoc libro praeterea quattuor huius versus sententiae in eodem ordine quo in Doctrina leguntur, et quarta in ea forma, quae in hac, neque vero in S. Scriptura invenitur. Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen* I, 133 sq. Consensus itaque tantus est, ut alter liber ab altero pendere iure meritoque censeatur. Quis autem posterior sit, auctor Doctrinae an Tatianus, vix dubium est. — οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι] scilicet ἀπατεῖν παρ' ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων διαρπάζειν τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ut interpretatur Bryennius. Ioannes Climacus in loco in Prolegomenis laudato, qui huc pertinere videtur, summum pietatis fastigium in eo esse dicit, quod aliquis ea, quae ipsi auferuntur, etiamsi potest, non repetit.

5. παντὶ κτλ.] Haec sententia legitur Luc. 6, 30, ubi autem pars altera ita amplificata est: καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰχρόντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπατεῖ. Mat-

σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίνει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδωσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν· ἁθῶς γὰρ ἔστιν. Οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἁθῶς ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, 5 ἵνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γινόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. 6. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῷς, τίνη δῶς.

II. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς· 2. Οὐ φονεῖσεις, οὐ 10 μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ· οὐδὲ

thaeus 5, 42 nec secundam partem nec vocem παντί habet. Hunc ver- sum et 4, 7 exscripsit Hermas in Mandato II, 4—6. Cf. Prolegomena. — πᾶσι κτλ.] Similiter Zabulon in Testam. duod. patriarch. VI, 7 dicit: καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἐξ ὧν παρ- ἔχει ὑμῖν ὁ θεός, ἀδιακρίτως πᾶσι σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ἐλεᾶτε καὶ παρέχετε παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ. — μακάριος — ἐντολὴν] Cf. Matth. 5, 7, ubi misericordes beati praedicantur. Hunc locum auctor fortasse ante oculos habuit. Verisimilius autem est eum mandatum respexisse, quod versu ineunte legitur, sc. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου. Sirach 29, 11 scribit: θὲς τὸν θεσανρόν σου κατ' ἐν- τολὰς ὑψίστου, καὶ λυσιτελήσει σοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ χρυσίον. — οὐαὶ τῷ λαμ- βάνοντι κτλ.] Cf. fragmentum sub nomine Clementis Alex. traditum, quod exscripsi in Prolegomenis. — ἐν συνοχῇ] εἰς φυλακὴν Matth. 5, 25. Luc. 12, 58. — οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται κτλ.] Matth. 5, 26. Lucas 12, 59 non vocem κοδράντην habet, sed λεπτόν, et post οὗ inserit particulam καί.

6. 7. δὲ cod: δὴ Br(yennius) | ἰδρω- σάτω em Br: ἰδρωτάτω cod, con ἰδρω-

σάτω Hilgenfeld, μὴ δραχθήτω Zahn, ἰερωτάτη Potwin. — εἴρηται] sc. in Scriptura. Cf. 16, 7. Quae est autem Scriptura, quam auctor respexit? Taylor, *The Teaching* p. 11—18, de verbis Gen. 3, 19 cogitavit: In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, et inter- pretatus est: manus tuas imple su- dore laboris tui, et de fructibus la- boris dispone, dum quaeris, cui des; vel: labora tamdiu, donec cognoveris, cui des. Interpretatio vero exemplis allatis non confirmatur. Inprimis verba Pseudo-Athanasii in Quaest. ad Antioch. ducem 88 (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 651): καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ γεωπόνου ἐξ ἰδίου ἰδρωτός ποι- οῦντος συμπάθειαν, καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀπὸ δώρων καὶ προσό- δων παρέχοντος, locum nostrum ne- quaquam illustrant. Sententia cla- rissima est. De variis eleemosynae generibus agens Pseudo-Athanasius dicit, eleemosynam agricolae, qui ex proprio sudore misericordiam exer- ceat, plus valere ac pluris aestiman- dam esse, quam eleemosynam prin- cipis, qui ex donis et proventibus det. Pauper ergo misericors oppo- nitur diviti benefico, cum in Doctrina

potes. 5. *Omni petenti te tribue neque repetas*; omnibus enim pater vult tribui ex suis donis. Beatus, qui dat secundum mandatum; innocens enim est. Vae ei, qui accipit; etenim si quis indigens quidem accipit, innocens erit; qui autem non indigens accipit, rationem reddet, quare acceperit et ad quid; in vinculis⁵ constitutus inquireretur de eis, quae fecit, neque *exibit inde, donec reddiderit novissimum quadrantem*. 6. Sed de hac re quoque dictum est: *Sudato eleemosyna tua in manibus tuis, donec cognoveris, cui des*.

II. Secundum autem mandatum doctrinae: 2. *Non occides*,¹⁰ *non adulterium facies*, pueros non corrumpes, non fornicaberis, *non furaberis*, non incantabis, venenum non miscebis, non interficies foetum in abortione neque interimes infantem natum, *non*

discrimen eiusmodi non fiat. Auctorem insuper Gen. 3, 19 non in mente habuisse inde sequitur, quod non solum sententiam, sed etiam verba allegare voluit. Itaque fatendum est, Scripturam illam nos latere. Sensus est: maneat eleemosyna tua in manibus tuis, quamvis eo, quod diu retinetur, calida fiat, donec cognoveris, cui des. Similis sententia legitur Sirach 12, 1—6: *ἐὰν εὖ ποιῇς, γνώθι, τίτι ποιεῖς κτλ.* Idem scribit iuxta LXX 29, 12, postquam versu praecedente ad dandum admonuit: *σὺγκλεισον ἐλεημοσύνην ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις σου, καὶ αὕτη ἐξελεῖται σε ἐκ πάσης κακώσεως*, cum Vulgata 29, 15 vertat: conclude eleemosynam in corde pauperis, et haec pro te exorabit ab omni malo. Oracula Sibyll. II, 79 exhibent: *ἰδρῶσι σταχῶν χεῖρὶ χοῦνοντι παράσχον*. — *μέχρῃς ἂν γνῶς τ. δ.*] His verbis auctor mandatum dimittit, quod supra verbis *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδον κτλ.* proposuerat. Attamen non plane sibi repugnat. Non distincte saltem dicit nonnullis

forte eleemosynam non esse dandam. Praeterea verba cum alterius sint, non auctoris, non nimis urgenda sunt.

II, 1. Plurimi *δευτέραν ἐντολὴν τῆς διδαχῆς* de mandato secundo vel de mandato amoris proximi intellexerunt. Cum autem in parte praecedente non de mandato primo vel de mandato amoris Dei agatur, verba aliter explananda sunt. Auctor in hac parte non mandatum secundum explicare, sed potius aliud mandatum vel alia mandata ad sententias supra propositas explicandas exhibere vult; prosequitur, ut aliis verbis dicam, explicationem trium sententiarum, quam supra incepit, explicationi priori alteram adiciens. Explicationem autem illam non simpliciter continuat, sed aliam exhibet, respiciens Matth. 19, 16—19, ubi Dominus descriptionem viae vitae iisdem verbis incipit, adulescenti interroganti, quid boni faciat, ut habeat vitam aeternam vel ad vitam ingrediatur, respondens: Non homicidium facies, non adulterabis etc.

γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμῇσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον. 3. Οὐκ ἐπιπορκῇσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρῇσεις, οὐ κακολογῇσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. 4. Οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία. 5. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει. 6. Οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηράν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. 7. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, [οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις], περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

2. 1. *γεννηθέν* c. Barn. Const. ap.: *γεννηθέντα* cod. — *Mandata οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις* et (v. 3) *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρῇσεις*, Exod. 20, 13—16 aliter disposita, Deut. 5, 17—20 quidem eundem ordinem obtinent. Ex ratione autem in nota praecedente proposita et cum mandato *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρῇσεις* non sint adiecta verba *κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῇ*, quae Deut. 5, 20 leguntur, auctor non Vetus Testamentum, sed Matth. 19, 18 respexisse putandus est. Animadvertendum est, quod etiam infra c. 3 et 5 catalogi peccatorum exhibentur et ubique homicidio primus, adulterio vel fornicationi secundus locus attribuitur. Similiter hic et c. 5 furtum et magia vel idololatria sibi succedunt, cum 3, 4 idololatria furto 3, 5 anteposita sit. — *οὐ μοιχεύσεις κτλ.*] Clemens Alex. scribit Paedag. III, 12, 89 p. 305: *Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ δεκάλογος ἡ διὰ Μωϋσέως . . . περιγράφουσα· οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐκ εἰδωλολατρήσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρῇσεις.* Cf. Paedag. II, 10, 89 p. 223. Prot rept. 10, 108 p. 85. Cum autem in S. Scriptura vox *παιδοφθορήσεις* non exstet, conicere licet, doctorem Alexandrinum verba illa scri-

bentem Doctrinam apostolorum ante oculos habuisse. Epistulam Barnabae 19, 4 eum respexisse minus verisimile est, cum in ea duo mandata (*οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρῇσεις*) desint. — *οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις*] Mandatum in Decalogo non legitur, exstat autem aliis verbis expressum Lev. 18, 22; 20, 13. Cf. Rom. 1, 27. I Cor. 6, 9. Auctor hoc mandatum et sequens praecedenti addidit, ut praeter adulterium etiam alia peccata castitati adversantia interdiceret. — *οὐ πορνεύσεις*] Haec verba nec in Decalogo nec Matth. 19, 18 leguntur. Cum autem fornicatio gentilibus plurimis non illicitum esse videretur, mandatum iure ab auctore appositum est. Cf. Tob. 4, 12. I Cor. 6, 10. II Cor. 12, 21. Gal. 5, 19. Eph. 5, 3. Col. 3, 5. I Thess. 4, 3. — *μαγεύσεις*] Cf. Act. 8, 9, 11; 13, 6, 8. — *φαρμακεύσεις*] Cf. Exod. 22, 18. Sap. 12, 4. Gal. 5, 20. Apoc. 9, 21; 18, 23; 21, 8; 22, 15. Vox cum veneficium tum incantationem seu artes magicas significat. Magia et praestigiae in V. T. praeter locum laudatum condemnantur Levit. 19, 26; 20, 6; Deut. 18, 11, 12. — *οὐ φον. τέκνον κτλ.*] Etiam hoc crimen apud gentiles usitatissimum erat vixque eis illicitum

concupisces quae sunt proximi tui. 3. *Non periurabis, non falsum testimonium dabis*, non maledices, iniuriae acceptae non recordaberis. 4. *Non eris duplicis sententiae nec bilinguis*; laqueus enim mortis lingua duplex. *Non erit sermo tuus mendax neque inanis, sed repletus opere.* 6. *Non eris avarus neque rapax neque hypocrita neque malignus neque superbus*; non capies malum consilium adversus proximum tuum. 7. *Non oderis quemquam, sed alios argues, [aliorum misereberis], pro aliis orabis, alios amabis plus quam animam tuam.*

esse videbatur. — *γεννηθὲν ἀποκτ.*] Cf. Sap. 12, 5. — *οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τ. πλ.*] Hoc mandatum Matth. 19, 18 non legitur; ab auctore ex Exod. 20, 17 vel Deut. 5, 21 adiectum est et verba S. Scripturae abbreviata sunt.

3. *οὐκ ἐπιιορκήσεις*] Verba exstant Matth. 5, 33; sententia Exod. 20, 7; Levit. 19, 12. Deut. 5, 11. Periurio 3, 7 blasphemia respondere videtur. — *κακολογήσεις*] Cf. Prov. 20, 20. Matth. 5, 22. — *μνησικακήσεις*] Cf. Barn. 2, 8 (Zach. 8, 17). I Clem. 2, 5; 62, 2. Testam. patriarch. VI, 8.

4. *δύλωσος*] Cf. Prov. 11, 13. Sirach 5, 9, 14; 6, 1; 28, 13. Vox *διγνώμων* in S. Scriptura non exstat. — *παγίς . . θανάτου*] Habes haec verba Prov. 14, 27; 21, 6. Praeterea os impiorum vel labia peccatorum *παγίς* appellantur Prov. 11, 9; 12, 13; Sirach 51, 2. Pseudo-Athanasius in Syntagm. doctrinae c. 2 et in Fide Nicaena (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 839. 1639) scribit: *νηστεύων δὲ καὶ πολυτενόμενος (κοιταζόμενος), βλέπε μὴ φνσιωθῆς· ἡ γὰρ φνσιώσις παγίς ἐστι τοῦ διαβόλου.*

5. *μεμεστωμένος πράξει*] Christianus non solum dicere, sed etiam facere debet. Cf. Matth. 23, 3. Iac. 1, 22. I Ioann. 3, 18. I Clem. 38,

2. Ign. Eph. 15, 1, 2.

6. *πλεονέκτης . . ἄραξ*] Utraque vox simul legitur I Cor. 5, 10. 11 et 6, 11. I Clem. 35, 5 *πλεονεξία, κακοήθεια, ὑπερηφανία* una nominantur.

7. 8. *οὓς δὲ ἐλέησεις* c. Canon. eccles.: om cod — *ἐλέγξεις*] Cf. 4, 3; 15, 3. — *οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις*] Cf. Iud. 23: *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεεῖτε.* Verba in Doctrina apostolorum per lapsum librarii excidisse videntur. Optime sane in locum quadrant, nec est verisimile, compilatorem Canonum ecclesiasticorum ea de suo in textu, quem transcripsit, inseruisse. Cum autem res non plane certa sit, verba uncinis inclusi. Auctor Constitutionum apost. VII, 5 ad dubium solvendum nihil confert, quia valde aberravit et potius Lev. 19, 17 quam Doctrinam exscripsit. — *οὓς δὲ ἀγ. ὑπὲρ τ. ψυχὴν σου*] Auctor igitur non vult, ut Christianus omnes homines plus diligat quam animam suam, sed partem tantum, scilicet fratres pios ac probos. Supra 1, 2, ubi de amore proximi in universum locutus est, verbis S. Scripturae usus est. Barnabas phrasin *ἀγαπᾷν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν* ter adhibuit, sc. 1, 4; 4, 6 et etiam 19, 5, ubi mandatum amoris proximi definivit.

III. Τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. 2. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον, μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικός μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. 3. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής, ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν, μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεύει γεννῶνται. 4. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν, μηδὲ ἐπαισιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία¹⁰ γεννᾶται. 5. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν, μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. 6. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ

III. Primus capituli versus mandatum generale continet. In versibus quinque sequentibus ita de peccatis gravioribus agitur, ut peccata indicentur, ex quibus ea proficiscuntur. Hi versus omnes in duas partes dividuntur, et pars prior semper verbis *ὁδηγεῖ γάρ* vel *ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ κτλ.*, pars posterior, in qua peccatis capitalibus bina vel terna peccata praemittuntur, verbis *ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κτλ.* concluditur. Peccata graviora mandatis principalibus 2, 2—3 respondent. Barnabas totam partem vel versus 1—6 omisit.

1. *τέκνον μου*] Haec verba in hoc capitulo quinquies leguntur, semel in capitulo proximo (6, 1). Habes eadem saepius in S. Scriptura, ex gr. Prov. 1, 8. 10. 15; 2, 1; 3, 1 etc. Sirach exhibet vocem *τέκνον* vel *τεκνία* solam (2, 1; 3, 1. 14; 4, 1; 21, 1 etc.); N. T. *τεκνία* vel *τεκνία μου*, scilicet Gal. 4, 19; I Ioann. 2, 1. 12 etc. — *φεύγε κτλ.*] Sententiam eademque fere verba, ut vidit Taylor *The Teaching* p. 24, etiam Talmud (Babyl. Chullin 44 b) exhibet. —

ἀπὸ π. ὁμοίου] Cf. I Thess. 5, 22: *ἀπὸ παντὸς εἵδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε*. Ad constructionem *ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ* cf. Sirach 13, 16.

2. *ὀργίλος* cod — *μὴ γ. ὀργίλος*] Cf. Matth. 5, 22. Tit. 1, 7. — *ζηλωτής*] in N. T. semper bono sensu adhibetur. Item I Clem. 45, 1. *Ζῆλοι* autem inter opera carnis recensentur Gal. 5, 20. Eodem loco vocem *ζῆλοι* sequuntur voces *θυμοί* et *ἐριθείαι*, eadem, quae hic leguntur, ita ut concludere liceat, auctorem haec scribentem illum S. Scripturae locum in mente habuisse.

3. *μὴ γ. ἐπιθυμητής κτλ.*] Matth. 5, 28 Dominus dicit, omnem, qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam moechatum esse eam in corde suo. — *ὑψηλόφθαλμος*] legitur etiam in Canonibus eccles. c. 7. Constitutiones apost. VII, 6 autem exhibent *ὠψιόφθαλμος*. Cf. II Petr. 2, 14. Sirach 26, 9. Testam. patriarch. V, 7: *πλὴν τῆς γυναικός μου οὐκ ἔγνω ἄλλην· οὐκ ἐπόρνευσα ἐν μετεωρισμῷ ὀφθαλμῶν*.

4. *οἰωνοσκόπος . . ἐπαισιδός*] Cf.

III. Fili mi, fuge omne malum et quodcunque ei simile est. 2. Ne fias iracundus, ducit enim ira ad caedem, neque vehemens neque litigiosus neque violentus; ex his omnibus enim caedes nascuntur. 3. Fili mi, ne fias concupiscens, ducit enim concupiscentia ad fornicationem, neque verbis turpibus utaris⁵ neque oculum extollas; ex his omnibus enim adulteria nascuntur. 4. Fili mi, ne fias auspex, quoniam id ducit ad idololatriciam, neque incantator neque mathematicus neque magus, neque ea velis videre; ex his enim omnibus idololatria nascitur. 5. Fili mi, ne fias mendax, quia mendacium ducit ad furtum,¹⁰ neque argenti neque inanis gloriae cupidus; ex his enim omnibus furta nascuntur. 6. Fili mi, ne fias morosus, quoniam id ducit ad blasphemiam, neque insolens neque improbus; ex

Lev. 19, 26. 31. Deut. 18, 10. 11. Irenaeus Adv. haer. II, 32, 5 scribit: nec invocationibus angelicis facit aliquid ecclesia, nec incantationibus nec reliqua prava curiositate, sed munde et pure et manifeste orationes dirigens ad Dominum. Hippolytus incantationes Philos. IX, 14. 15; X, 29 inprimis de Elchasaitis commemorat. — *ὁδ. εἰς τὸν εἰδωλολατρίαν*] Auctor Testam. patriarch. IV, 19 scribit: *ἡ φιλαργυρία πρὸς εἰδωλα ὁδηγεῖ*, Doctrina autem infra v. 5 avaritiam fontem furti declarat. — *μαθηματικός*] Tertullianus Adv. Marc. I, 18 Marcionitis obicit, quod sint plurimum mathematici. Hippolytus Philos. IX, 14; X. 29 tradit, Elchasaitas superbire astrologia et mathesi et magicis artibus. — *περικαθαίρων*] Bryennius allegat Scholion ad Constit. apost. VII, 6: *περικαθαίρων ὁ διὰ θυσίων δοκῶν κωλύει νόσους ἢ ἀμαρτίας*, et ad VIII, 32: *περικαθαίρειν λέγεται ὁ ὕδασιν ἐπιρροίνων ἐσκευασμένοις μετ' ἐποφθῆς εἰς κάθαρσιν δὴθέν τινα*. Cf. quae Philos. IX, 15. 16 de baptismatibus apud Elcha-

saitas usitatis narrantur.

5. Priorem huius versus partem laudat Clemens Al. Strom. I, 20, 100 p. 377 tanquam locum Scripturae. Scribit enim: *Οὗτος* (sc. qui ea, quae sunt barbarorum, sumpsit et tanquam sua praedicavit) *κλέπτῃς ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται· φησὶ γοῦν, νίε μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν*. Quod pro *τέκνον μου* . . γὰρ . . εἰς ponit *νίε* . . ἐπειδὴ . . πρὸς, nullius momenti est. — *ὁδηγεῖ τ. ψ. εἰς τ. κλοπὴν*] Taylor p. 30—33 ad haec verba Hermam Mand. III, 1—2 alludere putat. Equidem non tantam locorum connexionem video. — *φιλάργυρος κτλ.*] Cf. adnotat. ad v. 4.

6. *γόγγυσος*] Haec vox praeter hunc locum, Constit. apost. et Canon. eccl. nonnisi Prov. 16, 28 (Theodot.) exstare videtur. Cf. Stephanus, Thes. s. v. Iud. 16 commemorantur *γογγυσταί*, Philipp. 2, 14 et I Petr. 4, 9 habes *χωρὶς (ἄνευ) γογγυσμῶν*, I Cor. 10, 10: *μηδὲ γογγύετε*, Sap. 1, 11: *φυλάξασθε γογγυσμὸν ἀνωφελῆ*. — *ἀνθάδης*] Tit. 1, 7. II Petr. 2, 10:

πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. 7. Ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. 8. Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὕς ἤκουσας. 9. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. 10. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδώς, ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

IV. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ 10 μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. 2. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. 3. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν, 4. Οὐ 15 διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

5. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς

αὐθάδεις, δόξας οὐ τρέμουν· βλασφημοῦντες. — *πονηρόφρων*] Haec vox solum hic et Constit. apost. VII, 7 legitur. Prov. 19, 19 exstat *κακόφρων*. — *ἐκ γὰρ τούτων κτλ.*] I Tim. 6, 4 Paulus scribit: ἐξ ὧν (*ζητήσεων καὶ λογομαχιῶν*) γίνεται φθόνος, ἔρις, βλασφημίαι, etc.

7—10. Hic auctor ad formam priorum reddit. Particulam autem arcte cum praecedente connexam esse vox δέ indicat. Versibus quattuor Christianus maxime ut virtutem temperantiae exerceat admonetur. Mandata officia Christiani erga se ipsum continere dici possunt.

7. *πραῦς*] Cf. Col. 3, 12. Eph. 4, 32. I Thess. 5, 14. 15. Vox vocibus γόγγυσος et αὐθάδης v. 6 opposita est. — *οἱ πραεῖς κτλ.*] Matth. 5, 5.

8. *μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων*] Cf. Ps. 102, 8, ubi Dominus *οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέ-*

λεος praedicatur. — *ἡσύχιος*] I Thess. 4, 11 Paulus lectores adhortatur *φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν*. — *τρέμων τ. λ.*] Cf. Ies. 66, 2.

9. *οὐχ ὑψώσεις σ.*] Cf. Sirach 6, 2: *μὴ ἐπάρῃς σεαυτὸν ἐν βουλῇ ψυχῆς σου*. Matth. 23, 11. 13. — *οὐ . . μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μ. ταπεινῶν*] Cf. Rom. 12, 16: *μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι*.

10. *τὰ σ. σ. ἐν. ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ*] Cf. Sirach 2, 4: *πάν ὃ ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι δέξαι*. Rom. 6, 28. — *ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γ.*] Cf. Matth. 10, 29. 30. Hunc locum respexisse videtur Origenes De princ. III, 2, 7. Cf. Prolegomena.

IV, 1—4. Officia Christiani in ecclesiam et fratres exponuntur.

1. *λαλοῦντος*] sc. prophetae vel apostoli vel doctoris vel episcopi et diaconorum, ut ex sequentibus (11, 2. 4; 15, 2) apparet. Hebr. 12, 25

his enim omnibus blasphemiae nascuntur. 7. Sis vero mansuetus, quoniam *mansueti hereditabunt terram*. 8. Fias longanimis et misericors et sincerus et quietus et bonus et contremiscens semper ad verba, quae audivisti. 9. Non exaltabis te ipsum neque animae tuae dabis insolentiam. Non adhaerebit anima tua superbis, sed iustis et humilibus uteris. 10. Quae tibi eveniunt, ea tanquam bona accipies, conscius, sine Deo nihil fieri.

IV. Fili mi, qui loquitur tibi verbum Dei, eius recordaberis nocte ac die, timebis eum sicut Dominum; unde enim dominium dicitur, ibi Dominus est. 2. Requires cotidie vultus sanctorum, ut requiescas in verbis eorum. 3. Non facies dissidium, sed pacabis pugnantes; iudicabis iuste, non accipies personam in arguendis cuiuspiam lapsibus. 4. Non ambiges, utrum futurum sit necne.

5. Noli porrigere manus tuas ad accipiendum, ad dandum

et 13, 7 similia legimus, scilicet βλέπετε, μὴ παραιτήσῃθε τὸν λαλοῦντα, et μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. — ὡς κύριον] Cf. 4, 11; 11, 2. Matth. 10, 40. Gal. 4, 14. — κυριότης] i. e. potestas Domini seu Dei. Eodem sensu vox adhibetur II Petr. 2, 10 et Iud. 8. Cf. Herm. Sim. V, 6, 1. Eph. 1, 21 et Col. 1, 16 vox gradum angelorum denotat. Constitutiones apost. VII, 9 locum circumscribunt verbis: ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ Θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς πάρεστιν.

2. 12. ἐπαναπαῖς cod : ἐπαναπαύη Const. ap. Br, ἐπαναπαύση Can. eccl. — ἀγίων] i. e. fratrum christianorum, ut saepe in S. Scriptura.

3. 13. ποιήσεις c. Barn. Can. eccl. Const. ap. : ποθήσεις cod — σχίσμα] Cf. I Cor. 1, 10; 11, 18. — κρίνετε δικαίως κτλ.] Cf. Ioann. 7, 24: μὴ κρίνετε κατ' ὕψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν κρίνατε. — οὗ λ. πρόσωπον

κτλ.] Cf. Deut. 1, 17: οὐκ ἐπιγνώσῃ πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει. Prov. 24, 23: αἰδεῖσθαι πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει οὐ καλόν.

4. οὗ διωγῆσεις κτλ.] Verba obscura sunt. De qua re non est dubitandum? Canones eccl. c. 13 et Constitutiones apost. VII, 11 addunt ἐν προσευχῇ σου, ita ut verba de exaudiendis precibus intellegenda sint. Similia scribit Hermas Mand. IX, 1—8. Cf. Sirach I, 28. Iac. 1, 8; 4, 8. I Ioann. 5, 14. 15. Contextum respiciens Harnack interpretatur: utrum iudicium Dei venturum sit necne. Interpretatio autem e sententia praecedente cum certitudine non est colligenda.

5—8. Officia Christiani erga pauperes.

5. Fere idem legitur Sirach 4, 31: μὴ ἔστω ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐκτεταμένη εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀποδίδοναι συνεσταλμένη. Cf. Act. 20, 35. I Clem. 2, 1.

δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. 6. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις
λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 7. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύ-
σεις· γνώσῃ γάρ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. 8. Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ
5 ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεις ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοι-
νωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς;

9. Οὐκ ἄρεις τὴν χειρὰ σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς
θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ.
10. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ σου, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν
10 ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ’
ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ’
ἐφ’ οὗς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. 11. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγή-
σεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.

12. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπέκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἄρεστον τῷ κυ-
15 ρίῳ. 13. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρ-
έλαβες, *μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν*. 14. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομο-
λογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν
σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

6. διὰ χειρῶν σου] Bryennius haec
verba cum sequentibus coniungit. —
λύτρωσιν] Vox hic eodem sensu ad-
hibita est quo λύτρον. Auctor Con-
stitutionum apost. VII, 12 scribit:
δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν. Cf. Barn.
19, 10. De eleemosyna remissionem
peccatorum operante cf. Prov. 16, 6.
Tob. 4, 10. 11; 12, 9. Dan. 4, 24.
Luc. 16, 9. Test. patriarch. VI, 8.

7. 3. ὁ em : ἡ cod — οὐ διστάσεις
κτλ.] Prov. 3, 28: μὴ εἴπῃς, ἐπανελ-
θὼν ἐπᾶνῃκε, αὔριον δώσω, δυνατοῦ
σου ὄντος εὖ ποιεῖν. Cf. II Cor. 9, 7.
I Petr. 4, 9. Herm. Mand. IX, 24, 2.
Test. patriarch. VI, 7. — ὁ τ. μ. κ.
ἀνταποδότης] Cf. II Clem. 11, 6.

8. οὐκ ἂ. τ. ἐνδεόμενον] Sirach 4,
5: ἀπὸ δεομένου μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς ὄφ-
θαλμόν. Prov. 3, 27: μὴ ἀπόσχῃ εὖ
ποιεῖν ἐνδεῇ. — συγκοινωνήσεις. . ἴδια]
Cf. Act. 2, 44; 4, 32: καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς τι

τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν ἴδιον
εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κοινά.
Rom. 12, 13. Iustinus Apol. I, 14
scribit: ἃ ἔχομεν εἰς κοινὸν φέροντες
καὶ παντὶ δεομένῳ κοινωνοῦντες. Cf.
Apol. I, 67. Tert. Apolog. c. 39:
omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos prae-
ter mulieres. — ἀθανάτῳ . . θνητοῖς]
Cf. Rom. 15, 27. Barnabas 19, 8 pro
illis vocibus posuit ἀφθάρτῳ . . φθαρ-
τοῖς.

9—11. Officia patris familias et
servorum.

9. Cf. Ps. 33, 12. Eph. 6, 4. Po-
lyc. 4, 2: τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν
παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ.

10. τοῖς ἐπὶ τ. αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπ.]
Eadem sententia exstat Eph. 6, 9,
ubi Paulus lectores inprimis admonet,
dominorum et servorum unum Deum
et personarum acceptionem apud eum
non esse. — τὸ πνεῦμα] i. e. spiritus

vero contrahere. 6. Si quid habes per manus tuas, dabis pretium ad redimenda peccata tua. 7. Non dubitabis dare neque murmurabis, cum das; cognosces autem, quis sit bonus mercedis retributor. 8. Non repudiabis indigentem, communicabis autem in omnibus cum fratre tuo nec quidquam dices proprium; nam si in immortalibus consortes estis, quanto magis in mortalibus?

9. Non auferes manum tuam a filio tuo vel a filia tua, sed a pueritia docebis eos timorem Dei. 10. Non imperabis in amaritudine tua servo tuo vel ancillae, qui in eundem Deum sperant, ne forte non timeant Deum, qui super utrumque est; non enim venit secundum personam vocare, sed ad eos, quos spiritus praeparavit. 11. Vos autem servi subicimini dominis vestris tanquam imagini Dei in verecundia et timore.

12. Oderis omnem hypocrisin et quodcunque displicet Domino. 13. Ne derelinquas *mandata Domini*, *custodies* vero, quae accepisti, *neque addens neque demens*. 14. In ecclesia confiteberis peccata tua, neque accedes ad orationem tuam in conscientia mala. Haec est via vitae.

sanctus, cuius etiam 7, 1. 3 mentio fit. — *ἡτοιμάσεν*] Cf. Rom. 8, 29. 30.

11. 12. *δούλοι* cod | 13. *ὑμῶν* em: *ἡμῶν* cod — Cf. Eph. 6, 5—8. Col. 3, 22. Tit. 2, 9. I Petr. 2, 18.

12—14. Mandata generalia ad viam vitae spectantia.

12. *μισήσεις π. ὑπ.*] Cf. Ps. 118, 128: *πάσαν ὁδὸν ἄδικον ἐμίσησα*. — *μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ*] Formula in S. Scriptura semper positive expressa esse videtur. Deut. 6, 18 legimus: *ποιήσεις τὸ ἀρεστὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου*. Similia verba exstant Deut. 12, 25. 28; 13, 18.

13. *οὐ μὴ ἐγκ.* *ἐντολὰς κυρίου*] Etiam hoc mandatum in S. Scriptura fere semper positive expressa est verbis: *φυλάξτε τὰ προστάγματά μου* (Lev. 18, 30) vel *τὰς ἐντολὰς μου* (Lev. 21, 31) vel *φυλάσσεσθε τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου* (Deut. 4, 2. 40; 8, 6;

10, 13 etc.). Auctor igitur tria mandata, quae in S. Scriptura modo positivo pronuntiata sunt (cf. 1, 2; 4, 12), in formam negativam redegit. De tertio mandato cf. autem Prov. 4, 2. 5. — *ἐντολὰς κ. φυλάξεις κτλ.*] Deut. 4, 2: *οὐ προσθήσετε πρὸς τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· φυλάσσεσθε τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου*. Deut. 12, 32: *φυλάξῃ ποιεῖν· οὐ προσθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτό, οὐδὲ ἀφελεῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. Cf. Prov. 30, 6. Eccles. 3, 14. Apoc. 22, 18. 19. Eus. H. E. V, 16.

14. *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*] Cf. infra 14, 1. Confessio peccatorum, quam auctor postulat, est igitur publica. Barnabas 19, 12 verba illa non habet. — *ἐξομολογήσῃ κτλ.*] Iacobus 5, 16 scribit: *ἐξομολογεῖσθε ὁῦν ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἁμαρτίας καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων*, Clemens I Cor. 51, 3: *καλὸν*

V. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρax μεστή· *φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνείαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρίαι, μαγείαι, φαρμακίαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθαδεια, 5 πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασυτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία*. 2. διώκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονή, *μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες 10 ἀνταπόδομα*, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονοῦμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτοῦς, *φονεῖς τέκνων*, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίῳ παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

VI. Ὅρα, μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δι-
 δαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. 2. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι
 βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι,

ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν παραπτωμάτων. — ἐν συνειδήσει π.] Cf. Hebr. 10, 22.

V, 1. *φόνοι* — *ψευδομαρτυρίαι*] Matth. 15, 19. Evangelista vel Dominus, qui ipse loquitur, agens de peccatis, quae de corde hominis exeunt, praemittit *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί*; et conicere licet, auctorem Doctrinae voce *ἐπιθυμίαι* cogitationes malas expressisse. Marcus 7, 21—22 peccata diverso ordine enumerat et omittit *ψευδομαρτυρίαι*. — *δόλος κτλ.*] Haec peccata nominat Paulus Rom. 1, 29—30, nisi quod pro *ὑπερηφανία* et *ἀλαζονεία* scribit *ὑπερήφανοι* et *ἀλάζονες*, similiter atque auctor Doctrinae v. 2 non de peccatis, sed de peccata facientibus agit. Marcus 7, 27 post *κλοπαί* commemorat *πλεονεξία*, *πονηρία*, *δόλος*, *ἀσέλγεια*, *ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός*, *βλασφημία*, *ὑπερηφανία*, *ἀφροσύνη*. — *αἰσχρολογία*] Cf. Col. 3,

18. N. T. vocem nonnisi hoc loco exhibet.

2. *ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος*] Cf. Ps. 4, 3: *ἵνατί ἀγαπάτε ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε ψεῦδος*; Apoc. 22, 15. — *οὐ γιν. μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης*] Cf. II Petr. 2, 15: *μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἠγάπησεν*. — *κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ*] Rom. 12, 9. — *κρίσει δικαίᾳ*] Cf. Ioann. 7, 24. Prov. 17, 15. Ies. 1, 17. — *πραύτης κ. ὑπομονή*] Cf. Gal. 5, 22: *μακροθυμία . . . πραύτης*. — *μάταια ἀγαπῶντες*] Ps. 4, 3. — *διώκοντες ἀνταπ.*] Ies. 1, 23. — *ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν*] Cf. Prov. 14, 21. 31. — *οὐ γινώσκοντες τ. π. αὐτούς*] Cf. Sap. 15, 11: *ἠγνόησε τὸν πλάσαντα αὐτόν*. Ies. 1, 3. Os. 5, 4. — *φονεῖς τ.*] Sap. 12, 5. — *ἀποστρεφόμενοι τ. ἐνδ.*] Cf. adnot. ad 4, 8. — *καταπονοῦντες τ. θλ.*] Sap. 2, 10 improbi loquuntur: *καταδυναστεύωμεν πένητα δίκαιον*. — *πενήτων ἄν. κριταί*] Cf. Ps. 81, 2—4. — *πανθαμάρτητοι*] Cf. II Clem. 18, 2.

V. Mortis vero via haec est: primum omnium mala est ac maledictionis plena: *caedes, adulteria, concupiscentiae, fornicationes, furta, idololatriae, magiae, veneficia, rapinae, falsa testimonia, simulationes, cor duplex, dolus, superbia, malitia, arrogantia, avaritia, turpiloquium, invidia, insolentia, fastus, ostentatio*; 2. bonorum persecutores, osiores veritatis, amatores mendacii, non cognoscentes mercedem iustitiae, non *adhaerentes bono* neque iudicio iusto, vigilantes non ad bonum, sed ad malum, a quibus longe abest mansuetudo et patientia, qui *diligunt inania, sectantur remunerationem*, non misereantur inopis, non laborant de afflicto, non cognoscentes creatorem suum, *liberorum interemptores*, in abortione corrumpentes creaturam Dei, aversantes egenum, opprimentes afflictum, divitum advocati, pauperum iniqui iudices, omnibus peccatis inquinati; liberemini, filii, ab his omnibus.

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VI. Vide, ne quis te abducat ab hac via doctrinae, quoniam praeter Deum te docet. 2. Si enim totum iugum Domini portare potes, perfectus eris; si vero non potes, facias id, quod

— ὁυσθείητε κτλ.] Cf. Sap. 2, 19: καὶ ὁύσεται αὐτὸν (θεός) ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθεστηκότων.

VI, 1. Auctor Nicaenae fidei (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 1639) post mandata Doctrinae 2, 2. 3 ac praecepta eis addita: οὐ διχοστατήσωμεν, ἀπεχώμεθα πνικτοῦ καὶ αἵματος καὶ πλεονεξίας, hunc versum sic repetiit: ὁρα, ἄνθρωπε, μήτις σε ἀπατήσῃ τῆς πίστεως ταύτης, ἐπεὶ παρεκτός σε θεοῦ διδάσκει. — διδαχῆς] i. e. doctrina tota in parte praecedente exposita. Eodem sensu Barnabas 18, 1 voce utitur, doctrinam duarum viarum indicans. — παρεκτός θεοῦ] i. e. aliter ac deus, vias vitae et mortis tibi proponens.

2. βαστάσαι . . ζυγόν] Act. 15, 10 Petrus de iugo loquitur, quod neque patres neque iuniores portare poterant, scilicet de lege Mosis, quam

quidam Christiani ex circumcisione Christianis Antiochenis imponere volebant. Matth. 11, 29. 30 Christus doctrinam vel praecepta sua iugum appellat idque ζυγὸν χορηστόν. Hoc loco vox ζυγός, ut connexus docet, praecepta cuncta significat, de quibus in parte antecedente sermo est, praesertim praecepta vitam Christianorum perfectam spectantia, quae 1, 3—6 leguntur. Versus, ut particula γάρ indicat, ita cum antecedente coniunctus est, ut aequae atque verba ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς de doctrina supra exposita interpretandus sit. Vix recte Schaff de lege V. T. ceremoniali cogitat, Harnack de consilio virginitatis. — τέλειος] Ut supra 2, 2 Matth. 19, 16—18, hic auctor Matth. 19, 21 respicit, ubi Iesus adulescenti mandata se a iuventute sua dicenti servasse consi-

ὁ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει. 3. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν.

VII. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα
 5 προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ

lium dat, ut, si velit perfectus esse, vendat. quae habeat et det pauperibus, addens, tunc eum thesaurum habiturum esse in caelo. — εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι] Auctor annuit, non omnia mandata, quae proposuit, vere praecepta et omnino omnibus servanda esse; qui vero non omnia mandata implere possunt, eos adhortatur, ut faciant, quidquid possint. Similiter Dominus, postquam de matrimonio non dissolvendo disseruit et discipuli de oratione admirati sunt, Matth. 19, 11 dixit: Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est, et verbis de tribus eunuchorum generibus additis Matth. 19, 12: Qui potest capere, capiat. Et Paulus I Cor. 7, 7 de proprio dono loquitur, quod unusquisque habet ex Deo, atque ibid. Corinthiis 8—9; 36—40 consilium dat, non praeceptum, ut in virginitate permaneant. Animadvertente etiam verba, quae Iustinus Apol. I, 61 scribit. Dicit enim, baptizandos se ita vivere posse polliceri, sicuti docti sunt, βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, nec vero, eos sic vivere velle.

3. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως] Similiter Paulus I Cor. 8, 4 scribit: περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν, pergīt autem: τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων κτλ. Harnack censet, qui contextum et verba ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον respexerit, ei versum de permissione esus carnium intellegendum esse, ita ut sensus sit: carnibus vesci

illis licet, qui ab eis abstinere non possunt; modo ab immolatis simulacrorum prorsus abstinendum est. Interpretatio vero vix est recta. Nec verbis ὁ δύνασαι βάστασον nec contextu probatur, si versum praecedentem aliter interpretatus fueris ac Harnack. Nec magis placet interpretatio, quam Hilgenfeld proponit, scilicet auctorem ieiunium severius ante oculos habere, quod apud Montanistas perfectis praeceptum, vulgariis autem Christianis remissum fuisset. Cf. Prolegomena. Versus potius, ut Bryennius et Schaff interpretati sunt, de praeceptis V. T. ad cibos spectantibus intellegendus esse videtur. Auctor igitur dicit: a cibis lege V. T. interdictis te abstine, in quantum potes; immolata autem simulacrorum tibi omnino vitanda sunt. — ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λ. πρ.] Act. 15, 20. 29 apostoli Hierosolymis congregati fidelibus e gentilibus Antiochenis praecipunt, ut ab immolatis, simulacrorum et sanguine et suffocato et fornicationese abstineant, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων κτλ. Paulus I Cor. 8 quidem exponit, idolothytis vesci non esse illicitum, cum idolum nihil sit in mundo cumque nullus sit Deus nisi unus, nisi forte licentia edendi offendiculum fiat infirmis. Minime autem omnem idolothytorum esum permittere voluit. Namque 10, 7. 14—33 societatem sacrarum epularum gentilium tanquam idolo-

potes. 3. Quod ad cibum attinet, quod potes porta; immolata autem simulacrorum valde declina; servitus enim sunt deorum mortuorum.

VII. De baptismo autem, sic baptizate; haec omnia postquam antea dixistis, *baptizate in nomine patris et filii et spiritus* 5

latiam condemnat atque esum earum carnum tantum permittit, quae in macello venundantur vel in convivio apponuntur, et in hoc casu licentiam datam insuper refrenat, si quis dixerit, hoc esse immolatum idolis, propter conscientiam alterius. Quae cum ita sint, sententia Pauli a decreto apostolorum non vel nonnisi paulum discedere videtur. Verisimile enim est, apostolos Hierosolymis congregatos nihil aliud vetare voluisse, nisi ipsam sacrarum epularum societatem, etiamsi verba decreti ipsa ad quasvis victimarum oblatarum carnes, etiam ad eas, quae profano usui tradebantur, referri poterant. Cf. C. Schmidt, De apostolorum decreti sententia et consilio 1874 p. 13 sq. Quaecunque autem sententia a Paulo apostolo I Cor. 8—10 proposita est, patres temporis sequentis aequae ac decretum apostolorum et Doctrina apostolorum esum idolothytorum reprobant. Cf. Iust. Dial. c. 34—35. Iren. Adv. haer. I, 6, 3; 24, 5; 28, 2. Clem. Alex. Paedag. II, 1, 8 p. 169. Orig. C. Cels. VIII, 29, 30, ubi exponitur, verba Pauli I Cor. 8, 8 decreto apostolorum Act. 15, 20 accuratius explicari. — *θεῶν νεκρῶν*] Cf. Sap. 15, 17: *θνήσκουσιν ἐν νεκρῶν (θεῶν) ἐργάζονται χερσὶν ἀνόμοις*. I Cor. 8, 4; 10, 20: *δαίμονες θύουσιν, καὶ οὐ θεῶν*. II Clem. 3, 1: *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες τοῖς νεκροῖς θεοῖς οὐ θύομεν κτλ.*

VII, 1. *περὶ δέ*] His particulis haec pars eodem modo priori adiuncta est quo versus 3 capitis VI versui praecedenti. Cf. 9, 1; 11, 3. Sed non solum particula *δέ*, sed etiam verba *τ. π. προειπόντες* connexum utriusque partis produnt. Haec verba praeterea indicant, capita praecedentia sermonem esse baptizandis pronuntiandum. — *βαπτίσαι*] Auctor omnes Christianos respicit. Omnes ergo fideles baptizare poterant. Neque tamen inde concludendum est, omnes ubique sacramentum administrasse. Ordo postulavit, ut in ecclesia constituta praepositi aut ipsi baptizarent aut de baptismo consulerentur. Cf. Ign. Smyrn. 8, 2. Tert. De bapt. c. 17. Iustinus quoque Apol. I, 61 certum sacramenti ministrum non nominat. — *τ. πάντα*] scilicet quae in capitibus sex prioribus exposita sunt. Cf. quae Philosoph. IX, 15 de baptismo Elchaisitarum traduntur. Postquam enim Hippolytus narravit, baptizando septem testes invocanti promittendum fuisse, quod non amplius peccaret neque adulteraret nec furaretur neque iniuriam faceret neque circumveniret neque odio haberet neque contemneret neque ullis pravis delectaretur, pergit: *ταῦτα οὖν εἰπὼν βαπτισάσθω. — βαπτισαίτε κτλ.*] Matth. 28, 19. Iustinus Apol. I, 61 bis animadvertit, baptismum dari in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. 2. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. 3. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. 4. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴτινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

VIII. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. 2. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑπο-

— ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι] in aqua fluente, i. e. in fluvio vel fonte. Cf. Ioann. 4, 10. 11. Clem. Hom. Contest. c. 1: ἀγαγόντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν ἢ πηγὴν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζῶν ὕδωρ, ἐνθα ἡ τῶν δικαίων γίνεται ἀναγέννησις. Clem. Hom. XI, 26: ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇτε ὕδατι ζῶντι, et ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ ὕδατι ζῶντι προσελθεῖν (Ed. Dressel p. 6, 12; 247, 8. 15). Sin autem Doctrina in universum saltem aquam vivam postulat, Tertullianus De bapt. c. 4 scribit: Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur.

2. εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ] sc. lacum sive a natura sive ab hominibus effossum, cisternam vel similem aliam aquam, modo sit frigida. Quod attinet praepositionem εἰς, considera, verbum βαπτίζειν denotare immersionem. — οὐ δύνασαι] i. e. si valetudo minus firma vel tempus anni usum aquae frigidae in baptismo administrando non permittit.

3. ἀμφ. μὴ ἔχῃς] scilicet tantum aquae vivae vel alius, sive frigidae sive calidae, ut immergere possis. — ἔκχεον εἰς τ. κ.] Habes hic testimonium vetustissimum formae effusionis vel aspersionis in baptismo ad-

ministrando, idque certius quam alia, quae e tempore priorum saeculorum ad nos pervenerunt. Animadvertite etiam, auctorem formam illam cum certitudine validam habere, cum posteriorum nonnulli de eius validitate dubitarent, ut Magnus Africanus, cuius errorem Cyprianus Ep. 69, 12—14 correxit. Cf. Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. Antioch. apud Eus. H. E. VI, 43. — τρεῖς] Ter aqua effundenda est respectu trium divinarum personarum. Ideoque immersio quoque ter facienda erat.

4. 6. κελεύεις cod: κελεύεις Br. — De ieiunio et baptizandorum et fidelium baptismo assistantium etiam Iustinus et auctor Clem. Recognitio-num loquuntur. Ille Apol. I, 61 dicit, catechumenos, qui doctrinam christianam susceperint eamque se secuturos esse polliceantur, precari et ieiunantes peccatorum ante commissorum remissionem a Deo petere doceri, fidelibus una cum eis precantibus ac ieiunantibus (ἡμῶν συννεχόμενων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς). Hic VII, 37 scribit: Vos (sc. Aquila, Niceta, Clemens) et ego (Petrus) vobiscum hodie ieiunemus cum ipsa (Mattidia), et crastino baptizabitur;

sancti in aqua viva. 2. Sin autem non habes aquam vivam, in alia aqua baptiza; si non potes in frigida, in calida. 3. Sin autem neutram habes, effunde in caput ter aquam *in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*. 4. Ante baptismum ieiunato baptizans et baptizandus et si qui alii possunt; baptizandum⁵ autem iube ieiunare unum vel duos dies antea.

VIII. *Ieiunia vero vestra* ne fiant *cum hypocritis*; ieiunant enim secunda post sabbatum et quinta; vos autem ieiunate quarta et sexta. 2. Neque *orate sicut hypocritae*, sed sicut prae-

X, 72: Petrum indixisse ieiunium omni plebi et veniente die dominica baptizasse Faustinianum. Reliqui veterum ieiuniorum baptismum ingressurorum tantum mentionem faciunt, scilicet Clemens Alex. Epit. ex Theodoto §§ 83—84 p. 988; Tertullianus De baptismo c. 20; Clem. Homiliae III, 73; XI, 35; XIII, 9—11. Nonnunquam etiam auctor Clem. Recognitionum nonnisi de baptizandis ieiunantibus dicit, scilicet III, 67; VI, 15; VII, 34—35; hoc autem loco, de baptismo Mattidiaei agens, idem fideles quoque olim una cum baptizandis ieiunasse prodit (VII, 37). — *πρὸ μᾶς*] Auctor Clem. Recognitionum VII, 34 et 35 dicit, baptizando vel una die ante baptismum ieiunandum esse (cf. VII, 37); III, 67 idem de ieiuniis frequentibus catechumenorum loquitur. Clem. Hom. XI, 35 de ieiunio pluribus diebus observando sermo est.

VIII, 1. *αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι* — *ὑποκριτῶν*] Auctor respicit Matth. 6, 16: *ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε, ὥς οἱ ὑποκριταί, σκυθρωποί*. Cf. Luc. 18, 12. Eodem modo quo hic ieiunium infra v. 2 oratio hypocritarum reprobat. Hypocritae autem in Novo Testamento sunt Pharisei, qui in Evangelio Matthaei distincte septies

hypocritae appellantur, scilicet 23, 13. 14. 15. 23. 25. 27. 29. Harnack false hypocritas Iudaeos declaravit. — *δεντέρας σ. κ. πέμπτη*] Epiphanius H. 16, 1 eosdem dies ieiunii Pharisaeis adscribit. Zahn, *Forschungen* III, 317, e codice Parisino (Coislin. 296 fol. 62^a hunc locum exscripsit: *Διὰ τί οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν δεντέραν* (sic) *τῶν σαββάτων καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ νηστεύουσιν; Δεντέρας σαββάτων ἐτύγγαθεν εἶναι, ὅτε ὁ ναὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ τὸ πρότερον ἐνεπλήσθη, πέμπτη δέ, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου τὸ δεύτερον ἔπαθε. Πενθούσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπλήσει τοῦ ναοῦ κατὰ ταύτας τὰς δύο ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νηστεύουσιν.* — *τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν*] Praeter Doctrinam huius ieiunii primus Hermas mentionem facit, Sim. V, 1 narrans, se stationem habere ac ieiunare. Dies stationis enim, ut Tertullianus De ieiun. c. 2. 14 scribit, erant feriae quarta et sexta; ieiunium, quod his diebus instituebatur, erat semiieiunium (ibid. c. 13) vel perdurabat usque ad nonam horam (ibid. c. 2. 10). Cf. Clem. Al. Strom. VII, 12, 75 p. 877. Orig. Hom. X in Levit. c. 2 (Ed. De la Rue II, 246). Epiph. H. 75, 6; Expos. fid. c. 21.

κριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν ⁵ σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. Τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

IX. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· 2. πρῶ-

2. 3. γενηθήτω em : γεννηθήτω cod — μηδὲ κτλ.] Matth. 6, 5 Dominus dicit: καὶ ὅταν προσεύχῃ, οὐκ ἔσῃ ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριταί. — ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ] i. e. Evangelio secundum Matthaeum 6, 9—13, ubi oratio fere eisdem verbis legitur, ubi etiam orationis hypocritarum mentio fit. Praeter lectiones ἐλθέτω et ἀφίμεν, quibus editores N. T. recentissimi, Tischendorf et Westcott-Hort, ἐλθάτω et ἀφήκαμεν substituerunt, differentiae hae sunt: pro ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (post πάτερ ἡμῶν), ἐπὶ γῆς et τὴν ὀφειλὴν Matthaeus exhibet ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς et τὰ ὀφειλήματα. — ὅτι σοῦ κτλ.] Eadem doxologia infra 9, 4 (additis verbis διὰ Ἰ. Χριστοῦ) et 10, 5 legitur, brevior (sine ἡ δύναμις καὶ) 9, 2. 3; 10, 2. 4. Additamenta codicum biblicorum et versiones S. Scripturae, excepta versione Sahidica, doxologiam maiorem exhibent, post ἐστὶν verba ἡ βασιλεία καὶ inserentes. Verba non esse Domini cum codices vetustissimi tum alii testes probant. Doctrina autem docet, quomodo doxologia in textum S. Scripturae irrepserit. Cum Christiani oratione Domini velut formula orationis uterentur, preces doxologia concludebant, et usu longaevo doxologia cum precibus paullatim

adeo in unum concaluit, ut tempore posteriore librarii nonnulli eam in S. Scriptura recipere non dubitarent.

3. τρεῖς] Similiter Daniel 6, 10, 13. ter per diem orasse traditur. Sed quibus horis oratio fiebat? Haud dubie horis tertia, sexta et nona, quae in S. Scriptura et ab autoribus posterioribus saepius velut horae orationis commemorantur, neque vero, ut Harnack verisimile censet, de tempore matutino, postmeridiano ac vespertino cogitandum est. Cf. Act. 2, 15; 3, 1; 10, 9. 30. Tert. De orat. c. 25; De ieiun. c. 10. Clem. Al. Strom. VII, 7, 40 p. 854. Quodsi hic scribit, quosdam horas constitutas orationi impendere, scilicet tertiam, sextam, nonam, gnosticum autem per totam vitam orare, probat, in ecclesia Alexandrina illis horis orationem factam esse. Vox τινές non de quibusdam paucis, sed de fidelibus simplicibus in universum intelligenda est, quibus auctor gnosticum opponit. Neque alius praxis ecclesiae Alexandrinae Origenes testis est. Loquitur quidem Adamantius De Orat. c. 12 de orationibus, quae fiebant mane et tempore vespertino. Voces πρῶτ' et ἐσπερινή (θυσία) autem nequaquam urgendae sunt, quippe quae partes sint locorum S. Scripturae, sc.

cepit Dominus in Evangelio suo, *ita orate: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra; panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie, et dimitte nobis debitum nostrum, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo*, quoniam tua est virtus et gloria in saecula. 3. Ter in die sic orate.

IX. Quod ad gratiarum actionem attinet, sic gratias agite;

Ps. 5, 4; 140, 2, qui laudati sunt. Accedit, quod Origenes tertiam orationem non postmeridianam appellat, sed dicit, eam sexta hora fieri et mediam esse trium orationum. Scriptores laudati sane Christianum etiam aliis horis vel semper orare volunt. Tertullianus De orat. c. 25 orationi illis horis instituendae legitimas orationes opponit, quae sine ulla admonitione debentur, scilicet ingressu lucis ac noctis nec non ante cibum sumendum et lavacrum adeundum. Idem autem, respiciens librum Actuum apostolorum, De ieun. c. 10 distinctis verbis interrogat, cur non intellegamus, salva plane indifferentia semper et ubique et omni tempore orandi, tamen tres istas horas (in Actibus laudatas) ut insigniores in rebus humanis, quae diem distribuunt, quae negotia distinguunt, quae publice resonant, ita et sollemniores fuisse in rebus divinis? Pseudo-Athanasius De virgin. c. 13 cum tres illas orationis horas commemorat, tum (l. c. c. 16. 20) lectorem adhortatur, ut etiam hora duodecima, media nocte et sole exoriente oret. Quae cum ita sint, vox *τρίς* certe de horis tertia, sexta, nona intellegenda est. Notandum est quoque, orationem Domini praeter S. Scripturam hic primum commemorari et quidem Christianis

praescriptam usitatamque. Posteriores testes sunt Irenaeus Adv. haer. V, 17, 1 et praesertim Tertullianus qui De Orat. c. 10 orationem illam legitimam et ordinariam appellat. Cf. Probst, *Lehre und Gebet* 1871. *Real-Encyclopädie der christl. Altertümer* ed. Kraus I, 550 sqq.

IX—X. In his capitibus formulae orationum in sacra cena adhibendae proponuntur, et quidem duae, quae communioni praecedunt, una, quae corpore et sanguine Domini sumto pronuntianda erat. Zahn, *Forschungen* III, 293—298, cum verba *εἰ τις ἅγιος κτλ.*, quae infra 10, 6 leguntur, ei indicare viderentur, sacramentum nondum distributum esse, sed distributum iri, et considerans verba *ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ (θεῷ) Δαβὶδ* (10, 6) vel verba *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου*, quae in S. Scriptura cum illis coniuncta sunt, in liturgiis veteribus ante communionem pronuntiari, cum in Doctrina communionem sequantur, orationes ad agapen pertinere censuit. Verba *ὡσαννὰ κτλ.* sane in liturgiis nobis servatis ante, hic autem post communionem leguntur. Altera ex parte vero minime dubium est, verba *εἰ τις ἅγιος κτλ.* non ad sacramentum accipiendum, sed ad Dominum reditum exspectandum referenda esse,

τον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ⁵ γνῶσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 4. Ὡς περ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συν-

cumque ita sit, ratio principalis, qua interpretatio illa nititur, inanis est. Praeterea ex 9, 5, praesertim verbis: *μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί*, evidenter apparet, non tam de agape, quam de communione vel potius de communione cum agape coniuncta sermonem fieri. Denique ab omni verisimilitudine abhorret, auctorem, postquam de baptismo egit, tres orationes ad agapen spectantes attulisse, de eucharistia autem proprie dicta nihil fere dixisse. Cf. etiam quae de his orationibus disputavit Spitta in *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie* VIII (1886), 313—321. Sin autem orationes eucharisticae sunt, attamen haud dubie non liturgiam totam efficiebant, sed potius eae solum fuisse videntur, quae in liturgia celebranda ante et post communionem pronuntiabantur. Liturgia tam simplex et sine aliis orationibus atque eis, quae Doctrina traduntur, vix unquam et usquam agebatur. Verba institutionis eucharistiae saltem non praetermissa sunt, cum in omnibus liturgiis veteribus legantur et teste Luca 22, 19 Dominus sacramentum instituens discipulis praecepisset, ut hoc in ipsius commemorationem agerent. Accedit, quod teste Justino Apol. I, 65—67 liturgia saeculo II medio longe plura amplexa est, et liturgia, quam apologeta describit, nequaquam recens,

sed potius vetus est habenda, cum non ad singulas ecclesias, sed ad ecclesiam universam referenda sit. Cf. quae de hac re disputavit G. Bickell in *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie* VIII (1884), 400—412; *Real-Encyclopädie der christl. Altertümer* ed. Kraus II, 311—313. Ut eos refutet, qui forte contendere audeant, orationibus hoc capite contentis consecrationem elementorum factam esse, Bickell non solum de pane iam fracto dici urget, sed etiam ad eulogias provocat, quibus apud Iudaeos in Paschate celebrando vinum et panis distribuebantur. Eulogiae illae sunt: 1. Benedictus es Deus, Dominus noster, rex mundi, qui fructum vitis creasti, in saecula, Amen, 2. Benedictus . . . mundi, qui panem e terra progignis, in saecula, Amen.

IX, 1. *εὐχαριστίας*] i. e. epularum mysticarum, quae constant ex vino et pane, vel orationis eucharisticae. Infra v. 5 vox distincte elementa consecrata designat. Similiter Iustinus Apol. I, 66 scribit: *καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία*. Cf. Ign. Smyrn. 7, 1; 8, 1; Philad. 4.

2. *πρῶτον π. τ. ποτηρίου*] Hic ordo nusquam alias invenitur. Neque Lucas eum habet; nam calicem quidem paschalem (22, 17 sq.) ante epulas eucharisticas commemorat, calicem autem eucharisticum distincte

2. primum de calice: Gratias tibi agimus, pater noster, pro sancta vite David pueri tui, quam indicasti nobis per Iesum puerum tuum; gloria tibi in saecula. 3. De pane fracto autem: Gratias tibi agimus, pater noster, pro vita et scientia, quam indicasti nobis per Iesum puerum tuum; gloria tibi in saecula. 5
4. Sicut hic panis fractus dispersus erat supra montes et col-

post panem eucharisticum ponit (22, 19 sq.). Similiter Paulus I Cor. 11, 23 sqq., ubi institutionem sacramenti altaris exponit, ordinem communem servat. Quod apostolus I Cor. 10, 16. 21 calicem pani praeponebat, nullius momenti est. Infra v. 5 Doctrina ipsa communem ordinem sequitur, dicens: *μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω*. Hoc loco Doctrina ipsa prodit, se non formulam liturgicam proprie dictam universamque exhibere velle. Alias ordo eucharistiae communis certe servatus esset. — *πάτερ ἡμῶν*] Haec verba allocutoria ex oratione Domini desumpta sunt. — *ἀμπέλον* *Δαβίδ*] Contextum respicientibus verba de vino eucharistico seu de sanguine Christi nobis interpretanda sunt. Clemens Al., Doctrinam haud dubie cognitam habens, sanguinem vitis David sanguinem Christi distincte appellat, Quis div. salv. c. 29 scribens: *οὗτος* (sc. *Χριστός*) *ὁ τὸν οἶνον, τὸ αἶμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβίδ, ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετραμένους ψυχάς*. Similiter Origenes Hom. in Iud. VI, 2 (De la Rue II, 471) de vera vite loquitur, quae ascendit de radice David, verbis sanguinem Christi eucharisticum denotans. Cuius verba etiam ortum phrasin *ἀμπέλος Δαβίδ* explicant. Vitem Christus se ipse appellat Ioann. 15, 1. Cf. Matth. 26, 29. Clem. Al. Paedag. I, 5, 15 p. 107, ubi vinum vitis et sanguis Verbi tanquam potus

hominum commemorantur, illud corporis, hic spiritus. — *Δαβίδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου*] David *παῖς θεοῦ* appellatur Ps. 17, 1; Ies. 37, 35; Luc. 1, 69; *δοῦλος θεοῦ* Ps. 77, 70; 130, 10; 143, 10. — *ἐγνώρισας*] Cf. Ioann. 15, 15; 17, 26. — *Ἰησοῦ τ. παιδὸς σου*] Eadem verba exstant Act. 3, 13. 26; 4, 27. 30; leguntur quoque apud patres apostolicos. Cf. quae adnotavi ad Barn. 6, 1. Animadvertendum est, quod Doctrina in hoc versu non solum Iesum, sed etiam David *παῖδα θεοῦ* nominat. Cum autem utraque appellatio etiam in S. Scriptura inveniatur, non est urgenda.

3. *κλάσματος*] i. e. panis eucharistici seu corporis Christi revera in cruce, typice in eucharistia fracti. Vox in S. Scriptura saepe legitur, sc. Matth. 14, 20; 15, 37; Marc. 6, 43; 8, 8. 19. 20; Luc. 9, 17; Ioann. 6, 12. 13; sed ubique 'fragmentum vel fructum denotat. Eum sensum, quo hic adhibetur, vox nusquam alias habet. Paulus autem I Cor. 10, 16 scribit: *τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν*, I Cor. 11, 24: *τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κλῶμενον*. Act. 2, 42 *ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου* legitur. — *ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως*] Cfr. infra 10, 2; 11, 2. I Clem. 36, 2. II Clem. 20, 5.

4. 6. *τοῦτο τό* em: *τοῦτο* cod — *κλάσμα . . ἔν*] Cf. I Cor. 10, 17. Ign. Eph. 20, 2. — *συναχθῆτω κτλ.*] Cf. 10, 5. Matth. 24, 31. — *βασιλείαν*]

αχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 5. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ
 5 περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· *Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.*

X. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός
 10 σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ἐκτίσας τὰ πάντα ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοὶ εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζῶην αἰώνιον

Haec vox cum voci ἐκκλησία opposita sit, regnum Christi futurum denotat. Auctor igitur in oratione eucharistica res extremas in memoriam revocat, ut Dominus ipse Matth. 26, 29 et Paulus apostolus I Cor. 11, 26. Ut Swainson primus vidit, eadem fere gratiarum actio, quae hic fit pro accepto pane eucharistico, a Pseudo-Athanasio De virginitate c. 13 et quidem pro pane communione enuntiantia exhibetur. In hoc enim libro legimus: *Ὅταν κατεσθῇς* (sc. ἡ παρθένος) *ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ἐρχῇ κλῆσαι τὸν ἄρτον, . . . εὐχαριστοῦσα λέγε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως σου, διὰ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν αὐτήν, καὶ καθὼς ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διεσκορπισμένος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἐπάνω ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτως ἐπισυναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.* (Migne, P. gr. t. 28

p. 266.)

5. *μηδεὶς κτλ.*] Similiter dicit Iustinus Apol. I, 66: *τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδασμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρόν.* — *βαπτ. εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου*] Similiter Act. 19, 5 legitur, discipulos Ioannis Ephesi baptizatos esse in nomine Domini Iesu. Teste autem Doctrina inde nequaquam iam colligendum est, in sacramento administrando non nisi verba *εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου* olim adhibita esse. Supra 7, 1. 3 enim Doctrina distinctis verbis praecipit, ut homo in nomine trinitatis baptizetur. — *μὴ δῶτε κτλ.*] Matth. 7, 6. Tertullianus De praescript. c. 41 dicit, in conventibus haereticorum ecclesiasticis non solum incertum esse, quis catechumenus sit, quis fidelis, cum pariter adeant, pariter audiant, pariter orent, sed etiam, si ethnici supervenerint, sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, iactari.

X, 1. *ἐμπλησθῆναι*] Cf. Ioann. 6,

lectus factus est unus, ita colligatur ecclesia tua a finibus terrae in regnum tuum; quoniam tua est gloria et virtus per Iesum Christum in saecula. 5. Nemo autem edat neque bibat a vestra gratiarum actione, nisi qui baptizati sunt in nomine Iesu; de hoc etenim dixit Dominus: *Ne date sanctum canibus.* 5

X. Postquam autem impleti estis, sic gratias agite: 2. Gratias tibi agimus, pater sancte, pro sancto nomine tuo, quod fecisti ut habitet in cordibus nostris, et pro scientia et fide et immortalitate, quam indicasti nobis per Iesum puerum tuum; gloria tibi in saecula. 3. Tu, Domine omnipotens, *creasti omnia* 10 propter nomen tuum, et cibum potumque dedisti hominibus ad fruendum, ut tibi gratias agant, nobis autem largitus es spirituales cibum et potum et vitam aeternam per puerum tuum.

12, ubi vox de quinque milibus hominum a Domino satiatorum adhibetur. Vox indicat, tempore ortus Doctrinae cum sacra cena etiam epulas illas coniunctas fuisse, quae graeco nomine agape appellatae sunt. Cf. I Cor. 11, 20—22.

2. 8. *ἡμῶν* em: *ὑμῶν* cod — *πάτερ ἄγιε*] Eisdem verbis Dominus utitur Ioann. 17, 11. — *ἁγίου ὀνόματος σου*] Cf. Luc. 1, 49. Ioann. 17, 26 (*ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου*). — *κατεσκήνωσας*] Verbum sensu transitive etiam Ps. 22, 2 adhibetur, alias sensu intransitivo, ex gr. Ioann. 1, 14.

3. *δέσποτα*] Haec vox in oratione (Sirach 33, 1. Luc. 2, 29. Act. 4, 24. I Clem. 59, 4; 60, 3; 61, 1. 2) et alias a scriptoribus sacris et ecclesiasticis saepe adhibetur. Cf. ad eam et ad vocem *παντοκράτωρ* index vocabulorum, quem adieci editioni meae Patrum apostolicorum. — *ἔκτισας τ. π.*] Sap. 1, 14. Sirach 18, 1; 24, 8. Apoc. 4, 11. Cf. Eph. 3, 9. Hebr. 3, 4. — *ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος σου*] Haec verba in Vetere Testamento, inprimis in Psalmis saepius leguntur.

Ps. 22, 3: *ὠδήγησέν με ἐπὶ τρίβους δικαιοσύνης ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ*. Similiter Ps. 24, 11; 30, 4; 78, 9; 142, 11. In litteris christianis praeter hunc locum formula exstare non videtur. Hermas Vis. I, 1, 6 scribit, Deum omnia creasse propter sanctam ecclesiam suam. Auctor epistolae ad Diognetum 10, 2 docet propter homines mundum creatum esse. Idem dicunt Iustinus Apol. I, 10; II, 4. 5; Dialog. c. 41, et posteriores. Itaque formula illa antiquitatem maximam sapit. — *εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν*] Cf. I Tim. 6, 17: *παρέχοντι ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν*. — *ἐχαρίσω*] Vox ex industria posita est. Hominibus omnibus Deus dat cibum communem, Christianis autem gratia speciali etiam cibum spirituales. — *πνευματικὴν τροφήν*] Cf. Iust. Apol. I, 66 et Iren. Adv. haer. IV, 18, 5, ubi legimus, panem eucharisticum non esse panem communem. — *καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον*] Haec verba indicant effectum alimenti spiritualis. Sensus est igitur: largitus es nobis alimentum spirituale et per hoc (vel quod

διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. 4. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατός εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 5. Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σίναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, 5 τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 6. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ. Εἴ τις ἄγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοεῖτω· μαρὰν ἀθά· ἀμήν. Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν, ὅσα θέ-
λουσιν.

operatur) vitam aeternam. Ignatius Eph. 20, 2 eucharistiam pharmacum immortalitatis appellat.

4. 2. σοὶ em Br : σὺ cod, σύ, σοὶ Harnack. — Apoc. 11, 17 legimus: εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ, . . ὅτι ἐλήφας τὴν δυνάμιν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβασίλευσας. — δυνατός εἶ] Cf. Ps. 88, 9. Luc. 1, 49.

5. ῥύσασθαι κτλ.] Cf. Matth. 6, 13. Ioann. 17, 15. — τελειῶσαι κτλ.] Cf. Ioann. 17, 23. I Ioann. 2, 5. I Clem. 50, 3 (οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες). — σίναξον κτλ.] Matth. 24, 31: καὶ συναξοῦσι τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων. — τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν] sc. sanguine Christi. Cf. Ioann. 17, 19. Eph. 5, 25 (ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ). Hebr. 10, 10 (ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμέν διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος Ἰ. Χριστοῦ ἐφάπαξ). Herm. Vis. I, 3, 4. Bryennius et Schaff verbum cum sequentibus construunt, ita ut sensus sit: ecclesia, quae sanctificata est in regnum tuum vel ut hereditet regnum tuum. Supra 9, 4 autem verba εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν cum συναχθήτω coniuncta sunt. — ἡτοίμασας] Cf. Matth. 25, 34: κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν. Hebr. 11, 16.

6. 7. ὡσαννὰ em : ὡς ἀνὰ cod | υἱῷ em : θεῷ cod | 8. sq. μαρὰν ἀθά cod — ἐλθέτω κτλ.] Veteres Christiani non solum hunc mundum brevi tempore praeteritum esse credebant, sed etiam pro accelerando eius fine adventuque Christi orabant. Cf. Apoc. 22, 17: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν· Ἔρχου, καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπάτω· Ἔρχου, 20: Ἔρχου, κύριε Ἰησοῦ. Tertullianus Apolog. c. 39 quidem scribit: Oramus pro mora finis. Similiter De orat. c. 5 in explicando secundo orationis dominicae articulo commemorat, quosdam protractum quemdam (in) saeculo postulare. Ipse autem eodem loco censet, regnum Dei, quod ut adveniat oramus, ad consummationem saeculi tendere et cum aliis Christianis optat maturius regnare et non diutius servire. — χάρις] Cf. I Petr. 1, 13: ἐλπίζατε ἐπὶ τὴν φερομένην ὑμῖν χάριν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰ. Χριστοῦ. — παρελθέτω] Cf. Matth. 5, 18. I Cor. 7, 31. II Petr. 3, 10. Apoc. 21, 1. — ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβὶδ] Matth. 21, 9. 15. Sic Iesus Hierosolyma intrans a turbis populi salutatus est. Eisdem verbis teste Hegesippo (Eus. H. E. II, 23) multi testimonio Iacobi ad fidem adducti vel in fide confirmati Iesum

4. Ante omnia gratias tibi agimus, quod potens es; gloria tibi in saecula. 5. Recordare, Domine, ecclesiae tuae, ut eam liberares ab omni malo eamque perficias in caritate tua, *et collige eam a quattuor ventis* sanctificatam in regnum tuum, quod ei parasti, quoniam tua est virtus et gloria in saecula. 6. Adveniat gratia ⁵ et praetereat mundus hic. *Hosanna filio David*. Si quis sanctus est, accedat; si quis non est, paenitentiam agat. *Maranatha*, Amen. 7. Prophetis vero permittite gratias agere, quantas volunt.

glorificaverunt. Verba aptissime hoc loco posita sunt, ubi Christus rediturus exspectatur. Quod autem ad vocem ὡσαννά attinet, LXX Ps. 117, 25 interpretati sunt: ὦ κύριε σῶσον δὴ (אֲדָוָה יְיָ), ὦ κύριε εὐδόησον δὴ, et Clemens Alex. Paedag. I, 5, 12 p. 105 scribit: φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἴνος μεθ' ἱκετηρίας τῷ κυρίῳ· τουτὶ γὰρ ἐμφαίνει ἐρμενόμενον Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὸ ὡσαννά. Lucas 19, 28 totum locum, Marcus 11, 9 et Ioannes 12, 13 verba saltem τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ omiserunt, vocem ὡσαννά solam exhibentes. Quae respiciens atque considerans, Iesum ipsum Matth. 22, 42—45 ex Pharisaeis dicentibus, Christum esse filium David, quaesivisse, quomodo filius esset David, quippe qui Ps. 109, 1 eum Dominum appellaret, atque Barnabam 12, 10—11 et nonnullos alios scriptores ecclesiasticos eos impugnare, qui dixerunt, Christum esse filium David vel filium hominis, Harnack lectionem codicis retinendam esse putavit. Haec bene dicta sint. Sin autem mecum reputo, locum sollempnissimum atque verba ea esse, quae e S. Scriptura deprompta esse nemo ignoravit, persuadere mihi non possum, auctorem θεῶν scripsisse, sed minime dubito, hanc lectionem per lapsum librarii in textum irrepsisse. — εἰ τις ἄγιος κτλ.] Cum in

praecedenti de transitu mundi et adventu Christi sermo sit, haec verba non de accessu ad sacram cenam, sed de introitu in ecclesiam Dominum expectantem intellegenda sunt. Quae cum ita sint, admonitio ad paenitentiam minus ad fideles peccatores, quam ad catechumenos et infideles dirigitur. Celsus apud Orig. C. Cels. III, 59 refert, gentiles ad mysteria vocasse alios: ὅστις χεῖρας καθαρὸς καὶ φωνὴν συνετός, alios: ὅστις ἄγνός ἀπὸ παντὸς μύσους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐδὲν σὺνοιδε κακόν, καὶ διὰ τὸ εὖ καὶ δικαίως βεβιωται. — μαρὰν ἀθά] I Cor. 16, 22. Alii verba illa aramaica interpretantur: Domine noster, veni (cf. Apoc. 22, 20); alii: Dominus venit (ἔχει vel ἔλθειν). Ut-cunque autem verba vertuntur, locus finem Apocalypsis (22, 20) in memoriam revocat. — ἀμήν] Hanc vocem Doctrina hoc tantum loco exhibet.

7. Sensus: prophetis eisque solis licet, in sacra cena et agape celebranda, formulis orationis supra allegatis praetermissis, libere gratias agere, quantas volunt. Iustinus similem libertatem episcopo tribuit, Apolog. I, 67 scribens: καὶ ὁ προσετώδης εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὁση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει. Clemens Rom. I Cor. 41, 1 omnes ad-

XI. Ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· 2. ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτόν
■ ὥς κύριον.

3. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε. 4. Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὥς κύριος· 5. οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾗ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης

hortatur, ut in suo quisque ordine Deo gratias agant.

XI. Hoc caput et sequentia praecepta continent disciplinam ecclesiasticam spectantia.

1. τ. π. τὰ προειρημένα] i. e. omnia quae in capitibus decem prioribus dicta sunt. Cf. 7, 1.

2. διδ. ἄλλην διδαχὴν κτλ.] Cf. II Ioann. 10: εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει, μὴ λαμβάνετε αὐτόν εἰς οἰκίαν καὶ χαίρειν αὐτῷ μὴ λέγετε. II Petr. 2, 1. Ign. Eph. 9, 1. — καταλῦσαι] sc. τὰ προειρημένα vel τὴν διδαχὴν προειρημένην. — προσθεῖναι . . γνῶσιν κ.] Cf. Prov. 2, 5. 6. Eccles. 1, 18 (ὁ προστιθεὶς γνῶσιν). — ὥς κύριον] Cf. 4, 1. 11; 11, 4. Matth. 10. 40. Ioann. 13, 20. Ign. Eph. 6, 1. Pseudo-Ath. De virg. c. 22.

3. ἀποστόλων] Vox ab auctore sensu ampliore adhibetur; non denotat duodecim apostolos a Domino electos, sed universe praedicatores evangelii, qui religionem christianam annuntiantes inprimis ad infideles se conferunt. Similiter eodem nomine in S. Scriptura comites et socii apostolorum vel etiam alii praedicatores evangelii appellantur. Cf. Act. 14,

4. 14. Rom. 16, 7. I Cor. 15, 7. Apoc. 2, 2. In ceteris litteris christianis veteribus vox illo sensu raro adhibita esse videtur. Hermas, Sim. IX, 15, 4; 16, 5; 25, 2 cf. Vis. III, 5, 1, de apostolis et doctoribus praedicationis filii Dei loquens voce ἀπόστολος sensu potius strictiore quam ampliore usus esse putandus est. Eusebius H. E. III, 37; V, 10 praedicatores evangelii evangelistas nominat, secundo loco addens, apostolorum exemplo eos studium suum ad aedificationem fidei et ad incrementum verbi divini conferre properasse. H. E. I, 12 idem apostolorum duodecim socios enumerat. Irenaeus Adv. haer. II, 21, 1 et Tertullianus Adv. Marc. IV, 24 septuaginta Domini discipulos apostolos nominant; IV, 12, 5 ille insuper dicit, Dominum apostolorum partem promisisse eis, qui omnia sua vendentes et pauperibus dividentes ipsum secuti essent. Clemens Alex. non solum Barnabam (Strom. II, 6, 31; II, 7, 35 p. 445. 447), sed etiam Clementem Romanum (Strom. IV, 17, 107 p. 609) apostolum appellat. Origenes (In Ioann. t. 32, 10, De la Rue IV, 430 sq.) unumquemque, qui mittitur ab aliquo,

XI. Qui igitur ad vos veniens docuerit vos haec omnia praedicta, eum suscipite. 2. Sin autem doctor ipse perversus doceat aliam doctrinam, ita ut dissolvat, ne eum audite; si vero docet, ita ut addat iustitiam et scientiam Domini, suscipite eum sicut Dominum.

3. Quod autem apostolos attinet et prophetas, secundum decretum Evangelii sic facite. 4. Omnis apostolus veniens ad vos suscipiatur sicut Dominus; 5. non autem manebit nisi unum diem, si opus est et alterum; tres autem si maneat,

apostolum eius nominat, qui misit. C. Cels. III, 9 idem apostolos quidem non nominat, sed describit, narrans, Christianos, quantum in se sit, curare, ut quo terrarum cumque ipsorum doctrina dispergatur; quosdam id sibi negotium desumsisse, ut non solum urbes, sed etiam vicos et villas obambulant, quo alios ad pium Dei cultum adducerent. Denique notandum est, teste Epiphonio H. 30, 4. 11 apud Iudaeos assessores patriarchae apostolos vocatos esse. — *προφητῶν*] Praeter apostolos auctor igitur prophetas cognitos habet. Eodem modo apostoli ac prophetae simul commemorantur I Cor. 12, 28. 29; Eph. 2, 20; 3, 5; 4, 11; Apoc. 18, 20. Praeterea prophetarum christianorum S. Scriptura mentionem facit Act. 11, 27. 28; 13, 1; I Cor. 14, 29—39. — *κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τ. εὐαγγελίου*] Vox *δόγμα* decretum vel mandatum denotat etiam Luc. 2, 1; Act. 16, 4; 17, 7; Eph. 2, 15. Auctor Matth. 10, 5—12; 7, 15—23; 10, 40—42; Luc. 9, 1—6; 10, 4—21 ante oculos habere videtur. Paulus quoque I Cor. 14, 37 dicit, quae de prophetis et spiritualibus scribat, ea esse mandata vel mandatum (*ἐντολή*,

ut legunt Wescott et Hort) Domini.

4. *ὡς κύριον*] Cf. 4, 1. Ign. Eph. 6, 1.

5. 8. *εἰ μὴ* addidi respiciens 12, 2: omisit cod. Hilgf. locum sanare studuit omittens *οὐ*. — *ἡμέραν μίαν*] Infra 12, 2 Doctrina cuique fratri peregrinanti christiano permittit duos vel tres dies in ecclesia manere eiusque hospitio uti. Apostolis unus vel ad summum duo dies conceduntur, cum eis non inter fideles, sed inter infideles opus incumbat. Ut ex sequentibus patet et Lucianus in libro testatur, qui inscribitur Peregrinus Proteus, plures iure hospitii abusi erant. — *ψευδοπροφήτης*] Cum de apostolis sermo sit, vox *ψευδαπόστολος* desideratur, quae legitur II Cor. 11, 13. Vox *ψευδοπροφήτης* autem non solum in S. Scriptura saepius exstat (Matth. 7, 15; 24, 11. 24. Apoc. 16, 13; 19, 20; 20, 10), sed etiam falsum doctorem designat. I Ioann. 4, 1 pseudoprophetae nominantur, falsi doctores autem intelligendi sunt. Tertullianus De praescript. c. 4 dicit: Qui pseudoprophetae sunt, nisi falsi praedicatores? Qui pseudapostoli, nisi adulteri evangelizatores?

ἐστίν. 6. Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μὴδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

7. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε

6. Cf. Matth. 10, 9. 10; Marc. 6, 8; Luc. 9, 3, ubi Dominus apostolis ad evangelium praedicandum ex-euntibus praecipit, ne possideant aurum neque argentum neque pecuniam in zonis suis, apud Matthaeum autem addit, dignum esse operarium cibo suo. — *μὴδὲν λαμβανέτω*] Apostolus igitur praeter victum necessarium omnino nihil accipiat. Eusebius H. E. III, 37 praeterea refert, apostolos vel potius evangelistas, quo nomine utitur, antequam ad evangelium praedicandum exierunt, praeceptum Domini (Matth. 19, 21) explevisse et facultates suas inter egentes divisisse. Cf. Iren. Adv. haer. IV, 12, 5. — *ψευδοπροφήτης*] Cf. II Petr. 2, 1: *ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἰρέσεις ἀπωλείας κτλ., v. 3: καὶ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ πλαστοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεύσονται.*

7—12. Prophetæ, de quibus in hac sectione agitur, instar doctorum in ecclesia considerare potuerunt (cf. 13, 1), cum apostolis ad fidem praedicandam peregrinandum neque diutius in ecclesia manere licitum esset (cf. v. 5), et in loco aliquo manentes aequè ac doctores a Christianis sustentandi erant (13). Itaque ecclesiis singulis serviebant, eas docentes atque aedificantes. Munus vero, quod proprie eis incumberebat, erat *τὸ λαλεῖν ἐν πνεύματι* (cf. v. 7). Cum charismatibus essent praediti, locum in ecclesiis obtinebant principalem. Supra 10, 7 in eucharistia celebranda

eis permittitur, quod nemini alii, scilicet gratias agere formula orationis tradita non utentes, sed quantum velint. Infra 13, 3 *ἀρχιερεῖς* Christianorum appellantur; et 15, 2, ubi lectores admonentur, ne episcopos ac diaconos contemnant, exhortatio eo probatur, quod hi una cum prophetis et doctoribus honorati sint inter Christianos. Vox *προφήτης* in Doctrina quindecies nobis occurrit, cum voces *ἀπόστολος* (inscriptione praetermissa) et *διδάσκαλος* ter, voces *ἐπίσκοπος* et *διάκονος* semel tantum legantur. Attamen praepositi ecclesiarum proprie dicti prophetae non erant. Ex 13, 4 apparet, ecclesias fuisse, quae prophetas non habebant. Praepositi ei potius dicendi sunt, quos ut eligant ecclesiae 15, 1 in universum admonentur, scilicet episcopi et diaconi. Prophetæ autem, ut ipsi charismatibus fructi sunt, ita ecclesiarum charismata fuerunt, et locus, quem obtinebant, principatus magis honoris, ut ita dicam, quam iurisdictionis erat. Similiter de doctoribus iudicandum esse videtur, quamquam eos quoque in ecclesiis nonnullis defuisse auctor non dicit. Loci S. Scripturae, quibus prophetae, sive soli sive una cum apostolis, commemorantur, supra v. 3 allati sunt. Post scriptores sacros et Doctrinam apostolorum prophetarum christianorum raro tantum in litteris christianis mentio fit. Amplissime de eis agit Hermas Mand. XI, ipse donum prophetiae sibi vindicans. Alii quidem de donis propheticis ad-

pseudopropheta est. 6. Abiens vero apostolus nihil accipiat nisi panem, donec devertat; si argentum poscit, pseudopropheta est.

7. Et omnem prophetam loquentem in spiritu ne tentate neque

huc exstantibus loquuntur, prophetas autem iam non diserte nominant. Barnabas 16, 9 dicit, verbum Dei in nobis prophetare: *αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων*. Iustinus scribit Dialog. c. 82: *παρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ μέχρι νῦν προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἐστίν*, c. 88: *καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν καὶ θηλείας καὶ ἄρσενας, χαρίσματα ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχοντας*. Irenaeus Adv. haer. II, 32, 4 de gratia Domini loquens exponit, alios Christianorum daemones expellere, alios praescientiam habere futurorum et visiones et dictiones propheticas, *ὁπτασίας καὶ ῥήσεις προφητικάς*, cum III, 11, 9 et V, 6, 1 non tam de sua quam de apostolorum aetate agat. Adversarius Montanistarum ignotus, cuius verba laudat Eusebius H. E. V, 17, satis accurate indicat, suo tempore iam non prophetas alios fuisse quam pseudopphetas Montanistarum. Scribit quidem, prophetiae donum in omni ecclesia ad ultimum usque Domini adventum permanere debere. Nec vero alio consilio id dicit, nisi ut impugnet confutetque Montanistas, qui ipsorum prophetas post Quadratum et Ammiam Philadelphensem in prophetiae gratiam successisse praedicabant, post Montanum autem et Maximillam ac Priscillam non prophetam aliquem ostendere poterant, etiamsi δεῖν εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀξιοῖ. Praeterea adversarios non ad prophetas in ecclesia catholica adhuc exstantes provocat, sed sententiam,

ut verba ipsius docent, auctoritate potius apostoli probat. Prophetas denique Christianorum enumerans post laudatos alios iam non nominare potuit, cum reliqui, quos vocat, tempore priores sint, scilicet Agabus (Act. 11, 28; 21, 10), Iudas et Silas (Act. 15, 22. 27. 32. 34, et Philippi filiae. Quae cum ita sint, Celso philosopho narranti, multos suo tempore fuisse prophetas christianos in Phoenicia ac Palaestina (Orig. C. Cels. VI, 9), exigua sane fides habenda est, etiamsi non omnino est dubitandum, id quod Origenes (ib. c. 11) fecit, eum huiusmodi homines vidisse, aut verba ad prophetas vel praestigiatos haereticorum referenda sunt, quos Celsus antea (ib. c. 24—41) respexit.

7. ἐν πνεύματι] i. e. ἐν ἐκστάσει, ut ex sequentibus apparet. Cf. I Cor. 12, 3; 14, 2. Apoc. 1, 10; 4, 2; 17, 3. Herm. Vis. I, 1, 3; II, 1, 1; Sim. IX, 1, 4. Tempore igitur Doctrinae licebat in ecstasi loqui. Saeculo autem secundo ad finem vergente Miltiades teste Eusebio H. E. V, 17 peculiari opere adversus Montanistas confecto docuit, μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν. — οὐ πειράσσετε κτλ.] Auctor hoc loco de propheta probato agit, cum versibus sequentibus de falso propheta et de modo dicat, quo cognoscendus sit. Itaque hic prophetam tentari vetat, cum Paulus I Cor. 12, 10; 14, 29 prophetas diiudicari velit et Ioannes I, 4, 1 admoneat, ne quis omni spiritui credat, sed spiritus probet, an ex Deo sint, quoniam multi

οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. 8. Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. 9. Καὶ πᾶς προ-
 5 φήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 10. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 11. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμι-

pseudoprophetae exierunt in mundum. Similiter ac Doctrina Pseudoclemens Hom. I, 19 scribit, cum aliquis prophetam per omnem propheticam inquisitionem comprobaverit eumque verum esse cognoverit, de cetero ipsi omnia credenda nec amplius singulatim eius dicta discutenda, sed ea firma certaue praesumenda esse. Propheta autem, quem Pseudoclemens l. c. respicit, non unus ex multis est, sed propheta verus, quem ad voluntatem Dei occultam illustrandam praedicandamque in Adam, Mose et Christo apparuisse putat. — πᾶσα ἁμαρτία κτλ.] Matth. 12, 31, ubi peccatum, quod non remittitur, spiritus blasphemia (ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία) appellatur. Ab Irenaeo Adv. haer. III, 11, 9 et ab Epiphanio H. 51 c. 35 hoc dictum refertur ad Alogos, qui evangelium simul et propheticum repulisse spiritum ab illo potius dici potuerunt, quam Montanistae, quos l. c. eum respexisse nonnulli censuerunt.

8. ἀλλ' ἐὰν κτλ.] Cf. Matth. 7, 21—23. — ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων κτλ.] Similiter Matth. 7, 16. 20 Dominus dicit: ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς, sc. falsos prophetas. Hermas Mand. XI, 7 scribit: ὧς σοι μέλλω λέγειν, οὕτω δοκιμάσεις τὸν προφήτην καὶ τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην.

ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς δοκίμαζε τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον, et postquam mores utriusque prophetae descripsit, dicit v. 16: ἔχεις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν προφητῶν τὴν ζωὴν· δοκίμαζε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν πνευματοφόρον εἶναι. Similiter de discernendis prophetis Melito in libro περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν iudicasse putandus est. Cf. Eus. H. E. V, 18, ubi Apollonius eundem canonem ad probandos prophetas Montanistarum statuit.

9. 5. ὀρίζων em: ὁ ῥίζων cod, ὁ ῥέζων Gordon. — Sensus est: si propheta in spiritu loquens iusserit mensam parari, pauperes satiabuntur, ipse autem nihil sumet, ne videatur sua curare; sin autem, pseudopropheta habebitur. Hermas Mand. XI, 12 praeter alia de falso propheta dicit, in multis deliciis eum versari et in aliis multis voluptatibus et mercedes accipere prophetiae suae.

10. διδάσκει . . ποιεῖ] Verus propheta id, quod docet, etiam facit. Similiter Matth. 23, 3 Dominus vult, ut homines faciant, quod docentur, et Pharisaeos vituperat, quod dicunt quidem, neque vero faciunt. Cf. Matth. 5, 19. Ign. Eph. 15, 1. 2.

11. Hic versus difficillimus est ad interpretandum. Quaeritur ante om-

discernite; *omne enim peccatum remittetur*, hoc autem peccatum *non remittetur*. 8. Non omnis, qui loquitur in spiritu, propheta est, sed si habet mores Domini; ex moribus igitur cognoscetur pseudopropheta et propheta. 9. Et nullus propheta decernens mensam in spiritu edet ab ea, nisi pseudopropheta est. 10. Omnis autem propheta docens veritatem, si quae docet non facit, pseudopropheta est. 11. Omnis vero propheta probatus verus, qui

nia, an textus genuinus sit. Nonnulli locum emendare studuerunt. Zahn praepositionem εἰς ante ἐκκλησίας posuit, ita ut sensus sit: faciens mysterium saeculare vel terrenum in ecclesiis. Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.* 1885 p. 93; in editione Doctrinae pro ποιῶν insuper μῶν posuit) pro κοσμικὸν legens κοσμικὸν interpretatur: omnis propheta verax probatus, qui per mysterium facit ecclesias cosmicorum vel gentilium, neque vero eos disciplinam paracleti severam docet. Petersen pro κοσμικὸν conicit κόσμιον et mysterium castum prophetarum christianorum opponit mysteriis immundis gentilium. Plerique textum codicis non mutaverunt, verba ποιῶν — ἐκκλησίας autem alii aliter explicuerunt. Bryennius, locum obscurum esse affirmans, hanc interpretationem velut probabiliorē exhibet: omnis propheta verax, congregans populum, ut ei ostendat opus symbolicum, quod ipse operatur ad consolationem et exhortationem fidelium, nec vero populum facere docet, quidquid ipse facit, non indicabitur; eodem enim modo egerunt etiam veteres prophetae, exempli causa Iesaias, cui Dominus locutus est dicens (20, 2—4): Vade et solve saccum de lumbis tuis, et calceamenta tua tolle de pedibus tuis, et fac (fecit Vulg.) sic, vadens nudus

et discalceatus; et dixit Dominus: Sicut ambulavit servus meus Iesaias nudus et discalceatus tres annos, tres anni erunt signa et portenta Aegyptiis et Aethiopibus, quoniam sic ducet rex Assyriorum captivitatem Aegypti et Aethiopiae, iuvenes et senes, nudos et discalceatos etc. Contulit praeterea Ierem. 19; Ezech. 4; 5; 12; 24; 37; III Reg. 11; 29 sq.; Act. 21, 10—11. Harnack respiciens Eph. 5, 32, ubi Paulus de matrimonio dicit: τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ἐγὼ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, atque reputans, ecclesiam a veteribus non solum sponsam, sed etiam carnem et sanctam carnem Christi appellari et inde colligi, membro ecclesiae velut membro carnis Christi matrimonium devitandum esse (?), quoniam cum Christo coniunctum sit (cf. II Clem. 14, 1—4. Ign. Polyc. 5, 2. Tert. De monog. c. 11), interpretatur: agens respectu mysterii terreni ecclesiae, scilicet matrimonio abstinens. Interpretationi vero obstat, quod auctor facinus prophetae defendit vel excusat, cum virginitas apud Christianos veteres nec defendenda nec excusanda esset. Hitchcock et Brown, respicientes Luc. 22, 19 et I Cor. 11, 24—25, ubi locutio ποιεῖν εἰς invenitur (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν), interpretantur: agens respectu mysterii

κὼν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθή-
σεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ
ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται. 12. Ὁς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύ-
ματι· Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν
5 δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

XII. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα
δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε δεξιὰν καὶ
ἀριστεράν. 2. Εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ,
ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μνεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας,
10 ἐὰν ἡ ἀνάγκη. 3. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθίσαι, τεχνίτης ὢν,
ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. 4. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν

ecclesiae in terra, i. e. agens in
usum vel commodum ecclesiae, quae
est mysterium. Krawutzcky, *Theol.*
Quartalschrift 1884 p. 581, locum de
matrimonio, semel inito vel iterato,
interpretatur, cum matrimonium una
ex parte mundanum vel terrenum,
altera ex parte mysterium ecclesiae
sit. Cui interpretationi favet, quod
verba Domini Matth. 19, 12 et Pauli
apostoli I Cor. 7, 25—38 de virgini-
tate, si ad ordinem aliquem ecclesi-
asticum, facillime a nonnullis ad pro-
phetas referri eisque matrimonium
crimini dari poterat, cum altera ex
parte matrimonium eis nusquam in-
terdictum esset. Hicks (cf. Schaff
p. 203) explicat: congregans ecclesias,
ut revelet, quae in mundo futura
sunt, instar Agapi prophetae per
spiritum famem magnam futuram
in universo orbe terrarum signifi-
cantis (Act. 11, 28), vel ut poenas
denuntiet inimicis ecclesiae, quae pro-
phetiae magistratus facile contra
Christianos provocare poterant.
Schaff respiciens 11, 9 et capita IX,
X et XIV, mundanum ecclesiae my-
sterium de sacramento eucharistiae,
quod in ecclesia graeca graviter μν-

στήριον appellatum sit (Eph. 5, 32?),
vel etiam de lege ceremoniali obser-
vanda sive iugo toto portando (6, 2)
intellegendum esse putat, concedit
vero, interpretationes, quas Bryen-
nius et Hicks proposuerunt, magis
consentaneas esse. Equidem coniec-
turis aliam addere nolo, revoco au-
tem lectorem ad Ascensionem Iesaeae
c. 6 ed. Dillmann p. 27, ubi auctor
de visione dicit, quae non fuit ex
hoc mundo, et animadverto, praeter
duas illas interpretationes, quarum
altera loco modo laudato sustinetur,
eam quoque consideratione dignam
esse, quam fecit Krawutzcky. —
ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται] Hilgenfeld et Har-
nack censent, auctorem hic genera-
tionem prophetarum christianorum
in mente habuisse, scilicet Agabum,
Iudam, Silam, Philippi filias, Am-
miam Philadelphensem, Quadratum,
quos scriptor ignotus circa annum
192 apud Eusebium H. E. V, 17 re-
censet, et si Doctrina circa vel post
saeculum II medium exorta est, de
his cogitari potest. Sin autem scrip-
tura ad finem saeculi I referenda
est, verba potius de prophetis Veteris
Testamenti interpretanda sunt.

facit congregationes in mysterium mundanum, nec vero docet omnia facienda esse, quae ipse facit, non iudicabitur apud vos; cum Deo enim habet iudicium; eodem enim modo egerant et veteres prophetae. 12. Qui autem dixerit in spiritu: Da mihi argentum et alia quaedam, ne eum audiat; si vero dixerit, ut pro aliis indigentibus detur, nemo eum iudicet.

XII. Omnis, qui *venit in nomine Domini*, suscipiatur; postea autem probantes eum cognoscetis, intellectum enim habebitis diiudicantem dexteram et sinistram. 2. Si quidem veniens transiens est, adiuuate eum quantum potestis; non manebit autem apud vos nisi duos vel tres dies, si necessarium est. 3. Si vero apud vos considerare vult et artifex est, laborato et edito. 4. Sin non exercet artem, pro prudentia vestra curate,

12. *δός μοι κτλ.*] Dominus enim Matth. 10, 8 dixit: Gratis accepistis, gratis date. Cf. Act. 8, 18—20. Mich. 3, 11.

XII. Postquam auctor exposuit, quomodo apostoli et prophetae in ecclesiam vel ad fratres advenientes suscipiendi sint, docet, qua ratione reliqui advenae christiani accipiantur.

1. 7. *ἔξετε: ἔξεται* cod — *ὁ ἐρχόμενος κτλ.*] Matth. 21, 9. Ps. 117, 26. Cf. Ioann. 5, 43. — *δεχθήτω*] i. e. hospitaliter suscipiatur, et quidem, ut ex sequentibus patet, confestim et priusquam probatur. — *ἔπειτα κτλ.*] Sensus non est dubius. Quae-ritur autem, num verba *δεξιὴν καὶ ἀριστεράν* construenda sint cum *γνώσεσθε*, ita ut verba *σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔξετε* in parenthesi ponenda sint, an cum *σύνεσιν*, ita ut locus vertendus sit: intellectum enim habebitis diiudicantem dexteram et sinistram. Illa constructio quidem minus dura est et a Bryennio epistula ad Harnack data probatur, postquam in editione sua interpretatus est: *δοκιμάσατε αὐτοὺς*

διὰ τῶν τρόπων τῆς συνέσεως τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, κατὰ τὸ ἀποστολικόν· διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν (II Cor. 6, 7). Attamen haec praeferenda esse videtur. Constitutiones apost. VII, 28 post *ἔχετε* inserunt: *καὶ δύνασθε γινῶναι* sc. *δεξιὰν κτλ.* — *δεξιὰν κτλ.*] Cf. Ion. 4, 11. II Cor. 6, 7.

2. Teste Iustino Apol. I, 67 dona in ecclesia collecta etiam ad subveniendum advenientibus peregre hospitibus (*παρεπιδήμιους οὐσι ξένοις*) adhibebantur. Ignatius Romanis 9, 3 scribit, ecclesias eum suscepisse *οὐχ ὡς παροδέοντα*. Clemens Romanus I Cor. 1, 2 hospitalitatem praedicat, quam Corinthii eis prae-buerunt, qui apud ipsos deversabantur.

3. 10. *καθίσαι* em: *καθῆσαι* cod — *ἐργάζεσθω κτλ.*] Cf. II Thess. 3, 10: *εἰ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω*. Constit. apost. IV, 2 episcopus admonetur, ut artificii opus, invalido misericordiam (*τεχνίτη ἔργον, ἀδρανεῖ ἔλεος*) praebeat curamque habeat, ut orphanus artem discat et vitae quaestum inde percipiat.

σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός. 5. Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορος ἐστὶ· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

XIII. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθίσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 5 ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 2. Ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστὶν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 3. Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. 4. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς 10 πτωχοῖς. 5. Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν

4. μὴ ἀργός] Animadvertite, quantopere Doctrina otium condemnet atque officium laboris inculcet. — Χριστιανός] Haec vox hoc tantum Doctrinae loco exstat.

5. χριστέμπορος] Vox etiam a Pseudoignatio Trall. 6, 2 et Magn. 9, 5, ab Athanasio, Basilio et Ioanne Chrysostomo adhibetur. De lucro e pietate quaerendo etiam I Tim. 6, 5 et II Clem. 20, 4 et Clem. I Virg. 13, 5 sermo fit. — προσέχετε ἀπὸ] Cf. 6, 3. Matth. 7, 15; 10, 17; 16, 6. 11. — τῶν τοιούτων] Cf. Barn. 10, 4.

XIII. Supra 11, 7—12 de propheta diiudicando auctor egit. Nunc prophetam verum ecclesiae sustentandum esse exponit.

1. 4. καθίσαι em: καθῆσαι cod — ἄξιος κτλ.] Matth. 10, 10. Cf. Luc. 10, 7. I Cor. 9, 13. 14. I Tim. 5, 17. 18.

2. διδάσκαλος] Similiter duobus aliis locis, quibus vox legitur, scilicet 15, 1. 2, doctores una cum prophetis commemorantur. Unde simile eos munus ac similem locum in ecclesiis habuisse apparet. Utrisque Christiani erudiendi et aedificandi erant. Cum autem prophetae in spiritu dicerent (11, 7), doctores simplici ac

communi sermone utebantur. Ambo 15, 2 honorati Christianorum appellantur. Doctores autem cum semper post prophetas nominentur, ordinem paullo inferiorem his obtinuisse censendi sunt. Instar prophetarum denique doctores non in omnibus ecclesiis fuisse videntur. Ubi autem fuerunt, episcopis et diaconis, ut ex 15, 1—2 liquet, honore saltem praestabant. In S. Scriptura doctores commemorantur una cum apostolis ac prophetis I Cor. 12, 28. 29 et Eph. 4, 11 (ubi inter prophetas et doctores evangelistae ac pastores positi sunt); cum prophetis tantum Act. 13, 1. Paulus I Tim. 2, 7 et II Tim. 1, 11 doctorem gentium se nominat. Hebr. 13, 7 (cf. 17) idem lectores adhortatur, μνημονεύειν τῶν ἡγουμένων, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. Gal. 6, 6 κατηχῶν τὸν λόγον commemoratur. Iacobus 3, 1 monet: μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε, εἰδότες, ὅτι μεῖζον κρίμα ληψόμεθα. Post sacros quoque scriptores doctorum saepe mentio fit. Cf. Barn. 1, 8; 4, 9. Herm. Vis. III, 5, 1; Mand. IV, 3, 1; Sim. IX, 15, 4; 16, 5; 19, 2; 25, 2. Polyc. Mart. 16, 2 (διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς). Pseudoclem. Hom. XI, 35 (ἀπόστολον ἢ διδάσκαλον ἢ

ne piger vobiscum vivat Christianus. 5. Si non vult ita facere, a Christo lucrum quaerit; attendite a talibus.

XIII. Omnis verus propheta, volens considerare apud vos, *dignus est cibo suo*. 2. Similiter doctor verus et ipse *dignus est sicut operarius cibo suo*. 3. Omnes ergo primitias provenientes e torculari, area et bobus atque ovibus sumes, ac dabis primitias prophetis; ipsi enim sunt summi sacerdotes vestri. 4. Sin autem non habetis prophetam, date pauperibus. 5. Si panem facis, sume primitias et da secundum praeceptum.

προφήτην φεύγειν κτλ.); I Virg. 11, 4—10. Clem. Alex. Strom. I, 1, 11 p. 322; VII, 16, 103 p. 896. Orig. Hom. XIII, 4 in Gen. (doctor ecclesiae); Hom. II, 1 in Num. (excelsum sacerdotii gradum vel cathedram doctoris insidere). Dionys. Alex. apud Eus. H. E. VII, 24 (συνεκάλεσα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν). Tert. De praescript. c. 3. 14; Adv. Prax. c. 1. Cypr. Epp. 29; 73, 3. Doctorum celeberrimi fuerunt Clemens et Origenes Alexandrini, qui et catechumenis instituentis praefecti erant. Post hos doctores tanquam ordo in ecclesia specialis paullatim evanuerunt, et munus docendi magis magisque per praepositos ecclesiae ipsos exercebatur.

3. 8. τὴν ἀπαρχὴν cod: om Br. — De lege V. T., qua Iudaei primitias sacerdotibus dare iubentur, cf. Exod. 22, 29; 23, 19; 34, 26. Num. 18, 12. Deut. 18, 3. 4; 26, 2. Ezech. 44, 30. Nehem. 10, 35—37. Hanc legem Doctrina Christianis quoque imponit, tacet autem de decimis, quae Iudaeis praeter primitias solvendae erant. Similiter Irenaeus Adv. haer. IV, 17, 5—18, 4 Christianis primitias offerendas esse Deo ex ipsius creaturis docet — αὐτοὶ γὰρ κτλ.] His verbis

auctor V. T. respicit. Christiani iubentur primitias dare prophetis, quia hi apud eos locum sacerdotum obtinent, sc. eundem locum, quem apud Iudaeos primitias solventes sacerdotes obtinebant. Similiter auctor Didascaliae vel Constitutionum apostolorum II, 25 (Bunsen, Analecta Antenicana II, 92. 260), postquam de primitiis et decimis et exceptitiis egit dixitque, eas nunc oblationes esse, quae per episcopos Domino Deo offerrentur, pergit: οὗτοι (ἐπίσκοποι) γὰρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ὑμῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κτλ. Non de primitiis quidem, sed de ordine ecclesiastico agens etiam Clemens Rom. I Cor. 40, 5; 41, 2 V. T. respexit et praepositos Christianorum cum sacerdotibus et levitis Iudaeorum comparavit.

4. Prophetae ergo non in omnibus ecclesiis erant.

5. σιτία] Cf. Num. 15, 20. 21. — κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν] Vox primo de mandato Mosis intellegenda est. Deinde etiam ad praeceptum Domini Matth. 10, 10 referri potest. Cf. Constit. apost. II, 25 init: τὰ διδόμενα κατ' ἐντολὴν θεοῦ τῶν δεκατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ὡς θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἀναλίσκετω κτλ.

ἐντολήν. 6. Ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· 7. ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

5 XIV. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. 2. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθῆτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· 3. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ
10 κυρίου· Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

XV. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους

6. Cf. Nehem. 10, 37.

7. ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη] Haec verba fortasse adduntur, quia in hoc versu primitiae postulantur rerum, quarum in S. Scriptura non fit mentio.

XIV—XV. Postquam auctor in capitibus XI—XIII de apostolis vel praedicatoribus evangelii, de prophetis fratribusque aliis peregre in ecclesiam aliquam advenientibus egit atque exposuit, quomodo Christiani cum illis se habeant, nunc ecclesiam ipsam respicit, primo de liturgia vel sacra congregatione, deinde de eligendis episcopis et diaconis, de fraterna correptione aliisque officiis pauca dicens.

XIV, 1. 6. προεξομολογησάμενοι em: προσεξομ. cod | 7. ὑμῶν em: ἡμῶν cod — κατὰ κυριακὴν κυρίου] Testimonia antiquissima diei dominicae haec sunt: I Cor. 16, 2; Act. 20, 7; Apoc. 1, 10; Barn. 15, 9. Ign. Magn. 9, 1. Plin. ad Traian. inter Traian. epp. X, 97 (stato die). Christianos die dominica ad liturgiam celebrandam congregari praeter Doctrinam Plinius l. c. et Iustinus Apol.

I, 67 primi testantur. — κλάσατε ἄρτον] Cf. Act. 2, 46; 20, 7. 11. I Cor. 10, 16. — προεξομολογησάμενοι] Christiani ergo in sacra congregatione peccata confiteri debebant. Parum refert, num προεξομολογησάμενοι legendum sit an προσεξομολογησάμενοι (= postquam etiam peccata vestra confessi estis). Confessionem peccatorum fractioni et sumtioni panis antecessisse consentaneum est atque verba sequentia (ὅπως καθαρὰ κτλ.) indicant. De liturgia die dominica celebranda agens auctor praeter exomologesin communionem velut partem principalem distincte nominat. Liturgia autem haud dubie non solum fractionem panis, sed etiam alia continebat, quae commemorare auctori supervacaneum esse videbatur. Iustinus Apol. I, 65. 67 de precibus, lectionibus Scripturae et exhortatione episcopi loquitur. — καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία] Cf. Malach. 1, 11. Rom. 12, 1. I Petr. 2, 5. Phil. 2, 17. Hebr. 13, 15.

2. 7. τὴν cod: coniecerunt τινὰ nonnulli. — πᾶς κτλ.] Auctor verba Domini Matth. 5, 23. 24 de munere

6. Similiter si urceum vini vel olei aperis, sume primitias et da prophetis. 7. Argenti et vestimenti omnisque possessionis sume primitias, sicut tibi placet, et da secundum praeceptum.

XIV. Die dominica autem convenientes frangite panem et gratias agite, postquam delicta vestra confessi estis, ut sit mun-⁵ dum sacrificium vestrum. Omnis vero, cui est controversia cum amico suo, ne conveniat vobiscum, donec reconciliati sunt, ne inquinetur sacrificium vestrum. 3. Hoc enim est dictum a Domino: *In omni loco et tempore offeratur mihi sacrificium mun-
dum, quoniam rex magnus sum, dicit Dominus, et nomen meum*¹⁰ *mirabile in gentibus.*

XV. Constituite igitur vobis episcopos et diaconos dignos

offerendo ac fratre reconciliando liberius reddit. — *μὴ κοινῶθῃ κτλ.*] Cf. Matth. 15, 11—20. Marc. 7, 15—23. Hebr. 9, 13. Hunc versum allegat Pseudocyprianus De aleat. c. 4, de quo cf. Prolegomena.

3. *ὑπὸ κυρίου*] Animadvertite, quod Domino, i. e. secundum locutionem Doctrinae (cf. inser. 6, 2; 8, 2; 9, 5; 10, 5; 12, 1 etc.) Iesu Christo dictum Veteris Testamenti attribuitur. Auctor igitur Ebionita aegre est habendus. — *ἐν παντί κτλ.*] Malach. 1, 11. 14. Verba S. Scripturae sunt: *ἐν παντί τόπῳ θυσίαμα προσάγεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρά, . . διότι βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπιφανὲς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.* Locus velut sacrificium eucharisticum praedicens saepe a patribus allegatur. Cf. Iust. Dial. c. 28. 41. 116. 117. Iren. Adv. haer. IV, 17, 5. 6. Clem. Al. Strom. V, 14, 137 p. 731. Tert. Adv. Iud. c. 5; Adv. Marc. III, 22. Locus etiam in secundo fragmento a Chr. Pfaff sub nomine Irenaei invento legitur, de quo vide Prolegomena.

XV. Episcopi et diaconi eligendi sunt ecclesiarum singularum praepositi ac ministri. Quibus, ut vox *οὖν* capite ineunte indicat, praesertim cura liturgiae administrandae incumbit. Cum enim particula illa hoc caput arcissime cum praecedente coniunctum sit, sequitur, ministris, de quorum electione hic sermo est, praecipue munus capite illo commemoratum administrandum esse, scilicet liturgiam eucharisticam. Doctrina igitur episcopis et diaconis idem munus attribuit, quod Clemens Romanus, qui I Cor. c. 42—44 eorum munus cum munere sacerdotum Veteris Testamenti comparat atque 44, 4 eos dona offerre (*προσενεγκόντας τὰ δῶρα*) distincte dicit. Quae cum ita sint, Harnack (adnot. ad h. l. et Prolegomena p. 140 sqq.) haud dubie erravit, dicens, teste Doctrina episcopis ac diaconis primo res ecclesiarum temporales vel pecuniarias administrandas, secundo verbum divinum praedicandum, episcopos et diaconos ergo ecclesia christiana exordiente nonnisi oeconomus et ministros verbi fuisse. Munus enim

ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. 2. Μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδῃτε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ δι-
5 δασκάλων.

3. Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου μηδεὶς λαλεῖτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέσθω, ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ. 4. Τὰς

praecipuum, quod eis incumberebat, praetermittens de aliis muneribus recte sentire non potuit.

1. *χειροτονήσατε*] Cf. Act. 14, 23. II Cor. 8, 19. Ign. Philad. 10, 1; Smyrn. 11, 2; Polyc. 7, 2. Vox hic designat electionem. Tempore posteriore denotat etiam consecrationem electi vel ordinis initiationem. Cf. Constit. apost. VI, 17; VIII, 27. 28. 46. — *ἐαντοῖς*] i. e. singulis ecclesiis vel parochiis. — *ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι*] eodem modo quo hic simul commemorantur Phil. 1, 1 et I Clem. 42, 4. 5. I Tim. 3, 2—13 Paulus virtutes exponit, quibus episcopos ac diaconos praeditos esse oportet. Act. 20, 17—28 et Tit. 1, 5—7 voces *πρεσβύτεροι* et *ἐπίσκοποι* promiscue adhibentur. — *ἀξιὸν τοῦ κυρίου*] i. e. Deo dignos eo, quod praecepta Dei diligenter servant. Ignatius Eph. 2, 1; 4, 1; Rom. 10, 2 habet *ἄξιος τοῦ θεοῦ* et nonnunquam *ἄξιόθεος*. — *πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους*] Paulus scribit I Tim. 3, 3: *δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι μὴ πλήκτην, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ, ἄμαχον, ἀφιλάργυρον*, 3, 8: *διακόνους μὴ αἰσχροκερεῖς*. Cf. Tit. 1, 7. Polyc. 5, 2. Respiciens 11, 11; 13, 1. 2, ubi auctor voces sequentes (*ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους*) etiam de prophetis ac doctoribus usurpat eosque veraces et probatos esse vult,

Harnack has voces conditionem muneris propriam denotare putat, quo ut fungerentur episcopi ac diaconi eligebantur, scilicet ut res ecclesiarum temporales administrarent. Sed iam vidimus, munus episcoporum principale aliud fuisse. Teste Iustino Apol. I, 67 apud episcopum sane collecta deponerebatur, qua ipse inopibus omnibus subveniret. Ut autem collecta non pars principalis erat conventus ecclesiastici, ita neque administratio pecuniarum munus erat praecipuum episcopi. Non ergo colligere licet, episcopos et diaconos, quia auctor ut sint mites neque argenti cupidi postulat, primo loco oeconomos fuisse, sed potius dicendum est, auctorem eos tales esse velle, quia praeter liturgiam eis etiam res pecuniariae administrandae erant. — *δεδοκιμασμένους*] Cf. I Tim. 3, 10. I Clem. 42, 4; 44, 2. Non ergo eligendi sunt, qui virtutem sectari modo incipiebant vel neophyti (I Tim. 3, 6), sed viri spectati. — *ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι κτλ.*] Auctor rationem profert, ob quam viri spectati ministri ecclesiarum eligendi sunt, atque episcopos et diaconos cum prophetis et doctoribus comparans aliud munus illis incumbens commemorat, munus docendi atque aedificandi ecclesiam, quod per hos praecipue

Domino, viros mansuetos et argenti non cupidos et veraces et probatos; vobis enim ministrant et ipsi ministerium prophetarum et doctorum. 2. Ne igitur contemnatis eos; ipsi enim sunt honorati inter vos una cum prophetis et doctoribus.

3. Arguite autem vos invicem, non in ira, sed in aequanimitate, sicut habetis in Evangelio; et si quis adversus alium deliquerit, nemo loquatur cum eo, neque apud vos audiatur, donec paenitentiam egerit. 4. Orationes vestras et eleemosynas

exercebatur. — *λειτουργίαν*] Clemens Romanus hanc vocem cum ad munus presbyterorum vel episcoporum ac diaconorum denotandum (I Cor. 44, 2. 3. 6), tum ad ministerium cuiusque fidelis designandum (ib. 41, 1), tum ad officia sacerdotum Veteris Testamenti appellanda (ib. 40, 2. 5) vel sensu latiore (ib. 9, 4; 20, 10) usurpat. Similiter vox in Novo Testamento diverso sensu adhibetur. Modo denotat universe obsequium vel adiutorium (II Cor. 9, 12. Philipp. 2, 25. 30), modo ministerium Dei vel Christi (Rom. 13, 6; 15, 16), modo officium sacerdotis (Luc. 1, 23) etc. Quid hic denotet, voces sequentes indicant

2. *μὴ οὖν ἐπηρίδῃτε κτλ.*] Respicens c. 13 tibi persuaseris supplendum esse: in victu praebendo. Particula autem versus altera illi interpretationi minus favere videtur. Christiani monentur, ne episcopos et diaconos contemnant, quia tum temporis in pluribus saltem ecclesiis viri erant, qui pluris aestimabantur, quippe qui essent charismatibus praediti ac doctrina et eloquentia conspicui, prophetae ac doctores. Minime autem verisimile est, auctorem haec scripsisse timentem, ne episcopi tanquam oeconomi meri despicerentur. Quod ne fieret non

erat timendum, quia eorum munus ante omnia ad cultum divinum administrandum spectabat, neque vero ad res temporales procurandas. — *οἱ τιμιμμένοι ὑμῶν*] Verba non satis perspicua sunt, cum auctor non distincte dixerit, a quo episcopi honorentur. Suppleri potest: a vobis (Christianis) vel: a Deo. Sensus est ergo: viri honorandi a vobis vel inter vos, aut: viri a Deo honorati inter vos. Illa interpretatio praefenda esse videtur. Verbum *τιμιμμένοι* hic locum vocis substantivae tenet. Cf. I Tim. 5, 17, ubi apostolus scribit, presbyteros, qui bene praesunt, duplici honore dignos haberi, maxime qui laborant in verbo et doctrina, et I Clem. 44, 6, ubi *λειτουργίας αὐτοῖς (προσβυτέροις) τιμιμμένης* mentio fit.

3. 8. *ἀκούεσθω* em: *ἀκούετω* cod — *ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*] Auctor Matth. 5, 22—26; 18, 15—35 et locos similes respexisse videtur. Cf. Sirach 10, 6. II Tim. 4, 2. Polyc. 6, 1. — *ἀστοχοῦντι*] Cf. I Tim. 1, 6; 6, 21; II Tim. 2, 18. Ut sensum loci recte intelligas neque auctorem severitatis nimiae accuses, verba praecedentia tibi non sunt neglegenda. Auctor ergo non vult, ut frater in fratrem delinquens confestim vitetur, sed potius primo arguatur. Itaque mandato Domini

δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

XVI. *Γοηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.*
 2. Πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε. 3. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· 4. αὐξάνουσι γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κόσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. 5. Τότε ἤξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ

Matth. 18, 15—17 non contradicit, sed potius hunc locum respicere videtur. — ἀκονέσθω] Lectio codicis vix perferenda est, cum ea servata pars posterior sententiae idem dicat quod prior.

4. ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ] sc. Matth. 6, ubi Dominus et de oratione et de eleemosyna agit. Cf. Col. 3, 17.

XVI. Auctor scripturam concludit, lectores adhortans, ut parati sint, quia finis prope ac Dominus brevi venturussit. Summa capitis ex Evangelio secundum Matthaeum 24 hausta est.

1. γοηγορεῖτε.. γίνεσθε κτλ.] Matth. 24, 42, 44; 25, 13. Omnia fere verba ex S. Scriptura deprompta sunt. Evangelista scripsit v. 42: γοηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε, ποῦ ὥρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται, v. 44: γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι, ὅτι ἢ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται, 25, 13: γοη-

γορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν. Cf. Apoc. 3, 3. — οἱ λύχνοι κτλ.] Luc. 12, 35: ἕστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καίόμενοι. Matthaeus 25, 1 sqq. voce λαμπάδες utitur. Auctor hic non solum similiter ac supra 1, 2; 4, 12. 13 locum S. Scripturae negative expressum reddidit, sed etiam similiter ac 1, 4 verba Evangeliorum Matthaei et Lucae inter se miscuit. Notandum est quoque, Tatianum eadem Lucae verba post parabolam decem virginum et servi pigri vel Matth. 25 posuisse. Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen* I, 200. — ὀσφύες] Cf. Eph. 6, 14. I Petr. 1, 13. — ἐκλυέσθωσαν] Cf. Matth. 15, 32. Marc. 8, 3. Gal. 6, 9. Hebr. 12, 3. 5. Prov. 3, 11.

2. πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε] Verba etiam explicari possunt: crebri congregamini, similiter atque Ign. Eph. 13, 1; 20, 2. Hoc loco autem potius

omnesque actiones ita facite, sicut habetis in Evangelio Domini nostri.

XVI. *Vigilate pro vita vestra; lucernae vestrae ne delectantur, neque lumbi vestri solvantur, sed parati estote; ignoratis enim horam, in qua Dominus noster veniet.* 2. Crebro autem ⁵ convenietis, quaerentes, quae spectant ad animas vestras; nihil enim proderit vobis omne tempus fidei vestrae, nisi in tempore novissimo perfecti fueritis. 3. Namque in diebus novissimis multiplicabuntur falsi prophetae et corruptores, et convertentur oves in lupos, et caritas convertetur in odium. 4. Cum enim aucta ¹⁰ fuerit iniquitas, odio se invicem habebunt et persequentur et prodent; ac tum apparebit orbis deceptor tanquam filius Dei et faciet *signa et prodigia*, et terra tradetur in manus eius, et faciet iniqua, quae nunquam facta sunt a saeculis. 5. Tum veniet creatura hominum in ignem probationis, *et scandalizabuntur* ¹⁵ *multi atque peribunt; qui vero perseveraverint in fide sua, sal-*

vertendum est: crebro convenite. Cf. Ign. Polyc. 4, 2. II Clem. 17, 3. — *ζητοῦντες κτλ.*] Similia leguntur Barn. 4, 1. 10; 17, 1. — *οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει κτλ.*] Barnabas 4, 9 eadem fere verba exhibet. Cf. Prolegomena.

3. *ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις*] Cf. II Petr. 3, 2 sq. Iud. 17 sq. — *πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψ.*] Cf. Matth. 24, 11. 12. 24. — *στραφήσονται κτλ.*] Sententiam exhibet Matthaeus 24, 10 his verbis: *καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί, καὶ ἀλλήλους παραδώσουσιν καὶ μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους.* Vix dubium est, auctorem hunc locum mutasse ante oculos habentem Matth. 7, 15, ubi Dominus pseudopphetas vestimentis ovium indutos, intrinsecus autem lupos rapaces esse dicit.

4. *ἀξαναούσης κτλ.*] Cf. Matth. 24, 12: *διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν.* — *κοσμοπλάνος*] Cf. Apoc. 12, 9: *ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην.* II Ioann. 7: *ὁ*

πλάνος καὶ ἀντίχριστος. — *ὥς ὁὕτως θεοῦ*] Cf. II Thess. 2, 4. Hoc modo de Antichristo loquens auctor se Christum filium Dei putasse prodit. — *καὶ ποιήσει κτλ.*] Matth. 24, 24: *καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.* Marcus 13, 22 quidem aeque ac Doctrina vocem *μεγάλα* omisit. Qua ex re autem non est colligendum, auctorem hoc loco secundum Evangelium respexisse, cuius nusquam notitiam certam prodit. Cf. II Thess. 2, 9. Apoc. 13, 2. 13. — *γῇ παραδοθήσεται*] Cf. Apoc. 13, 7. — *ἀθέμιτα*] II Thess. 2, 4 legimus, Antichristum extolli supra Deum et in templo Dei sedere. — *οὐδέποτε κτλ.*] Cf. Matth. 24, 21: *θλίψις μεγάλη, ὅσα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν.*

5. 15. *κτίσις* cod : *κρίσις* Hilgf. | 17. *ἀπ'* em Hilgf. Zahn: *ὑπ'* cod — *πύρωσιν τῆς δοκ.*] Cf. Zach. 13, 8. 9.

καταθέματος. 6. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἷτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· 7. οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. 8. Τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

I Petr. 4, 12: μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γενομένη. Iustinus Apol. II, 7 τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἐτὶ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν commemorat. — καὶ σκ. πολλοί] Matth. 24, 10. — οἱ δὲ ὑπομ. σωθήσονται] Matth. 10, 22; 24, 13: ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται. Cf. Didasc. apost. VI, 17 (Bunsen, Analecta Antenic. II, 330). — ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος] Si lectio codicis servatur et praepositio ὑπό vertitur: a vel per, non sub, vox κατάθεμα, quae idem significat ac κατανάθεμα vel ἀνάθεμα (cf. Zach. 14, 11 et Apoc. 22, 3) ad Christum referenda est. Bryennius ad h. l. putat, Christum fortasse illo nomine appellari, quia eum anathematizaturi sint, qui in eo scandalizati fuerint, vel quia ipse fundamentum fidei nostrae sit, et Harnack illam interpretationem comprobatur respiciens I Cor. 12, 3 (ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς); Plin. ep. ad Traianum (maledicere Christo); Mart. Polyc. 9, 3 (λοιδορήσον τὸν Χριστόν); Apoc. 1, 7; 19, 13; Barn. 7, 9 et II Clem. 17, 5, ubi de reditu Christi sermo est. Κατάθεμα igitur non tam maledictio vel maledictum quam maledictus esset, et Christus maledictus appellaretur secundum sensum eorum, qui in eo scandalizati sunt. Interpretatio autem durissima est, et Bryennius eam non solum haesitans proposuit, textus emendationem ad-

dens, quae vero non magis laudanda est, scilicet: ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος = ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, sed postea eam deseruit, locum aliter explicare textans. Respiciens enim Pseudoiustini Quaest. et Respons. ad Orthodoxos 121, ubi vox κατάθεμα voci ἀνάθεμα opposita ita definitur: κατάθεμα δέ ἐστι τὸ συνθέσθαι τοῖς ἀναθεματίζουσιν, nunc (cf. Harnack ad h. l.) interpretatur: κατάθεμα λέγει τὸ συνθέσθαι τοῖς σκανδαλισθησομένοις καὶ ἀπολουμένοις, ἢ τὸν κοσμοπλάνον, ἢ τὴν θείαν καθόλον ἀράν, ἐξ ὧν ἐλευθεροῦνται τότε οἱ πιστοὶ ὁλοτελῶς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Mihi ἀπ' pro ὑπ' ponendum et κατάθεμα aut de Antichristo aut de maledicto intellegendum esse videtur, quod ab Antichristo proficiscitur.

6. καὶ τότε κτλ.] Matth. 24, 30: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τοῦ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. — σημεῖα τ. ἀληθείας] i. e. signa Christi ipsius, qui Ioann. 14, 6 se veritatem nominat, vel potius signa, quae probant ea vera esse, quae Christus de adventu suo secundo dixit. Tria signa Matth. 24, 30. 31 discerni possunt. Evangelista autem τὸ σημεῖον dicit. Tria signa etiam Orac. Sibyll. II, 188, sq. commemorantur, sed aliter definiuntur ac in Doctrina. — ἐκπετάσεως] Vox haud dubie a verbo ἐκπετάννυμι derivanda est ac denotat: explicatio, expansio, ita ut sensus

vabuntur ex maledicto ipso. 6. *Tuncque apparebunt signa veritatis*; primum signum caeli aperti, deinde *signum tubae*, et tertium resurrectio mortuorum, 7. neque vero omnium, sed sicut dictum est: *Veniet Dominus et omnes sancti cum eo*. 8. *Tunc videbit mundus Dominum venientem supra nubes caeli.*

5

sit: quando caelum Christo adveniente aperietur. Alii, inter quos est Bryennius, vocem a verbo *ἐκπέτομαι* vel *ἐκπέταμαι* (= avolo) derivantes et respicientes I Thess. 4, 17 locum de sanctis superstitibus interpretati sunt, qui Domino adveniente una cum eis qui resurrexerunt rapiuntur in nubibus obviam Christo in aëra. Alii pro *ἐκπετάσεως* legi volunt *ἐπιφάσεως* (= *ἐπιφανείας*) vel (respicientes Matth. 24, 29: *οἱ ἀστέρες πειθοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, Marc. 13, 25) *ἐκπτώσεως*. — *φωνῆς σαλπ.*] Matth. 24, 31. Cf. I Cor. 15, 52. I Thess. 4, 16. — *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*] Matthaeus 24, 31 de electis Christi congregandis loquitur; de resurrectione mortuorum autem Paulus I Cor. 15, 52 (*καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται*) et I Thess. 4, 16 (*καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται*) dixit. Auctor igitur loco ex Evangelio Matthaei deprompto, ut supra 1, 4 et 16, 1 verba Lucae, ita hic verba Pauli admiscuisse videtur.

7. *οὐ πάντων*] Matthaeus 24, 31 dicit, electos Christi congregari; Paulus scribit, eos vivificari, qui sunt Christi (I Cor. 15, 22—23) vel mortuos resurgere, qui sunt in Christo (I Thess. 4, 16). Cf. Apoc. 20, 4—6. — *ἤξει κτλ.*] Zach. 14, 5.

8. *τότε ὄψεται κτλ.*] Matth. 24, 30; 26, 64. Evangelista utroque loco de filio hominis loquitur. Si auctor esset Ebionita, verbis S. Scripturae *τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* vix vocem *τὸν κύριον* substituisset. Matthaeus haec verba 24, 30 protinus exhibet, postquam de signo filii hominis in caelo locutus est. Inde, quod auctor Doctrinae ea nunc demum posuit, non est colligendum, eum adventum vel manifestationem Christi post resurrectionem mortuorum ponere. Adventum Domini potius iam primum signum indicat. Hoc autem loco auctor finem faciens addit, mundum Dominum venientem esse visurum.

ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ματθαῖος καὶ Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας καὶ Φίλιππος
5 καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ καὶ Θωμᾶς καὶ Κηφᾶς
καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

I. Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σω-
τῆρος συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν, καθὼς διέταξε πρὸ τοῦ· Μέλλετε
κληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, καταλογίσασθαι τόπων ἀριθμούς, ἐπι-
10 σκόπων ἀξίας, πρεσβυτέρων ἑδρας, διακόνων παρεδρείας, ἀναγνωστῶν
νουνεχίας, χρηρῶν ἀνεγκλησίας καὶ ὅσα δεοί πρὸς θεμελίωσιν ἐκ-
κλησίας, ἵνα τύπον τῶν ἐπουρανίων εἰδότες φυλάσσωνται ἀπὸ
παντὸς ἀστοχήματος, εἰδότες, ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ

Tit. cum V, qui praemisit αἱ διατα-
γαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ: Ἐπιτομὴ
θρῶν τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καθολι-
κῆς παραδόσεως O, Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων
τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων M, Isti sunt
canones patrum apostolorum quos
constituerunt ad ordinandam eccle-
siam christianam A, Hi sunt cano-
nes patrum nostrorum sanctorum
apostolorum Domini nostri Iesu
Christi quos instituerunt in ecclesia
C, Doctrina apostolorum qua verba
illa continentur quae singuli apostoli
locuti sunt S.

Inscriptionem et capita I—III omi-
serunt O M, inscript. et c. I—II S.
— χαίρετε — κυρίου] Haec verba e
Barnabae epistula 1, 1 desumpta

sunt. — Ἰωάννης κτλ.] Quomodo hic
catalogus apostolorum explicandus
est, in quo Iacobus alter et Iudas
Iscariotes desunt, praeter Petrum
et Bartholomaeum autem Cephas
et Nathanael enumerantur? Vix
auctor catalogis S. Scripturae (Matth.
10, 2—4. Luc. 6, 14—16. Act. 1, 13)
aliud substituere voluit; sed verisi-
mile est, eum catalogum ad tempus
retulisse, quo nonnulli apostolorum
a Domino electorum iam mortui
erant. Si res ita se habet, Iacobus,
quem omisit, est filius Zebedaei vel
Iacobus maior, qui ab Herode Agrippa
occisus est (Act. 12, 2). Nathanael
autem facile in catalogo recipi po-
tuit, quia a Ioanne 1, 45—49; 21, 2

CANONES ECCLESIASTICI SANCTORUM APOSTOLORUM.

Avete, filii et filiae, in nomine Domini Iesu Christi. Ioannes et Matthaeus et Petrus et Andreas et Philippus et Simon et Iacobus et Nathanael et Thomas et Cephas et Bartholomaeus et Iudas Iacobi.

I. Cum iubente Domino nostro Iesu Christo salvatore convenissemus, sicut antea praecepit: Sorte dividetis provincias, re-
censebitis locorum numeros, episcoporum dignitates, presbyterorum sedes, diaconorum assensiones, lectorum prudentias, vi-
duarum innocentias et omnia, quae ad fundandam ecclesiam opus
sunt, ut formae rerum caelestium gnari caveant ab omni de-
licto, scientes, in magna iudicii die rationem se esse reddituros

inter apostolos commemoratur, neque auctor perspexit, eum verisimiliter eundem esse cum Bartholomaeo. Cephas denique apostolis adnumeratus esse videtur, quia hoc nomen uni ex septuaginta discipulis fuisse traditur (Clem. Al. Hypotyp. apud Eus. H. E. I, 12. Chronic. pasch. ed. Bonn, I, 400). Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen* III, 68 sq. Pitra putavit, hunc apostolorum indicem posteriorem quemdam respicientem ea, quae infra leguntur, libello praefixisse; sed falsus est; plures enim apostoli hic commemorati nihil loquuntur. Harnack ex contrario contendit, auctorem catalogum non ipsum confecisse, sed scripto vel ore traditum invenisse.

Equidem non perspicio, cur catalogus auctori non sit adiudicandus.

I. 8. καθὼς δ. πρὸ τοῦ: praecepit nobis et dixit A, praecepit nobis dicens C, coniecit Harnack *προλέγων* vel *πρότερον*. | 9. ἐπαρχείας V — *κληροῦσθαι τ. ἐπαρχίας κ. τ. ἀ.*] De his rebus infra nihil dicitur. Auctor c. 15 partem libelli secundam incipiens statim c. 16 de ordinatione episcopi agit. Similiter 4, 2 de duabus viis loquitur, postea autem unam tantum viam describit. — καὶ ἐκέλευσεν] cum καθὼς διέταξε coniungendum est. Auctor itaque in hoc capite duas libelli partes indicat: verbis διέταξε κτλ. partem secundam, in qua de ordinatione et offi-

ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμψασθαι τοὺς λόγους εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην.

II. ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἀδελφότητος καὶ νουθεσίᾳ ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ
5 θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου μνησθεῖσι λόγου ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν.

III. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰδότες, ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξομεν περὶ τῶν διατεταγμένων ἡμῖν, εἰς ἐνὸς πρόσωπον μὴ λαμβάνωμεν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δοκῇ τι ἀσύμφορον λέγειν, ἀντιλεγέσθω αὐτῷ.
Ἔδοξε δὲ πᾶσι πρῶτον Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν.

10 IV. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. 2. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη· δεῦτερον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν
15 ἐντολὴ δευτέρα· ἐν οἷς ὁλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται.

V. Ματθαῖος εἶπεν· Πάντα ἔσα ἂν μὴ θέλῃς σοὶ γενέσθαι, μηδὲ σὺ ἄλλῳ ποιήσεις. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν διδαχὴν εἶπέ, ἀδελφε Πέτρε.

VI. Πέτρος εἶπεν· Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον.
2. Οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις, οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμος οὐδὲ διγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενὸς οὐδὲ ψευδής. 3. Οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ

ciis clericorum ac de officiis viduarum et laicorum agitur, verbis ἐκέλευσεν κτλ. partem priorem, in qua praecepta moralia exponuntur.

II. 4 sq. νουθεσίας . . μνησθεῖς V — ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡμῖν] scilicet iubente Domino congregatis, ut auctor c. 1 dixit.

III. 6. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν: haec verba et similia sequentia (Ματθαῖος εἶπεν etc.) in V sola in linea exstant. | 7. εἰς em: εἰς V | 8. τι ἀσύμφορον λέγειν c. versionibus: συμφέρον ἀντιλέγειν V.

IV, 1. 11. διαφορὰ — ὁδῶν c. V D: καὶ διαφ. πολλή τῶν δύο O, om M.

2. 11. ἡ μὲν γὰρ c. V: ἡ μὲν οὖν D, ἡ οὖν O, καὶ ἡ μὲν M | 13 sq. καὶ δοξάσεις — πρώτη c. V M (hic post δοξάσεις inseruit αὐτόν): om O | 14. δεῦτερον c. O D: δευτέρα V, δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ ἐστὶ M, qui infra omisit ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντ. δ. — ἡ μὲν γὰρ] Cum O et D simul οὖν exhibeant, haec vox fortasse praeferenda est. Nolo autem a V discedere. Sin auctor initio cepisset consilium viae mortis praetermittendae, eum ex hac ratione vocem γὰρ posuisse liceret coniecere. — ἐξ ὅλης τ. καρδίας κτλ.] Quae hic Doctrinae apostolorum adduntur, partim ex Matth. 22, 37, 40,

de eis, quae audierunt neque servaverunt, et iussit nos sermones emittere in universam terram:

II. visum igitur est nobis in commendationem fraternitatis et hortationem, prout singulis Dominus revelavit iuxta voluntatem Dei per spiritum sanctum, vobis, qui verbi memores estis, 5 mandare.

III. Ioannes dixit: Viri fratres, cum noveritis nos rationem reddituros esse de praeceptis nobis datis, ne respiciamus alter alterius personam, sed si quis videtur inutile quid dicere, contradicatur ei. Visum est autem omnibus, quod Ioannes pri- 10 mus loquatur.

IV. Ioannes dixit: Viae duae sunt, una vitae et altera mortis; discrimen vero magnum inter duas vitas; via enim vitae haec est: primum, amabis Deum, qui te fecit, ex toto corde tuo, et glorificabis eum, qui te redemit a morte, quod est mandatum 15 primum. Alteram, diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum, quod est mandatum secundum, in quibus universa lex pendet et prophetae.

V. Matthaeus dixit: Omnia quaecunque non vis tibi fieri, nec tu alteri facies. Horum autem verborum doctrinam edissere, 20 frater Petre.

VI. Petrus dixit: Non occides, non adulterium facies, non fornicaberis, pueros non corrumpes, non furaberis, non incantabis, venenum non miscebis, non interficies foetum in abortione neque interimes infantem natum, non concupisces quae sunt 25 proximi tui. 2. Non periurabis, non falsum testimonium dabis, non malidices, iniuriae acceptae non recordaberis; non eris duplicis sententiae nec bilinguis; laqueus enim mortis est lingua duplex. Neque sermo tuus erit inanis neque mendax. 3. Non eris avarus neque rapax neque hypocrita neque malignus neque 30

partim (καὶ δοξάσεις — θανάτου) ex epistula Barnabae 19, 2 deprompta sunt.

V. 16. ἂν c. M cf. D: om V O | γε-
νέσθαι c. V O: γίνεσθαι M D | μηδὲ
σὺ c. O M: σὺ μηδὲ V | 17. ποιήσεις
c. V O: ποιήσης M, add τουτέστιν δ

σὺ μισεῖς, ἄλλω μὴ ποιήσης OS cf.
Tob. 4, 16.

VI, 1. 18 sq. οὐ παυδοφθορήσεις —
μαγεύσεις c. M (μαντεύσῃ pro μαγεύ-
σεις) coll O D A: om V | 20 sq. οὐκ
ἐπιθυμήσεις — ἐπιπορκήσεις (v. 2) c. M
O A C S: om V

οὐδὲ ὑποκριτῆς οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος, οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηράν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. 4. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ ὧν δὲ προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

VII. Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν· Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· ἔστι γὰρ δαιμόνιον ἄρρενικὸν ὁ θυμὸς. Μὴ γίνου ζηλωτῆς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμαντικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων φόνος γεννᾶται.

VIII. Φίλιππος εἶπεν· Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν καὶ ἔλκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἑαυ-
10 τὴν· ἔστι γὰρ θηλυκὸν δαιμόνιον ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ ὃ μὲν μετ' ὀργῆς, ὃ δὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά. 2. Ὁδὸς δὲ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἁμαρτία ψυχῆς· καὶ ὅταν βραχείαν εἰσδυσιν σχῇ ἐν αὐτῷ, πλατύνει αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγει ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην καὶ οὐκ ἔῃ διαβλέψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἰδεῖν
15 τὴν ἀλήθειαν. 3. Ὁ θυμὸς ὑμῶν μέτρον ἐχέτω, καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ διαστήματι αὐτὸν ἡνιοχεῖτε καὶ ἀνακρούετε, ἵνα μὴ ἐμβάλλῃ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἔργον πονηρόν· θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡδονὴ πονηρὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ παρα-
20 μένοντα κατὰ ἐπίτασιν δαιμόνια γίνεται, καὶ ὅταν ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἰδαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ γίνονται μερίζονες, καὶ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔργα ἄδικα καὶ ἐπιγελῶσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἡδονταὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

IX. Σίμων εἶπεν· Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου αἰσχρόλογος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων μοιχεύαι γίνονται.

X. Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ
25 πρὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν, μηδὲ ἐπαισιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλει αὐτὰ ἰδεῖν μηδὲ ἀκούειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρεῖαι γεννῶνται.

XI. Ναθαναὴλ εἶπεν· Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα ἐπὶ τὴν κλοπὴν, μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων

3. 1. κακοήθης etiam in V | οὐ VIII, 1. 8 sq. Φίλιππος — πορνείαν: c. M (οὐ λάβης) D C S : οὐδὲ V O A hanc sententiam solam O ex hoc ca-

4. οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις] Cf. adnot. ad pite descripsit eamque decurtavit, Doctr. 2, 7. Respiciens 20, 3 etiam verba τέκνον μου et ἡ ἐπιθυμία omit-

magis dubitaverim, num haec verba tens | 8. μου c. M A C : om V | 9 sq. ἑαυ-
auctori Doctrinae adiudicanda sint. τὴν c. V M : C suadere videtur ut
emendamus αὐτὴν | 10 sq. ἔστι γὰρ —
VII. 5. τὸν c. M D : om VO | 7. θυ- δὲ c. V : καὶ M | ἡ ἐπιθυμία c.
μαντικός c. V : μανικός O, θυμώδης S coll A C : τῆς ἐπιθυμίας V | 11. εἰς-

M, θυμικός D

superbus, non capies malum consilium adversus proximum tuum.
4. Non odio habebis ullum hominem, sed alios argues, aliorum misereberis, pro aliis orabis, alios amabis plus quam animam tuam.

VII. Andreas dixit: Fili mi, fuge omne malum et omne,⁵ quod simile est ei. Ne fias iracundus; ducit enim iracundia ad caedem; est enim daemonium masculinum animus iratus. Ne sis aemulator neque contentiosus neque promptus ad succensendum; ex his enim homicidium oritur.

VIII. Philippus dixit: Fili mi, ne fias concupiscens; ducit¹⁰ enim concupiscentia ad fornicationem trahitque homines ad se. Est enim daemonium femininum concupiscentia, et sive per iram sive per voluptatem perdit eos, qui illas in se recipiunt. 2. Via autem pravi spiritus peccatum animae est, et si ingressum parvum in ea habet, amplificat eum et ducit ad omnia mala ani-¹⁵ mam illam neque hominem sinit perspicere et videre veritatem. 3. Motus animi vestri modum habeat, et brevi intervallo eum refrenate ac coercete, ne iniciat vos in opus pravum. Animi enim impetus et voluptas mala, si diu permanent, crescendo daemonia fiunt, et si homo eis indulserit, tumefiunt in eius anima²⁰ et invalescunt et abducunt eum ad opera iniusta eique irrident et laetantur interitu hominum.

IX. Simon dixit: Fili, ne verbis turpibus utaris neque oculum extollas; ex his enim adulteria fiunt.

X. Iacobus dixit: Fili mi, ne fias auspex, quoniam id ducit²⁵ ad idololatriam, neque incantator neque mathematicus neque magus, neque ea velis videre neque audire; ex his enim omnibus idololatriae gignuntur.

XI. Nathanael dixit: Fili, noli fieri mendax, quoniam mendacium ducit ad furtum, neque argenti neque inanis gloriae³⁰

δεχομένους αὐτὰ c. V coll A C : εἰς-
ερχομένους εἰς αὐτήν M, εἰς οὓς εἰς-
έρχεται S

3. 15 sqq. ὁ θυμὸς — ἔργα ἄδικα om
M | 18. ἐπιτρέψῃ c. S : ἐπιστρέψῃ V |
20 sq. καὶ ἐπιγελῶσιν — ἀνθρώπων c.
V : ἐπιγελᾶ δὲ τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ εὐφραίνεται ἐπὶ

τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτοῦ M | 21. τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων c. V : τοῦ ἀνθρώπου A S C

IX. 23. μοιχεῖται γίνονται c. V O C :
γεννᾶται μοιχεία M cf. AD (γεννῶνται).

X. 24. μου c. M A C : om V O (hic
etiam τέκνον) | 25. πρὸς c. V O : εἰς
M D | 26. αὐτὰ c. M O : αὐτὰς V

XI. M totum caput omisit.

ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. 2. Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, ἐπειδὴ ἄγει πρὸς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. 3. Ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπειδὴ πραεὶς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. 4. Γίνου μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, εἰργνοποιός, 5 καὶ καθαρός τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος, ἀγαθὸς καὶ φυλάσσων καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἤκουσας. 5. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τὴν ψυχὴν σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀνυστραφέσῃ. 6. Τὰ δὲ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδώς, ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

10 XII. Θωμᾶς εἶπεν· Τέκνον, τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, μνησθῆτι δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν κύριον· ἔθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. 2. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοὺς 15 λοιποὺς ἁγίους, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· κολλώμενος γὰρ ἁγίοις ἁγιασθήσῃ. 3. Τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτόν, καθ' ὃ δυνατός εἰ, ἐκ τοῦ ἰδρωτός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν χειρῶν σου· εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἠξιώσέ σοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσ- 20 φέρειν τροφὴν· ἅγιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ βoῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις, καὶ οὐδεὶς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει.

XIII. Κηφᾶς εἶπεν· Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρίνεις δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγχειν τινα ἐπὶ παραπτώματι.

2. 1. τέκνον c. V O et versionibus praeter A, qui solus praemisit Ἰούδας εἶπεν.

3. 3. ἐπειδὴ V, non ἐπεὶ | κληρονομήσουσι c. O coll A C D : κληρονομοῦσι V | 4. τῶν οὐρανῶν c. V A : τοῦ θεοῦ O, τὴν γῆν pro τὴν β. τ. οὐρ. C D

4. 5. ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ c. V A C : om O

5. 7. δώσεις — ὑψηλῶν c. V A S coll C : δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν O cf. D. Nisi codex Otto-

bonianus c. 14 indicaret, se Canones ecclesiasticos non integros tradidisse, sed ex Doctrina apostolorum correctum fuisse, eum hic sequeretur, cum cogitare liceat, verba, quae in ceteris testibus desunt, ob homoeoteleuton excidisse. Ob illam autem rationem hos testes deserere non audeo.

XII, 1. 11 sqq. καὶ παραίτιον — σφραγίδα et τιμήσεις — καθ' ἡμέραν (v. 2) om M | 12. μνησθῆτι c. V M : μνησθήσῃ O (?) editores — ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθ. σου] Barn. 19, 9.

2. 15 ἐπαναπαυθῆς O, ἵνα ἐπαναπ.

cupidus; ex his enim omnibus furta gignuntur. 2. Fili, ne fias morosus, quoniam id ducit ad blasphemiam, neque insolens neque prava meditare; ex his enim omnibus blasphemiae gignuntur. 3. Sis vero mansuetus, quia mansueti hereditabunt regnum caelorum. 4. Fias longanimis, misericors, pacificus, purus corde ab omni nequitia, innocens et quietus, bonus et custodiens cum tremore verba, quae audivisti. 5. Non extolles te neque committes animam tuam cum elatis, sed cum iustis et humilibus conversaberis. 6. Quae tibi acciderint, ea tamquam bona accipies, conscius sine Deo nihil fieri.

XII. Thomas dixit: Fili, qui tibi loquitur sermonem Dei et auctor tibi vitae fit tibi que dat in Domino sigillum, eum amabis sicut pupillam oculi tui, recordaberis eius nocte ac die, timebis eum sicut Dominum; unde enim dominium dicitur, ibi Dominus est. 2. Requires vultum eius cotidie et reliquos sanctos, ut requiescas in sermonibus eorum; adhaerens enim sanctis sanctificaberis. Honorabis autem eum, quantum potes, ex sudore tuo et ex labore manuum tuarum. Si enim Dominus per eum dignatus est tibi dari spiritualem cibum et potum et vitam aeternam, tu debes multo magis corruptibilem et temporalem offerre cibum; dignus est enim operarius mercede sua, et bovem triturantem non alligabis, et nemo plantat vineam, quin de fructu eius comedat.

XIII. Cephas dixit: Non facies schismata, sed pacabis pugnantes; iudicabis iuste, non accipies personam arguens ali-

τ. λ. ἀντῶν om M | κολλώμενος — — ἐσθίει c. V et versionibus: ὁ γὰρ ἁγιασθήσῃ c. M A C S : κολλώμενος· κύριος ἡξιώσέ σε δι' αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι ὡς ἅγιος γὰρ ἁγίοις ἁγιασθήσῃ (ἁγια- σοι πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ζωὴν αἰ- σθήσεται O) V O — κολλώμενος — ὄνιον O, om M — εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἁγιασθήσῃ] Similia I Clem. 46, 2 κτλ.] Auctor hic Doctrinam 4, 8 et tanquam verba Scripturae allegan- 10, 3 in unum conflavit. — ἄξιος 5, 18. — βοῦν κτλ.] Deut. 25, 4. tur. Cum auctor epistolam Clemen- I Tim. 5, 18. — οὐδεις κτλ.] I Cor. tis ad Corinthios haud dubie legisset 9, 7. (cf. infra 22, 2; 23, 1—3), eum il- lum locum hic respexisse conicere licet.

3. 16 sq. τιμήσεις — χειρῶν σου om XIII, 1. 23. σχίσματα c. V et ver- O | δὲ c. M S : om V | 17 sqq. εἰ γὰρ, μάχην πρὸς ἕτερον M | 24 ἐλέγξει

Οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει πλοῦτος παρὰ κυρίῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἀξία προκρίνει οὐδὲ
 κάλλος ὠφελεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων παρ' αὐτῷ. 2. Ἐν προσ-
 ευχῇ σου μὴ διψυχῆσθης, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. 3. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λα-
 βεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χει-
 5 ρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι, οὐδὲ διδοῦς
 γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γάρ, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. 4. Οὐκ
 ἀποστραφήσῃ ἐνδεδόμενον, κοινωνήσεις δὲ ἀπάντων τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς
 ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστέ, πόσῃ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς.

XIV. Βαρθολομαῖος εἶπεν· Ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὥς ἔτι
 10 καιρός ἐστὶ καὶ ἔχετε εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε μετ' ἑαυτῶν, μὴ ἐκλεί-
 πητε ἐν μηδενί, ἐξουσίαν ἔαν ἔχητε. 2. Ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυ-
 ρίου, ἐν ἣ συναπολείται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ· ἥξει γὰρ ὁ κύριος,
 καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. 3. Ἐαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται,
 15 ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, θεοδιδάκτοι· φυλάξεις ἃ παρ-
 ἔλαβες, μήτε προσθεῖς μήτε ὑφαιρῶν.

XV. Πέτρος εἶπεν· Ἀδελφοί, τὰ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν νοουθεσιῶν
 αἱ γραφαὶ διδάξουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἃ ἐκελεύσθημεν διατάξωμεν. Πάντες
 εἶπαν· Πέτρος λεγέτω.

XVI. Πέτρος εἶπεν· Ἐὰν ὀλιγανδρία ὑπάρχη καὶ μήπου
 20 πληθὸς τυγχάνῃ τῶν δυναμένων ψηφίσασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου ἐντὸς
 δεκαδύο ἀνδρῶν, εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου τυγχάνει πεπηγυῖα,

τινὰ c. M O : τινὰ ἐλ. V | 1 sq. οὐ
 γὰρ — ὠφελεῖ om O, οὐ γὰρ — συ-
 σπῶν (v. 3) om M | 1. ἀξία em :
 ἀξίας V | 2. ἀλλὰ — αὐτῷ : ἰσότης γὰρ
 ἐστὶ παρὰ θεῷ O

2. 3 sq. πότερον — συσπῶν (v. 3)
 om O

3. 4 sq. ἔαν ἔχῃς (ἔχεις V) — ἁμαρ-
 τιῶν σου c. V M : ἔαν ἔσται ἔχειν σε,
 ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν σου δὸς εἰς ἄφεςιν
 ἁμαρτιῶν σου O | δώσεις (δώσης) λύ-
 τρωσιν c. V D : δὸς εἰς λύτρον M |
 5 sq. οὐ διστάσεις — ἀνταποδότης om
 O | δοῦναι c. M D : διδοῖναι V | 6. γνώ-
 σῃ — ἀνταποδότης om M

4. 7. κοινωνήσεις δὲ ἀπ. c. V : συγ-
 κοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα O D | 7 sq. κοι-
 νωνήσεις — φθαρτοῖς om M, qui post

ἐνδεδόμενον addit : λήψῃ γὰρ τὸν ἄξιον
 μισθὸν παρὰ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ·
 ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν, at-
 que his verbis finem facit, caput pro-
 ximum autem ante caput XII ex-
 hibet | 8. πόσον V | φθαρτοῖς c. V :
 θνητοῖς O (qui autem in capite se-
 quente Doctrinam exscripsit) D

XIV. Fere omnia, quae in hoc ca-
 pite leguntur, ex Barnabae epistula
 c. 21 hausta sunt. O, contra quem
 non solum V et M, sed etiam ver-
 siones faciunt, pro eis ex Doctrina
 exscripsit : Βαρθολομαῖος εἶπεν· Οὐκ
 ἄρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ νόου σου
 οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς θνητοσύνης σου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
 νεότητος διδάξεις αὐτοὺς τὸν φόβον
 τοῦ κυρίου (D. 4, 9). Ἐξομολογήσῃ

quem de lapsu. Nihil enim valent divitiae apud Dominum; non enim dignitas praestat neque pulcritudo prodest, sed aequalitas omnium apud eum est. In oratione tua ne dubites, utrum futurum sit an non. Noli porrigere manus tuas ad accipiendum, ad dandum vero contrahere. Si habes per manus tuas, dabis ⁵ pretium ad redimenda peccata tua. Non dubitabis dare, neque murmurabis, cum das; cognosces enim, quis sit bonus mercedis retributor. Non repudiabis indigentem, communicabis autem in omnibus cum fratre tuo nec quidquam dices proprium; nam si in immortalibus consortes estis, quanto magis in corruptibilibus? ¹⁰

XIV. Bartholomaeus dixit: Rogamus vos, fratres, quamdiu tempus est et habetis vobiscum, in quos operamini, ne defeceritis in nullo, si facultatem habetis. 2. Prope est enim dies Domini, in qua omnia cum malo peribunt; veniet enim Dominus et merces eius cum eo. 3. Fiatis vobis legislatores, ¹⁵ fiatis vobis consilarii boni, a Deo docti. Custodies, quae accepisti, neque addens neque demens.

XV. Petrus dixit: Fratres, cetera, quae moneantur, Scripturae docebunt, nos vero constituamus, quae nobis praecepta sunt. Omnes dixerunt: Petrus loquatur. ²⁰

XVI. Petrus dixit: Si paucitas hominum accidit neque iam copia adest eorum, qui suffragium de episcopo inter duodecim viros eligendo facere valent, ad ecclesias proximas, si quae con-

τὰ παραπτώματά σου· οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψῃ ἐντολὰς κυρίου· οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐν προσευχῇ σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηροῦ (D. 4, 13. 14)· μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρέσκει κυρίῳ· φυλάξῃ δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ὑφαιρῶν. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς (D. 4, 12. 13. 14). His verbis libellus in O quoque concluditur.

1. 11. ἐξουσίαν c. M : ἐξουῖ V

2. 15. μετ' αὐτοῦ c. V et versionibus : om M Barn.

3. 13. ἐκείνων γ. νομοθέται c. versionibus Barn : om V M | 14. θεοδιδάκτοι c. M versionibus Barn : διδάκτοι V |

14 sq. ἃ παρέλαβες em coll M D : ἀπερῆλαβες V — φυλάξεις κτλ.] Barn. 19, 11. Verba quidem in Doctrina apostolorum 4, 12 leguntur. Auctor autem hic potius epistolam Barnabae respexisse videtur, ex qua etiam reliqua capitis pars fluxit.

XV. Si respicis 4, 1, ubi duarum viarum mentio fit, hic descriptionem viae mortis exspectas. Auctor autem, postquam viam vitae exposuit, eam supervacaneam putasse videtur.

XVI, 1. 2. δοκιμάσωσι em : δοκιμάσαντες V — ἐντὸς δεκαδύο ἀνδρῶν] Bickell et ceteri editores haec verba tanquam epexegezen ad πληθους vel

γραφέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐκείθεν ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες παραγενόμενοι δοκιμῇ δοκιμάσωσι τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα, εἴ τις φήμην καλὴν ἔχει ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰ ἀναμάρτητος ὑπάρχει, εἰ φιλόπτωχος, εἰ σώφρων, μὴ μέθυσος, μὴ πόρνος, μὴ πλεονέκτης ἢ λοιδόρος ἢ προσωπο-
 5 λήπτης καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια. 2. Καλὸν μὲν εἶναι ἀγύναιος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γυναικὸς, παιδείας μέτοχος, δυνάμενος τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνεύειν, εἰ δὲ ἀγράμματος, πρᾶϋς ὑπάρχων, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης εἰς πάντας περισσευέτω, μήποτε περὶ τινος ἐλεγχθῆις ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν γενηθεῖη.

10 XVII. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος, εἰδὼς τὸ προσεχὲς καὶ φιλόθεον τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καταστήσει οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃ πρεσβυτέρους δύο.

ὀλιγανδρία retulerunt et vocem ἐντός interpretati sunt: infra. Verba etiam cum ψηφίσασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου construi possunt et vox ἐντός verti: intra vel inter, ita ut duodecim viri non tam sint ei, qui eligunt, quam ei, ex quibus episcopus eligitur. Cum illi viri eidem sint cum his, parum sane refert, quomodo interpretemur. Haec autem interpretatio textui magis consentanea esse videtur. Duchesne, *Bulletin critique* 1886 p. 363, respiciens capita sequentia, ubi de ordinatione trium presbyterorum, lectoris et trium diaconorum sermo est, atque considerans, tot clericos in ecclesia, quae nondum numerabat duodecim laicos, haud facile ordinatos fuisse, teste autem Pseudoclemente (Recognit. III, 66; VI, 15. Hom. XI, 36) in nonnullis ecclesiis presbyteros duodecim fuisse, in ecclesia Alexandrina e collegio presbyterorum episcopum revera semper creatum esse, duodecim viros presbyteros declaravit. Interpretatio autem non concordat cum capite XVII, ubi non duodecim, sed duo vel tres presbyteri commemorantur. — ὅπου

τυγχάνει πεπηγνῖα] Duchesne haec verba ad ὀλιγανδρία referenda esse putat. Mihi verba proxime praecedentia explicare videntur. — ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες] Auctor episcopos non nominat. Cum autem saeculo iam tertio teste Cypriano (Ep. 67, 5 ed. Hartel) episcopi vicini vel eiusdem provinciae fere ubique praepositi eligendi causa convenire soliti essent, auctor de episcopis cogitasse videtur. — δοκιμάσωσι] Cf. II Cor. 8, 22. I Tim. 3, 10. Doctr. apost. 11, 11; 12, 1; 15, 1. I Clem. 42, 4; 44, 2. — φήμην καλὴν κτλ.] Haec fere omnia usque ad finem capitis leguntur I Tim. 3, 2—7; Tit. 1, 6—9; I Cor. 5, 11 (μέθυσος — λοιδόρος); Constit. apost. II, 1—6. — καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια] Eadem formula utitur Paulus Gal. 5, 21.

2. 8. ὁ ἐπίσκοπος V — καλὸν κτλ.] Auctor I Cor. 7, 26 respexisse videtur, ubi Paulus scribit, homini bonum esse, si sine uxore sit. — ἀπὸ μιᾶς γυναικὸς] Pitra adnotat: Vel absona haec verba sunt vel clare sonant, oportere episcopum esse aut caelibem aut unius uxoris viduum. Interpretatio

stituta est, litterae scribantur, ut inde viri tres electi advenientes probe probent, quis dignus sit, an bonam habeat famam apud gentiles, an insons existat, an pauperum studiosus, an prudens, non ebriosus, non fornicator, non avarus vel contumeliosus vel personarum acceptor et cetera id genus. 2. Bonum quidem est, eum esse sine uxore; sin minus, unius uxoris sit; doctrinae sit particeps, idoneus Scripturarum interpret; si vero litterarum expers sit, mitis sit et caritate erga omnes superabundet, ne unquam de aliqua re episcopus a multis arguatur.

XVII. Ioannes dixit: Qui institutus fuit episcopus, considerato studio ac caritate eorum, qui cum eo sunt, instituet duos presbyteros, quos probaverit.

autem non est prorsus recta. Cum verba ἀπὸ μιᾶς γυναικὸς voci ἀγναιος opponantur, non denotant accurate: viduum unius uxoris esse, sed potius: unius uxoris virum esse, sive uxor vivat sive mortua fuerit. Epiphanius Expos. fid. c. 20 distincte dicit, diaconissas, nisi sint ἀειπάροθνοι, χηρευσάσας ἀπὸ μονογαμίας esse debere. Cf. *Theol. Quartalschrift* 1882 p. 400. Auctor igitur nihil aliud praecipit ac Paulus apostolus I Tim. 3, 2 verbis μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα. Id tantum, si vox ἀπὸ urgeatur, dicendum est, eum velle, ut episcopus, semel maritatus, cum uxore non tanquam maritus, sed tanquam frater vivat. Cum expressio autem sit plane inusitata, interpretatio non est certa. Versio Aethiopica habet: Bonum quidem (esset), si sine uxore ageret; si vero uxorem duxisset unam, priusquam constitueretur episcopus, maneat cum illa. — παιδείας μέτοχος κτλ.] Similiter Constit. apost. II, 1: ἔστω οὖν (ὁ ἐπίσκοπος), εἰ δυνατόν, πεπαιδευμένος, II, 5: πολυδίδακτος, μελετῶν καὶ σπουδάζων ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς βίβλοις, πολλὸς ἐν ἀναγνώσ-

μασιν, ἵνα τὰς γραφὰς ἐπιμελῶς ἐρμηνεύῃ, II, 1: εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμπειρος τοῦ λόγον, καθήκων τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. Episcopi illiterati saeculis prioribus haud rari erant. Etiam in synodo Ephesina a. 449 duo episcopi aderant, qui scribendi non erant periti. Paulus I Tim. 3, 2 et Tit. 1, 9 episcopum doctorem (διδασκτικόν) esse vult et amplectentem eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem, ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere; de contrario autem tacet. — τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς π. π.] Cf. I Thess. 3, 12: ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ κύριος . . περισεύσαι τῇ ἀγάπῃ εἰς πάντας. — ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν] scil. ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, qua voce auctor utitur capitulo ineunte.

XVII. δύο] Hilgenfeld hic et c. 18 scribit δεκαδύο, pro τρεῖς ponit κδ' (= εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες). Non est autem mutandum. Voces δύο et τρεῖς non solum codice Vindobonensi, sed etiam versionibus traduntur. Auctor praeterea seniores Apocalypsis viginti quattuor non ideo allegat, ut totidem ministros instituendos esse de-

XVIII. Πάντες ἀντεῖπον, ὅτι οὐ δύο, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς· εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρες εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι, δώδεκα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ δώδεκα ἐξ εὐωνύμων. 2. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Καλῶς ὑπεμνήσατε, ἀδελφοί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δεξιῶν δεχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων τὰς φιάλας προσ-
 5 φέρουσι τῷ δεσπότῃ, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπέχουσι τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγγέλων. 3. Δεῖ οὖν εἶναι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἤδη κεχρονικότητας ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τρόπῳ τινὶ ἀπεχομένους τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας συνελεύ-

monstret; sed, ut verba δώδεκα ἐξ δεξιῶν κτλ. c. 18 indicant, id prae-sertim probare vult, duas episcopi vel altaris partes numero ministro-rum pari obtinendas esse. Prorsus denique a similitudine abhorret, auc-torem ut viginti quattuor presbyteri ordinentur velle, cum c. 16 ecclesias minimas respexerit.

XVIII, 1. εἴκοσι γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρες] Cf. Apoc. 4, 4. 10. Partem autem seniorum a dextris, partem a sinistris esse, S. Scriptura non dicit, sed auc-tor addit. Argumentatio mira est, et alii locum aliter interpretati sunt. Krawutzcky, *Theol. Quartalschrift* 1882 p. 400 sq., coniecit, verba πάν-τες — τρεῖς et Ἰωάννης — ἀδελφοί (v. 2) a compilatore libri de suo ad-dita, cetera autem ex scriptura ali-qua vetere hausta esse, in qua de-cretum fuisset: duos saltem presby-teros instituendos et alteri a dextris, alteri a sinistris episcopo ministran-dum esse, similiter atque in caelo duodecim seniores a dextris essent, duodecim a sinistris. Idem Harnack censuit, textum scripturae veteris re-stituens. Aegre autem quis credat, tantopere compilatorem ordinem evertisse, idque eo minus, quo faci-lius harmoniam numerorum servare potuit, sive numerum traditum re-tinebat, sive voci δύο vocem τέσσα-ρες substituebat. Aut fortasse om-

nino numerum δύο amovere ac nu-merum τρεῖς inducere voluit? Equi-dem hoc non sentio. Itaque omnia eidem auctori adiudicanda sunt, et numerus τρεῖς inde repetendus esse videtur, quod infra c. 20 tres diaconi commemorantur. Auctor habet ergo bis trinos clericos, qui cum duodenis senioribus Apocalypsis componi pos-sint. Cf. *Bulletin critique* 1886 p. 365 sq. Ne opponas, Constit. apost. VIII, 12 init. presbyteros proprie dictos a dextris et a sinistris alta-ris stantes commemorari. Ordo haud dubie in singulis ecclesiis diversus erat, in maioribus alius atque in mi-noribus. Praeterea in scriptura illa quoque l. c. diaconis non solum mi-nisterium ad altare exercendum at-tribuitur, cum scriptura nostra, nisi pars seniorum de diaconis intelle-gitur, munus eiusmodi non agnoscat, sed etiam locus ex utraque parte al-taris assignatur, eis scilicet, quibus muscae a poculis abigendae erant. Denique notandum est, ea, quae auc-tor hic dicit, olim nonnunquam in ecclesiis depicta fuisse. In memo-riam libet revocare opus illud mu-sivum, quo paries supra arcum trium-phalem erectus basilicae S. Pauli extra Urbis muros instinctu S. Leo-nis I papae et munificentia Placidiae reginae ornatus est.

2. In Apocalypsi, ut iam ex ad-

XVIII. Omnes oblocuti sunt: Non duos, sed tres; viginti enim et quattuor sunt seniores, duodecim a dextris et duodecim a sinistris. 2. Ioannes dixit: Bene admonuistis, fratres. Qui enim a dextris sunt, accipientes ab archangelis phialas offerunt Domino; qui autem a sinistris, praesunt multitudini angelorum. 3. Oportet igitur presbyteros iam aetate provectos esse in mundo, aliquo abstinentes modo a mulierum consortio, promptos ad

notatione praecedente apparet, inter seniores non fit discrimen, sed seniores viginti quattuor simul semper commemorantur. Cf. Apoc. 4, 4. 10; 5, 8. 14; 11, 6; 19, 4. Auctor haec igitur de suo addidit. Archangeli in sacro libro nec semel nominantur. Unde clare patet, auctori minus numerum *ἐἴκοσι τέσσαρες* quam duas partes aequales curae fuisse.

3. 6. *τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*: ante haec verba in codice pars lineae tertia rasa est, Hilgenfeld praemittit *καὶ δὲ οὖν εἶναι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους*] Quales presbyteros proprie dictos esse oporteat, praeter auctorem nostrum saeculis tribus prioribus Polycarpus solus in epistula ad Philippenses c. 6 exponit, ceteroquin ab iis, quae hic leguntur, haud parum divergens. Mihi quidem Polycarpus l. c. de illis dicere videtur, non de presbyteris-episcopis, ut Harnack censet. Paulus I Tim. 2, 2—7 et Tit. 1, 5—9 de episcopis vel de presbyteris-episcopis agit, inter episcopos et presbyteros non discernens. Auctor Constitutionum apostolorum de presbyteris pluribus locis dicit; quales autem eos oporteat esse, nusquam distincte dicit. Pseudoathanasius vero vel auctor Syntagmatis doctrinae c. 8 (Migne, Patr. gr. t. 28 p. 843) presbyteris praecepta accuratiora dat. Scribit enim: Si sacerdos quispiam accurate

velit sacerdotio fungi, non solum praecepta superiora servet (scilicet ea, quae monachos reliquosque Christianos spectant), sed insuper sit sobrius, sedulus, patiens, mansuetus, orphanorum et pauperum et hospitum et bonorum amans, quietus, firmus fide et sententia et verbo, abstinens a muliere; gregem ne neglegat, ne quempiam exsecretur, personam ne accipiat, omnes coarguat; ne sinat ullam scabiosam in ovili ovem, sed per paenitentiam eam purget, atque ita in ovile recipiat; sciat, quo pacto singulos pascere, quae praecepta viduis, quae monachis, quae laicis, quae catechumenis tradere debeat etc. — *κεχρονικότας*] Synodi veteres decernunt, ante aetatem triginta annorum neminem presbyterum (Neocaesar. c. 11 Aurel. 538 c. 6) aut episcopum vel presbyterum (Agath. 506 c. 17. Arelat. 524 c. 1) ordinandum esse. Auctor noster aetatem maiorem praescribere videtur. Constitutiones apostolorum II, 1 volunt, ut episcopus quinquaginta annos natus sit. — *τρόπῳ τινὶ ἀπεχομένους κτλ.*] Phrasis *τρόπῳ τινὶ* in Constitutionibus apostolorum II, 1 et III, 1 legitur. Harnack interpretatur: convenienter (= *κατὰ τρόπον*) et censet, presbyteris consortium mulierum plane interdictum, episcopis et diaconis ab auctore concessum esse.

σεως, εὐμεταδότους εἰς τὴν ἀδελφότητα, πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου μὴ λαμβάνοντας, συμμύστας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ συνεπιμάχους, συναθροίζοντας τὸ πλῆθος, προθυμουμένους τὸν ποιμένα. 4. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ δεξιῶν πρεσβύτεροι προνοήσονται τῶν ἐπισκόπων πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὅπως τιμήσωσι καὶ ἐντιμηθῶσιν, εἰς ὃ ἂν δέη. Οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πρεσβύτεροι προνοήσονται τοῦ πλῆθους, ὅπως εὐσταθῆς καὶ ἀθόρυβος εἴη, πρῶτον μεμαθηκὼς ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ. 5. Εἰ δέ τις νουθετούμενος αὐθαδῶς ἀποκριθῇ, τὸ ἐν ποιήσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὸν τοιοῦτον μετὰ ἴσης βουλῆς, ὃ ἂν ᾗ ἄξιον, δικασάτωσαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ φόβον ἔχωσι, μήποτε ἐνὸς πρόσωπον λάβωσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον νεμηθῇ ὡς γάγγραινα, καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθῶσι οἱ πάντες.

XIX. Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· Ἀναγνώστης καθιστανέσθω πρῶτον δοκιμῇ δεδοκιμασμένος, μὴ γλωσσοκόπος, μὴ μέθυτος μηδὲ γελωτολόγος, εὐτροπος, εὐπειθής, εὐγνώμων, ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς συνόδοις πρῶτος σύνδρομος, εὐήκοος, διηγητικός, εἰδώς, ὅτι εὐαγγελιστοῦ

Interpretationi autem vox *τινὶ* adversatur. Auctor potius vult, ut presbyteri consortio uxorum quodammodo vel quam maxime abstineant. — *συμμύσται*] Vox apud veteres satis usitata. Iam Ignatius Eph. 12, 2 ea utitur, Ephesios Pauli symmystas appellans, quia ab apostolo mysteriis divini consilii et christianae veritatis initiati erant. Quod hic presbyteri symmistae episcopi nominantur, id inde maxime repetendum est, quod episcopum in mysteriis administrandis adiuvant. — *ποιμένα*] i. e. episcopum.

4. 6. *εὐσταθής*: add ἡ V, *εὐσταθήσῃ* em Lagarde — *ὅπως τιμήσωσι καὶ ἐντιμηθῶσιν*] Respicens sententiam sequentem Harnack vocem *ἐπισκοποι* supplendam esse putat, ac vertit: ut munera distribuunt et accipiant. Revera ibi subiectum est *τὸ πλῆθος*, non οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. Haec autem verba potius ad πρεσβύτεροι quam ad ἐπισκόπων referenda esse

videntur. Interpretatio illa etiam ideo reprobanda est, quia vox *τιμᾶν* denotat: munera vel dona dare, non autem: dona (data) distribuere. Constitutionibus apostolorum II, 28 et III, 1 versio Harnackiana non probatur. — οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πρεσβύτεροι] i. e. diaconi. Auctor autem voce πρεσβύτεροι utitur, quia presbyteros et diaconos ecclesiae terrestres cum senioribus Apocalypsis vel ecclesiae caelestis comparat; eumque revera hic non de presbyteris, sed de diaconis cogitare, inde apparet, quod Constit. apost. II, 57 idem officium diaconis adiudicatur, quod hic senioribus adscribitur, scilicet ut ordinem et quietem populi conservent. — *μεμαθηκὼς ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ*] Cf. I Tim. 2, 11: *γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ*.

5. 9. ἡ em: εἰ V | 10. ἔχωσι em: ἔχουσι V — τὸ ἐν π. οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ] i. e. episcopus et presbyteri a dextris stantes in collegio con-

largiendum fratribus, personam hominis non accipientes, cum episcopo consortes mysterii ac pugnae, congregantes multitudinem, studiose prosequentes pastorem. 4. Qui a dextris sunt seniores, episcopis providebunt in sacrificio, ut honorent et honorentur, quantum opus sit. Qui a sinistris sunt seniores, providebunt plebi, ut quieta et sine tumultu sit, primum erudita in omni subiectione. 5. Si quis autem monitus arroganter responderit, qui ad altare sunt, in unum convenientes in talem cum aequo consilio, quod iustum est, decernant, ut et reliqui metum habeant, ne ullius unquam personam accipiant et malum accrescat ut cancer et capiantur omnes.

XIX. Iacobus dixit: Lector instituatur, qui primum probe fuerit probatus, non lingua mordax, non ebrius neque scurrilia effutians, bonis moribus, oboediens, intellegens, in conventibus dominicis primus accurrens, qui facile audiatur et prompte legat,

gregati; id enim verba *οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ* denotant, non vero, presbyteros a dextris stantes in unum convenire cum presbyteris a sinistris stantibus vel cum diaconis. Diaconi ergo iudicii exercendi participes non esse videntur. — *νεμῆθῃ ὡς γάγγραινα*] Cf. II Tim. 2, 17. Constit. apost. II, 41. — *αἰχμαλωτισθῶσι*] Cf. II Tim. 3, 6. Ign. Philad. 2, 2.

XIX. *ἀναγνώστης*] Ex hoc loco Harnack conclusit, tempore antiquissimo, i. e. usque ad annum 200 circiter, lectorem ordinem obtinuisse ante diaconum. Sententia vero neque verisimilis neque probata est. Argumenta ex aliis scripturis ad eam confirmandam allata satis infirma sunt. Ex hoc autem loco nihil colligendum est. Nequaquam enim hanc scripturae partem altera saeculi secundi parte vel eo tempore, quo ille ordo etiam viguisse dicitur, ortum habere certum est. Praeterea haud difficile est ad explicandum, qua ratione auctor de lectore hoc loco vel

prius quam de diacono egerit. Cf. quae de hac re dixi in Prolegomenis. — *καθιστανέσθω*] Harnack compilatorem hic vocem *εἰς* delevisse censet, quam in vetere scriptura lectam esse coniecit. Sed neque hic neque supra 18, 1 textus mutatus esse putandus est. — *κνρ. συνόδοις*] i. e. congregationibus fidelium die dominica ad liturgiam celebrandam factis. — *διηγητικός*] Harnack hanc vocem de facultate Scripturae lectae explicandae interpretatur. Mihi vox potius artem recitandi denotare videtur. Etiam si enim nonnunquam accidere potuit, ut lector Scripturam interpretaretur, in universum hoc munus aliis viris incubuit. — *εὐαγγελιστοῦ*] Cum evangelistis lector comparatur, quippe qui illorum libros praelegat. Vox hic eodem sensu adhibita esse videtur, quo ea usus est Pseudo-Origenes De recta in Deum fide ed. De la Rue I, 807 D. Alium sensum habet Eph. 4, 11; Act. 21, 8; II Tim. 4, 5 (*ἔργον ποιῶν εὐαγγελιστοῦ*) et

τόπον ἐργάζεται· ὁ γὰρ ἐμπιπλῶν ὧτα μὴ νοοῦντος ἔγγραφος λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

XX. Ματθαῖος εἶπεν· Διάκονοι καθιστάσθωσαν [τρεῖς]· γέγραπται· Ἐπὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥήμα κυρίου. 2. Ἔστωσαν
 5 δεδοκιμασμένοι πάσῃ διακονίᾳ, μεμαρτυρημένοι παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους, μονόγαμοι, τεκνοτρόφοι, σώφρονες, ἐπιεικεῖς, ἡσυχιοι, μὴ γόγγυσοι, μὴ δίγλωσσοι, μὴ ὀργίλοι, ὀργὴ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσιν ἄνδρα φρόνιμον, μὴ πρόσωπον πλουσίου λαμβάνοντες μηδὲ πένητα καταδυναστεύοντες
 10 καλοὶ προτρεπτικοί, ἐπαναγκάζοντες τοὺς ἔχοντας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπλοῦν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐμετάδοτοι, κοινωνικοί, πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ ἐντροπῇ καὶ φόβῳ τιμώμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπιμελῶς προσέχοντες τοῖς ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦσιν, οὓς μὲν νουθετοῦντες, οὓς δὲ παρακαλοῦντες, οὓς δὲ ἐπιτιμῶντες· τοὺς δὲ καταφρονοῦντας τε-
 15 λείως παραπεμπόμενοι, εἰδότες, ὅτι οἱ ἀντίλογοι καὶ καταφρονηταὶ καὶ λοιδοροὶ Χριστῷ ἀντετάξαντο.

XXI. Κηφᾶς εἶπεν· Χῆραι καθιστανέσθωσαν τρεῖς· αἱ δύο προσμένουσαι τῇ προσευχῇ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν πείρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὰς

apud Eusebium H. E. III, 37; V, 10. Cf. adnot. ad Doctrin. apost. 11, 3. — ἔγγραφος κτλ.] Cf. I Clem. 45, 8. Herm. Sim. V, 3, 2. 8. Clem. Alex. De div. serv. c. 21.

XX, 1. καθιστάσθωσαν τρεῖς] Vox τρεῖς et in codice Vindobonensi et in versionibus deest. Littera γ' autem, quae numerum graece denotat, ante γέγραπται facillime omitti potuit, et contextus omnino hic poscere videtur, ut vox ponatur. Versio Coptica post καθιστάσθωσαν quidem habet: tribus eorum vitam testantibus. Auctor vero haud dubie indicare voluit, quot diaconi, non quomodo eligendi essent. Cf. 18, 1. 2; 21, 1. — ἐπὶ τριῶν κτλ.] Deut. 19, 15. Matth. 18, 16. II Cor. 13, 1. Vox κυρίου neque a scriptoribus sacris neque ab interpretibus exhibetur, et suspicionem haud exiguam movet, cum re-

vera non de verbo Domini, sed de verbo vel lite hominum sermo sit. Nolui autem mutare.

2. Auctor plura ex I Tim. 3, 8—13 sumpsit, cum apostoli verbis cum aliis utens. — δεδοκιμασμένοι π. δ.] I Tim. 3, 10: δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν. — μεμαρτυρημένοι π. τ. πλήθους] Diaconis ergo testimonium fidelium tantum opus est; episcopos vero etiam apud gentes bonam famam habere oportet, ut auctor dixit 16, 1. — μονόγαμοι, τεκνοτρόφοι] I Tim. 3, 12: διάκονοι ἕστωσαν μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρες, τέκνων καλῶς προϊστάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων. — ἐπιεικεῖς. . μὴ ὀργίλοι] Haec Paulus I Tim. 3, 3 et Tit. 1, 7 de episcopo dicit. — μὴ δίγλωσσοι. . . μηδὲ οἶνῳ π. χρ.] I Tim. 3, 8: μὴ διλόγους, μὴ οἶνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντας. — ὀργὴ κτλ.] Prov. 15, 1: ὀργὴ ἀπόλ-

memor evangelistae loco se operari. Qui enim aures implet non intellegentis, inscriptus putabitur apud Deum.

XX. Matthaeus dixit: Diaconi instituantur [tres]; scriptum est: In tribus stabit omne verbum Domini. 2. Sint probati in omni ministerio, testimonium habentes a plebe, unius uxoris ⁵ viri, filiorum nutritores, prudentes, modesti, placidi, non murmurantes, non bilingues, non iracundi, ira enim perdit virum sapientem, non personam divitis accipientes neque pauperem opprimentes neque vino multo indulgentes, agiles; 3. qui ad occulta opera bene adhortentur, cogant opulentos inter fratres, ¹⁰ ut manus expandant, et ipsi sint munifici, largitores, omni honore et verecundia et timore honorentur a plebe, diligenter attendant in eos, qui inordinate circumeunt, alios admonentes, alios consolantes, alios increpantes, eos qui omnia omnino spernunt missos facientes, memores contradictores et contemptores ¹⁵ et calumniatores Christo restitisse.

XXI. Cephas dixit: Viduae instituantur tres; duae perseverent in oratione pro omnibus, qui in tentatione sunt, et re-

λυσι καὶ φρονίμοις. Constitutiones apost. II, 3 eadem de episcopo dicunt. — μὴ πρόσωπον — καταδυναστεύοντες] Constit. apost. II, 5 episcopus admonetur: ἔστω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀπροσωπώλητος, μήτε πλούσιον ἐντροπόμενος ἢ κολακείων παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον, μήτε πένητα παρορῶν ἢ καταδυναστεύων. Cf. etiam Doctr. apost. 5, 2. — εὐσκνυτοί] Constit. apost. III, 15 19 haec vox ter de diacono adhibetur, II, 3 etiam de episcopo.

3. τῶν κρυφίων ἔργων] i. e. eleemosynarum, quas Dominus Matth. 6, 3. 4 vult in abscondito esse. Secundum Canon. Hippol. V diaconis inprimis etiam hominibus occulta egestate pressis providendum est. — εὐμετάδοτοι, κοινωνικοί] 1 Tim. 6, 18 Paulus divitibus praecipit, εὐμεταδότους εἶναι, κοινωνικούς. — τιμώμενοι] Cf. Doctr. apost. 15, 2. —

ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦσιν] Cf. II Thess. 3, 6. 11. — νοουθετοῦντες] Cf. I Thess. 5, 14: νοουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους. — παρακαλοῦντες . . ἐπιτιμῶντες] Cf. II Tim. 4, 2. — Χριστῷ ἀντετάξαντο] Cf. Luc. 10, 16.

XXI, 1. 18. τῶν om V — De viduis tanquam ordine ecclesiastico iam Paulus I Tim. 5, 3—16 agit et praeter plura alia id requirit (v. 9), ut vidua sit annos sexaginta nata et unius viri uxor. Praecepta accuratiora de viduis dat auctor Constitutionum apostolorum III, 1—15. Ignatius Smyrn. 13, 1 virgines commemorat vocatas viduas, i. e. virgines, quae ideo appellabantur viduae, quia coetui viduarum adscriptae erant. Origenes in Ioann. 32, 7 (de la Rue IV, 422) viduam in honorem ecclesiasticum connumeratam vel receptam (καταλεγομένη εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὴν

ἀποκαλύψεις περὶ οὗ ἂν δέῃ· 2. μία δὲ παρεδρεύουσα ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πειραζομέναις, εὐδιάκονος ἢ, νηπτική, τὰ δέοντα ἀπαγγέλλουσα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆς, μὴ οἶνῳ πολλῷ προσέχουσα, ἵνα δύνηται νήφειν πρὸς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ὑπηρεσίας, καὶ
5 εἴ τις ἐτέρα βούλοιο ἐργαγαθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πρῶτα κυρίου θησαυρίσματα εἰσιν ἀγαθὰ.

XXII. Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν· Διάκονοι ἐργάται τῶν καλῶν ἔργων νυχθήμερον ἐπελεύσονται πανταχοῦ, μήτε πένητα ὑπεροπτεύοντες μήτε πλούσιον προσωποληπτοῦντες, ἐπιγνώσονται τὸν θλιβόμενον,
10 καὶ ἐκ τῆς λογίας οὐ παραπέμψονται· 2. ἐπαναγκάσουσι τοὺς δυναμένους ἀποθησαυρίζειν εἰς ἔργα ἀγαθὰ, προορῶντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ διδασκάλου ἡμῶν· Εἶδετέ με πεινῶντα καὶ οὐκ ἐθρέψατέ με· οἱ γὰρ καλῶς διακονήσαντες καὶ ἀμέμπτως τόπον ἑαυτοῖς προσποιῶνται τὸν ποιμενικόν.

15 XXIII. Φίλιππος εἶπεν· Ὁ λαϊκὸς τοῖς λαϊκοῖς πράγμασι περιπειθέσθω ὑποτασσόμενος τοῖς παρεδρεύουσι τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. 2. Ἐκαστος τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ ἀρεσκέτω τῷ θεῷ, μὴ φιλεχθροῦντες ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῶν τεταγμένων, ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη παρὰ τῷ

τιμὴν, κατατετάχθαι εἰς ἐκκλ. τ.) appellat. Pseudoclemens quoque ordinis viduarum (Recogn. VI, 15) vel τοῦ χηρικοῦ (Hom. XI, 36 mentionem facit. Ordo viduarum permansit usque ad aevum medium, quo viduae in monasteriis congregatae brevi monachae fiebant. Cf. *Real-Encyklopädie der christl. Altert.* ed. Kraus II, 947 sqq. — προσμένουσαι τ. πρ.] I Tim. 5, 5: ἡ δὲ ὄντως χήρα . . προσμένει ταῖς δεήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. Cf. Constit. apost. III, 5. — ἀποκαλύψεις] sunt revera revelationes, non denudationes corporis (sc. in sacramento baptismi administrando) vel similia, ut putavit Bickell.

2. 2. ᾗ· ᾗ V | 4. δύνετε V | 5. πρῶτα κυρίου: con παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Pitra — μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆς, μὴ οἶνῳ π. πρ.] I Tim. 3, 8 de diacono dicitur. Praeceptum

apte in hoc versu ponitur, in quo non tam de vidua quam de diaconissa sermo fit. — ἐτέρα] Ita cum V et versionibus, praesertim Coptica, legendum esse prodit etiam vox τις. Alias lectio ἔτερα praeferenda sit, ut emendavit Harnack. Auctor ergo de vidua loquitur, quae viduam tertiam vel diaconissam adiuvet, sive cogitat de una ex duabus, quae orationi vacant, sive de vidua in catalogo ecclesiastico non recepta.

XXII, 1. 8. ἐπελεύσονται: ἐπελεύσοντε V, appropinquantēs C, om A, ἐπιλεύσοντες editores plures. — διάκονοι ἐργάται τ. κ. ἔ.] Cf. Constit. apost. III, 15: τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐργάτας διακόνους. — ἐκ τ. λογίας] i. e. ex pecunia ad egenos adiuvandos collecta. Cf. I Cor. 16, 1. 2. Iust. Apol. I, 67. Tert. Apolog. c. 39.

2. τοὺς δυναμένους ἀποθ. εἰς ἔργα

velationum causa, si quae opus sunt; 2. una adsidens mulieribus morbo tentatis, bona ministra, sobria, necessaria nuntians presbyteris, non turpis lucri cupida, non multo vino dedita, ut possit vigilare in nocturnis ministeriis, et si quae alia benefacere velit; etenim hi primi Domini thesauri sunt boni.

XXII. Andreas dixit: Diaconi operatores bonorum operum, noctu dieque circumibunt ubique, neque pauperem despicientes neque divitis personam accipientes, agnoscent oppressum neque a collecta excludent; 2. eos vero, quibus facultates sunt, cogent in bonis operibus thesaurizare, considerantes verba magistri nostri: Vidistis me esurientem, et non nutritivistis me. Qui enim bene ministraverunt et inculpabiliter, locum sibi vindicant pastorem.

XXIII. Philippus dixit: Laicus negotiis saecularibus inserviat, eis subditus, qui altari adsident. 2. Unusquisque proprio suo loco placeat Deo, alius alii non succensens propter institutum ordinem, unusquisque, in quo vocatus est a Domino.

ἀ.] Cf. I Tim. 6, 17—19: τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι παράγγελλε . . ἀγαθοεργεῖν, πλουτεῖν ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς . . ἀποθησαυρίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς θεμέλιον καλόν. — διδασκάλου ἡμῶν] Cf. 26, 1. Eadem voce Iustinus et auctor Constitutionum apostolorum Christum saepe appellant. Cf. Apolog. I, 4. 12. 13. 19. 21. 32. Constit. apost. III, 6, 7. 19 etc. — εἶδετε κτλ.] Matth. 25, 35—44, Auctor verba Matth. 25, 37 maxime secutus est. — οἱ γὰρ κτλ.] I Tim. 3, 13, ubi autem pro τόπον τὸν ποιμενικόν legitur βαθμὸν καλόν. Auctor etiam I Clem. 44, 3. 5: λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως, respexisse videtur.

XXIII, 1. 16. περιποιθέσθω em: περιποιθέσθω V — I Clem. 40, 5: ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται. Cf. quae ad hunc locum adnotavi. — τοῖς παρεδρεύουσι

τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ] Eisdem verbis utitur Paulus I Cor. 9, 13.

2. ἕκαστος κτλ.] I Clem. 41, 1: ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐαρεστεῖτω (vel εὐχαριστεῖτω cod. Alex.) τῷ θεῷ . . μὴ παρεκβαίνων τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα. Cf. 40, 5, ubi Clemens etiam phrasi ἰδὺς ὁ τόπος utitur. Tribus ergo locis vel quattuor (cf. 12, 2; 22, 2; 23, 1) auctor proxime ad huius epistolam ad Corinthios accedit, ita ut eum epistolam legisse iure concludamus. — ἕκαστος] Versiones addunt: currat (A) vel maneat (C). I Cor. 7, 24 Paulus scribit: ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ. Hunc locum respiciens Harnack post ἐκλήθη inserit: ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω. Equidem non muto. Ad vocem ἕκαστος suppleri potest ἀρεσκέτω.

θεῶ. 3. Ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν δρόμον μὴ παρατεμνέσθω· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἄγγελοι παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐξελίσσουσιν.

XXIV. Ἀνδρέας εἶπεν· Εὐχρηστόν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί, ταῖς γυναιξὶ διακονίαν καταστήσαι.

XXV. Πέτρος εἶπεν· Ἐφθάσαμεν τάξαντες· περὶ δὲ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἀκριβῶς μνηύσωμεν.

XXVI. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ἐπελάθεσθε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτε ᾗτησεν ὁ διδάσκαλος τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ἠϋλόγησεν αὐτὰ λέγων·
10 Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἷμα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε ταύταις συστήναι ἡμῖν. 2. Μάρθα εἶπεν· Διὰ Μαριάμ, ὅτι εἶδεν αὐτὴν μειδιῶσαν. Μαρία εἶπεν· Οὐκέτι ἐγέλασα· προέλεγε γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται.

XXVII. Κηφᾶς εἶπεν· Ἐνίων μέμνησθε δέ, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξὶ
15 μὴ ὀρθαῖς πρέπει προσεύχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καθεζομέναις.

XXVIII. Ἰάκωβος εἶπεν· Πῶς οὖν δυνάμεθα περὶ γυναικῶν διακονίας ὀρίσαι, εἰ μὴ τι διακονίαν ἵνα ἐπισχύσωσι ταῖς ἐνδεομέναις;

3. 1. παρατεμνέσθω V, non παρατεμνεῖτο. — οἱ ἄγγελοι κτλ.] Cf. IClem. 34, 5.

XXIV. Hilgenfeld hoc caput et sequentia usque ad 29, 1 tanquam corrupta vel addita uncis inclusit. Similiter senserunt Pitra et Kratwutzky, *Theol. Quartalschrift* 1882 p. 405 sq. Ego non intellego, cur pars etiam versionibus tradita auctori non sit adscribenda. Sensus hic esse videtur. Postquam de diversis officiis ecclesiasticis actum est, Andreas monet, ut feminis ministerium simile ac diaconis deputetur. Petrus respondet, id iam factum esse, scilicet cum de viduis dictum sit; modo quaeri, an feminis in eucharistia offerenda vel distribuenda officium assignandum sit. Ioannes autem occurrit, hoc non quaeri, cum feminae ad sacramentum eucharistiae insti-

tuendum a Domino non fuerint admissae; et Cephas addit, mulieribus ideo quoque in liturgia ministerium non esse attribuendum, quia ipsis humis edentibus orandum sit. Iacobus tandem sermonem concludit dicens: mulieribus ergo non aliud officium iniungendum esse, nisi ut egenis feminis inserviant.

XXVI. Cf. Matth. 26, 26 sq. Hoc caput Harnack ex Evangelio aliquo apocrypho desumptum esse putat. Sententia autem minime certa est. Auctor hanc partem etiam fingere potuit, ut mulieribus officium in liturgia non esse deputandum probaret. Cf. *Bulletin critique* 1886 p. 362.

1. ὁ διδάσκαλος] Vox hic absolute adhibita est, cum 22, 2 de magistro nostro sermo sit. Auctor apostolos et alios aequales Iesu imitatur, qui hunc simpliciter διδάσκαλε alloque-

3. Alter alterius cursum ne intercipiat. Neque enim angeli praeter id, quod ipsis praeceptum est, quidquam aliud praecoccupant.

XXIV. Andreas dixit: Utile est, fratres, mulieribus ministerium assignare.

5

XXV. Petrus dixit: Iam statuimus; de oblatione vero corporis et sanguinis accurate commonefaciamus.

XXVI. Ioannes dixit: Obliti estis, fratres, quod magister, cum panem et calicem rogaret eisque benediceret dicens: Hoc est corpus meum ac sanguis, his non permisit nobiscum stare. 10
2. Martha dixit: Propter Mariam, quoniam vidit eam subridentem. Maria ait: Non amplius risi; praedixit enim nobis, quando docebat, fore ut infirmum per validum salvaretur.

XXVII. Cephas dixit: Aliqua autem meminere, quod mulieres non decet stando orare, sed super terram sedentes. 15

XXVIII. Iacobus dixit: Quomodo igitur possumus de mulierum ministerio decernere, nisi ministerium, quo valeant mulieribus egenis inservire?

bantur. Cf. Matth. 8, 19; 12, 38; 22, 16. 24. 26.

2. 11. *Μάρθα εἶπεν* exstat bis in V — Animadvertite contextum. Ratio afferenda erat, cur Dominus in eucharistia instituenda mulieribus cum apostolis stare non permisisset. Auctor autem id non suis verbis facit, sed potius mulieres inducit causas reddentes. Harnack verba *Μάρθα* — *ἐγέλασα* tanquam observationem ab apostolo Ioanne interiectam uncis inclusit. — *οὐκέτι κτλ.*] Maria ergo se risisse non negat, affirmat autem vitium se abiecisse, atque aliam causam addit, ob quam mulieres a sacro ministerio arcentur. — *ἡμῖν*] sc. mulieribus, non apostolis, ut Harnack interpretatur. — *τὸ ἀσθενὲς κτλ.*] S. Scriptura hanc sententiam non exhibet.

XXVII, 14. δὲ c. V : *λεγόντων* Hilgf. |

15. *πρέπει* c. versionibus: om V | *ἐπὶ* em: *ἀπὸ* V — Cephas rationem aliam affert, cur mulieribus officia liturgica interdicta sint. Versiones hic valde discrepant. Aethiops legit: Infit Cephas: sunt qui dicant: non decet feminas attollere vocem suam, dum stant in ecclesia (cf. I Cor. 14, 34. 35), sed faciant eas procumbere humi. Interpres Copticus exhibet: Cephas dixit: nonnulli dicunt: decet mulieres orare stantes neque procumbere super terram. — *μὴ ὀρθαῖς κτλ.*] De hoc habitu mulierum alias nihil traditur.

XXVIII. 17. *διακονίαν ὀρίσαι* V, non *διακονίας ὄρ.* | *ἐπισχύωσι* c. V: coniciebatur *ἐπισχῆσσι* et *ἐπισχῶσι*. — *εἰ μὴ τι κτλ.*] Inservire ergo mulieribus egenis est solum officium ecclesiasticum, quod mulieribus deputatur.

XXIX. Φίλιππος εἶπεν · Τοῦτο, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς μεταδόσεως. Ὁ ποιῶν ἔργον ἑαυτῷ θησαυρὸν καλὸν περιποιεῖται · ὁ γὰρ θησαυρίζων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἑγγραφὸς ἐργάτης λογισθήσεται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

5 XXX. Πέτρος εἶπεν · Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐχ ὥς ἐξουσίαν τινὸς ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀλλ' ἐπιταγὴν ἔχοντες παρὰ κυρίου ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς φυλάξαι τὰς ἐντολάς, μηδὲν ἀφαιροῦντας ἢ προστιθέντας, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

XXIX. 1 sq. μεταδόσεως ὁ ποιὼν V — ὁ ποιῶν κτλ.] Cf. Matth. 19, 21. — θησαυρίζων ἐν τ. β.] Cf. Matth. 6, 20. — ὥς ἐξουσίαν. ἔχοντες] Matth. 7, 29: ὥς ἐξ. ἔχων.

XXX. ἐπιταγὴν] Cf. I Cor. 7, 25. II Cor. 8, 8. — φυλάξαι κτλ.] Cf. supra 14. Auctor utramque libelli partem eisdem fere verbis concludit. Hic autem addit ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κτλ.

XXIX. Philippus dixit: Hoc, fratres, de dando. Qui opus facit, sibi thesaurum bonum acquirit. Qui enim thesaurizat in regno, inscriptus operarius putabitur apud Deum.

XXX. Petrus dixit: Haec, fratres, non tanquam potestatem alicuius habentes ad cogendum, sed mandatum habentes a Domino rogamus vos, ut custodiatis praecepta, nihil auferentes vel addentes, in nomine Domini nostri, cui gloria in saecula. Amen.

ΔΙΑΤΑΓΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Z.

I. Τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωσέως εἰρηκότος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις· Ἴδου
5 δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ
θανάτου, καὶ ἐπιφέροντος· Ἐκλεξαι τὴν ζωὴν, ἵνα ζήσης· καὶ τοῦ
προφήτου Ἠλία λέγοντος τῷ λαῷ· Ἔως πότε χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμ-
φοτέrais ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑμῶν; εἰ θεὸς ἐστὶ κύριος, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω
αὐτοῦ· εἰκότως ἔλεγε καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς· Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυοῖ
10 κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει,
ἢ ἐνὸς ἀντιθέxεται καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου καταφρονήσει· 2. ἀναγκαίως καὶ
ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ, ὅς ἐστι σωτὴρ πάντων ἀν-
θρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν, φαμέν, ὡς δύο-ὁδοὶ εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ
μία τοῦ θανάτου. Οὐδεμίαν δὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχουσιν πρὸς ἑαυτάς, πολὺ
15 γὰρ τὸ διάφορον, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντῃ κεχωρισμέναι τυγχάνουσι, καὶ
φυσικὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ὁδός, ἐπείσακτος δὲ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου,
οὐ τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ ὑπάρξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ
ἄλλοτρίου.

II. Πρώτη οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη, ἣν
20 καὶ ὁ νόμος διαγορεύει, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δια-
νοίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν ἓνα καὶ μόνον, παρ' ὃν ἄλλος
οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν. Καὶ πᾶν, ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι,
καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἄλλῳ οὐ ποιήσεις. 2. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς,
προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν.
25 Ποία γὰρ ὑμῖν χάρις, ἐὰν φιλήτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ

I, 1. 5. τὴν ζωὴν om Pitra. — Ἴδου | Matth. 6, 24.
κτλ.] Deut. 30, 15. 19. — Ἔως πότε | 2. σωτὴρ κτλ.] I Tim. 4, 10. —
κτλ.] III Reg. 18, 21. — οὐδέεις κτλ.] φυσικὴ κτλ.] Cf. Sap. 1, 13; 2, 23—24.

CONSTITUTIONES SANCTORUM APOSTOLORUM.

LIBER VII.

I. Cum legislator Moses dixerit Israëlitis: *Ecce dedi ante faciem vestram viam vitae et viam mortis*, ac subiungat: *Elige vitam, ut vivas*, et propheta Elias populo denuntiet: *Usquequo claudicabitis in ambobus poplitibus vestris? Si Deus est Dominus, ambulate post eum*: merito dixit etiam Dominus Iesus: *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire; aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diligit, aut uni adhaerebit et alterum contemnet*; 2. necessario et nos, secuti magistrum Christum, *qui est salvator omnium hominum, maxime fidelium*, pronuntiamus, quod duae sunt viae, vitae una, mortis altera. Nullam autem habent inter se convenientiam, sed magnum discrimen, immo vero prorsus disiunctae consistunt, ac naturalis quidem est vitae via, adscita autem via mortis, non illius, quae ex voluntate Dei, verum illius, quae ex insidiis adversarii exstitit.

II. Prima igitur est via vitae; eaque est, quam et lex praecipit, *diligere Dominum Deum ex tota mente et ex tota anima, unum ac solum, praeter quem alius non est*, et proximum sicut seipsum. Et omne, quod non vis tibi fieri, et tu hoc alteri ne facias. 2. Benedicite eis, qui vobis maledicunt, orate pro calumniantibus vos, *diligite inimicos vestros*, Quae enim vobis gratia, si amatis eos, qui vos amant? Etenim ethnici quoque

Auctor respicit Gnosticos vel Manichaeos.

II, 1. 20 sq. *διανοίας: καρδίας* Lagarde — *ἀγαπᾶν κτλ.*] Deut. 6, 5. Marc.

12, 32—33. Auctor quidem ad legem Mosis provocat, revera autem evangelistam sequitur.

ἔθνηκοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ φιλεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ἔξετε. 3. Οὐ μισήσεις γάρ, φησί, πάντα ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ Αἰγύπτιον, οὐκ Ἰδουμαῖον, ἅπαντες γάρ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργα. Φεύγετε δὲ οὐ τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὰς γνώμας τῶν πονηρῶν. 4. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τις σοι δῇ βάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σου, στρέφον αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, οὐ φαύλης οὔσης τῆς ἀμύνης, ἀλλὰ τιμιωτέρας τῆς ἀνεξικακίας· λέγει γάρ ὁ Δαβίδ· Εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς ἀνταποδιδούσί μοι κακὰ. Ἐάν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο, καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, 5 ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει. 5. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε διδοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλοντος δανείσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ἀποκλείσης τὴν χεῖρα, δίκαιος γάρ ἄνθρωπος οἰκτεῖρει καὶ κυχρᾷ· πᾶσι γάρ θέλει διδοῖσθαι ὁ πατήρ ὁ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν αὐτοῦ βρέχων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. 15 6. Πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων· Τίμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων· προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἀγίους. 7. Οὐ φονεύσεις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ φθερεῖς τὸν ὁμοίόν σοι ἄνθρωπον, διαλύεις γάρ τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· οὐχ ὥς παντὸς φόνου φαύλου τυγχάνοντος, ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ ἀθώου, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδίκου ἄρχουσι μό- 20 νοις ἀφωρισμένου. 8. Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, διαιρεῖς γάρ μίαν σάρκα εἰς δύο· Ἔσονται γάρ, φησὶν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ἐν γάρ εἰσιν ἄνθρωπος καὶ γυνὴ τῇ φύσει, τῇ συμπνοίᾳ, τῇ ἐνώσει, τῇ διαθέσει, τῷ βίῳ, τῷ τρόπῳ, κεχωρισμένοι δὲ εἰσι τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ. 9. Οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· παρὰ φύσιν γάρ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ Σοδόμων φυέν, 25 ἥτις πυρὸς θεηλάτου παρανάλωμα γέγονεν· ἐπικατάρματος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος, καὶ ἔρεϊ πᾶς ὁ λαός· Γένοιτο. 10. Οὐ πορνεύσεις· Οὐκ ἔσται γάρ, φησί, πορνεύων ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. 11. Οὐ κλέψεις· Ἀχαρ γάρ κλέψας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Ἱεριχὼ λίθοις βληθεὶς τοῦ ζῆν ὑπ-

3. οὐ μισήσεις κτλ.] Deut. 23, 7.

4. εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα] Ps. 7, 5. — καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κρ. καὶ] Matth. 5, 40.

5. 12. ἀποκλείσῃς: editores ceteri praemittunt ἀποστραφεῖς uncinis inclusum. — ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλοντος κτλ.] Matth. 5, 42: τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφεῖς. — δίκαιος κτλ.] Ps. 111, 5. — ὁ τὸν ἥλιον κτλ.] Matth. 5, 45.

6. τίμα κτλ.] Prov. 3, 9. — προτιμητέον δὲ τ. ἀγ.] Cf. Gal. 6, 10.

7. τοῦ δὲ ἐνδίκου κτλ.] Cf. Rom. 13, 4.

8. ἔσονται κτλ.] Gen. 2, 24. Similia de adulterio et peccatis sequentibus, scilicet paederastia et fornicatione, Constit. apost. VI, 28 dicuntur, et quidem ab interpolatore, non ab auctore Didascaliae principe.

hoc faciunt; vos autem amate eos, qui vos oderunt, et inimicum non habebitis. 3. Ait enim: *Ne oderis ullum hominem, non Aegyptium, non Idumaeum*; nam omnes sunt Dei opus. Fugite autem non naturas, sed voluntates improborum. 4. Abstine a carnalibus et mundanis cupiditatibus. Si quis incusserit tibi 5 colaphum in dexteram maxillam, obverte illi et alteram, non quod mala sit ultio, sed quod pluris fieri debeat patientia. David enim dicit: *Si reddidi retribuētibus mihi mala*. Si angariaverit te aliquis unum milliāre, vade cum illo duo, et ei, qui vult tecum iudicio contendere et tunicam tuam tollere, dimitte ei et 10 pallium, et qui aufert quae tua sunt, ne repetas. 5. Petenti te da, et volenti mutuari a te ne claudas manum; vir enim iustus miseretur et commodat; omnibus enim vult tribui pater, qui solem suum oriri facit super malos et bonos et pluviam suam demittit super iustos et iniustos. 6. Aequum igitur est, ut om- 15 nibus demus ex propriis laboribus. *Honora* enim, inquit, *Dominum de tuis iustis laboribus*, oportet autem praeferre sanctos. 7. Non occides, id est, non destrues similem tibi hominem; dissolvīs enim, quae recte facta sunt; non quod omnis caedes sit vitiosa, sed innocentis solius, cum iusta caedes magistratibus 20 solis reservetur. 8. Non moechaberis, dividis enim unam carnem in duo; ait quippe: *Erunt duo in carnem unam*, siquidem maritus et uxor unum sunt natura, conspiratione, unione, affectu, vita, more; separantur vero sexu ac numero. 9. Non corrumpes pueros; naturae enim adversatur vitium ex Sodomis ortum, quae 25 civitas igne divinitus immisso consumpta fuit; *maledictus* autem, qui talis est, et dicit omnis populus: *Fiat*. 10. Non fornicaberis: *Non erit* enim, inquit, *fornicator in filiis Israël*. 11. Non furaberis. Achar namque cum in Israel apud Hierichuntem furatus esset, lapidibus obrutus excessit ex vita; et Giezi, quod 30

9. *παρὰ φύσιν κτλ.*] Cf. Lev. 18, 22. Gen. 19, 24. Constit. apost. VI, 28 legimus: *καὶ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἡ Σοδόμων ἁμαρτία*. — *ἐπικατάρατος κτλ.*] Deut. 27, 15—26. Formula illa hic plura peccata inducuntur. Idem

S. Scripturae locus allegatur Constit. VI, 28.

10. *οὐκ ἔσται*] Deut. 23, 17. Etiam hoc dictum laudatur Constit. VI, 28.

11. *Ἄχαρ*] Cf. Ios. 7, 18—26. — *Πεζεῖ*] Cf. IV Reg. 5, 20—27. Simi-

εξηλθε, καὶ Γιεζεὶ κλέφας καὶ ψευδάμενος ἐκληρονόμησε τοῦ Νεε-
μάν τὴν λέπραν, καὶ Ἰούδας κλέπτων τὰ τῶν πενήτων τὸν κύριον
τῆς δόξης παρέδωκεν Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπήγγατο καὶ
ἐλάκησε μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχχνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀνα-
5 νίας καὶ Σαπφείρα ἡ τούτου γυνή, κλέψαντες τὰ ἴδια καὶ πειρά-
σαντες τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, παραχρήμα ἀποφάσει Πέτρου τοῦ συν-
αποστόλου ἡμῶν ἐθανατώθησαν.

III. Οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις· Φαρμακοὺς γάρ, φησὶν, οὐ
περιβιώσετε. 2. Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον σου ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθὲν
10 ἀποκτενεῖς· πᾶν γάρ τὸ ἐξεικονισμένον, ψυχὴν λαβὼν παρὰ θεοῦ,
φονευθὲν ἐκδικηθήσεται, ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθὲν. 3. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ
τοῦ πλησίον σου, οἶον τὴν γυναικίαν ἢ τὸν παῖδα ἢ τὸν βοῦν ἢ τὸν
ἄγρῳ. 4. Οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις· ἐρρέθη γάρ μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως· εἰ δὲ μήγε,
κἂν εὐορκήσης, ὅτι ἐπαινεθήσεται πᾶς ὁ ὁμνῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. 5. Οὐ
15 ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ὅτι ὁ συκοφαντῶν πέννητα παροξύνει τὸν ποιήσαντα
αὐτόν.

IV. Οὐ κακολογήσεις· Μὴ ἀγάπα γάρ, φησί, κακολογεῖν, ἵνα μὴ
ἐξαρθῇς· οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις, ὅδοι γάρ μνησικακῶν εἰς θάνατον.
2. Οὐκ ἔση δίγνωμος οὐδὲ διγλωσσος· παγίς γάρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια
20 χεῖλη, καὶ ἀνὴρ γλωσσώδης οὐ κατευθυνθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
3. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός· περὶ παντὸς γάρ λόγου ἀργοῦ δώσετε
λόγον. 4. Οὐ ψεύση· Ἀπολεῖς γάρ, φησί, πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας
τὸ ψεῦδος. 5. Οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ· Οὐαὶ γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ
πλεονεκτῶν τὸν πλησίον πλεονεξίαν κακῇν. 6. Οὐκ ἔση ὑποκριτής,
25 ἵνα μὴ τὸ μέρος σου μετ' αὐτῶν θῇς.

V. Οὐκ ἔση κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος· ὑπερηφάνοις γάρ ὁ θεὸς
ἀντιτάσσεται. 2. Οὐ λήψη πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡ
κρίσις. 3. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον. Ἐλεγμῷ ἐλέγξεις τὸν ἀδελ-
φόν σου, καὶ οὐ λήψη δι' αὐτόν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ ἔλεγχε σοφόν, καὶ
30 ἀγαπήσει σε. 4. Φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτῷ·

liter Achar et Giezi Constit. apost.
II, 10 commemorantur, et quidem
per interpolatorem, non per aucto-
rem operis principem. — Ἰούδας] Cf.
Ioann. 12, 6. Matth. 27, 3—5. Act.
1, 18. — Ἀνανίας] Cf. Act. 5, 1—10.

III, 1. φαρμακοὺς κτλ.] Exod. 22, 18.

2. πᾶν κτλ.] Cf. Exod. 21, 23.

3. τὴν γυναῖκα κτλ.] Exod. 20, 17.

4. μὴ ὁμόσαι] Matth. 5, 34. —
ἐπαινεθήσεται] Ps. 62, 12.

5. ὁ συκοφαντῶν] Prov. 14, 31.

IV, 1. μὴ ἀγάπα] Prov. 20, 13. —
ὁδοί] Prov. 12, 28.

furtum ac mendacium commisisset, Naamanis lepram in hereditatem accepit; et Iudas, res pauperum surripiens, Dominum gloriae Iudaeis prodidit, ac paenitentia ductus laqueo se suspendit et crepuit medius, diffusaque sunt omnia viscera eius; et Ananias atque Saphira, uxor eius, quoniam propria bona raperant et tentaverant spiritum Domini, statim sententia Petri coapostoli nostri morte mulctati fuerunt.

III. Non uteris magia neque praestigiis; dicit enim: *Praestigiatōres non sinetis vivere.* 2. Non interficies filium tuum in abortione, neque quod natum est necabis; omne enim formatum, quod animam a Deo accepit, si perimatur, vindicabitur, utpote iniuste occisum. 3. Non concupisces, quae ad proximum tuum pertinent, ut uxorem aut servum aut bovem aut agrum. 4. Non peierabis; dictum enim est: *Non iurabis omnino*; sin minus, saltem pie ac vere iura; quia *laudabitur omnis, qui iurat in eo.* 5. Non dices falsum testimonium, quoniam *qui calumniatur pauperem, lacessit eum, qui illum fecit.*

IV. Non maledices: *Ne diligas enim, inquit, maledicere, ne tollaris.* Neque iniurias recordaberis; viae enim eorum, qui memores sunt iniuriarum, in mortem. 2. Non eris duplicis sententiae neque duplicis linguae; laqueus enim fortis viro propria labia; et vir linguosus non dirigitur in terra. 3. Non erit sermo tuus vanus; *de omni enim verbo otioso reddetis rationem.* 4. Non mentieris: *Perdes enim, inquit, omnes, qui loquuntur mendacium.* 5. Non eris fraudator neque rapax: *Vae enim, inquit, ei, qui proximum fraudat fraude mala.* 6. Non eris hypocrita, ne partem tuam cum eis ponas.

V. Non eris malignus neque superbus; *superbis enim Deus resistit.* 2. Non accipies personam in iudicio, quia *Domini est iudicium.* 3. Non odio habebis ullum hominem. *Arguendo argues fratrem tuum, et non accipies propter eum peccatum; et argue sapientem, et diliget te.* 4. Fuge ab omni malo et ab omni

2. *παλὶς γ. ἰσχυρά*] Prov. 6, 2. — ἀνήρ] Ps. 139, 11.

3. *περὶ παντός*] Matth. 12, 36.

4. *ἀπολεῖς*] Ps. 5, 7. Cf. Pseudo-ign. Her. 5, 1.

5. *οὐαὶ*] Habac. 2, 9.

6. *τὸ μέρος*] Matth. 24, 51.

V, 1. *ὑπερηφάνοις*] Prov. 3, 34.

Iac. 4, 6. Cf. Pseudoign. Her. 5, 1.

2. *τ. κ. ἡ κρίσις*] Deut. 1, 17. Cf. 10, 2.

3. *ἐλεγμῶ*] Lev. 19, 17. — *ἐλεγχε*]

Prov. 9, 8.

Ἄπεχε γάρ, φησὶν, ἀπὸ ἀδίκου, καὶ τρόμος οὐκ ἐγγίει σοι. 5. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος μηδὲ βάσκανος μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ μανικὸς μηδὲ θρασὺς, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃς τὰ τοῦ Καὶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαοὺλ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβ· ὅτι ὃς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ διὰ τὸ
 15 πρόκριτον αὐτὸν εὗρεθῆναι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ προκριθῆναι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ· ὃς δὲ τὸν ὕσιον Δαβὶδ ἐδίωκε νικῆσαντα τὸν Γολιάθ τὸν Φιλιστιαῖον, ζηλώσας ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χορευτριῶν εὐφημίᾳ· ὃς δὲ τοὺς δύο στρατάρχας ἀνείλε, τὸν Ἀβεννήρ τὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἀμεσσά τὸν τοῦ Ἰούδα.

10 VI. Μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ὅτι ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς εἰδωλολατρείαν· Οἰωνισμα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Σαμουὴλ, ἁμαρτία ἐστί, καί· Οὐκ ἔσται οἰωνισμὸς ἐν Ἰακώβ, οὐδὲ μαντεία ἐν Ἰσραὴλ. 2. Οὐκ ἔση ἐπάδων ἢ περικαθαίρων τὸν υἱόν σου, οὐ κληδονιεῖς οὐδὲ οἰωνισθήσῃ οὐδὲ ὀρνεοσκοπήσεις οὐδὲ μαθήσῃ μαθήματα πονηρά· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ ὁ νόμος
 15 ἀπέειπε. 3. Μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητὴς κακῶν, ὁδηγηθήσῃ γὰρ εἰς ἀμετρίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. 4. Οὐκ ἔση αἰσχρολόγος οὐδὲ ῥιψόφθαλμος οὐδὲ μέθυσος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πορνεῖται καὶ μοιχεῖται γίνονται. 5. Μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος, ἵνα μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ δουλεύσῃς τῷ μαμωνᾷ. 6. Μὴ γίνου κενόδοξος μηδὲ μετέωρος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφρων, ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων ἀλαζονίαι γίνονται·
 20 μνήσθητι τοῦ εἰπόντος· Κύριε, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδίᾳ μου, οὐδὲ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, οὐδὲ ἐπορεύθην ἐν μεγάλοις οὐδὲ ἐν θαυμασίοις ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, εἰ μὴ ἐταπείνοφρόνουν.

VII. Μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, μνησθεὶς τῆς τιμωρίας ἧς ὑπέστησαν οἱ καταγογγύσαντες Μωσέως. 2. Μὴ ἔσο αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων
 25 μηδὲ σκληροκάριος μηδὲ θυμώδης μηδὲ μικρόψυχος, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς βλασφημίαν. 3. Ἵσθι δὲ πρᾶος ὡς Μωυσῆς καὶ Δαβίδ, ἐπεὶ οἱ πράξεις κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

VIII. Γίνου μακρόθυμος· ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, ἐπεὶ περ ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρῶς ἄφρων. 2. Γίνου ἐλεήμων· μακάριοι
 30 γὰρ οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται. 3. Ἔσο ἄκακος, ἡσυχος, ἀγαθός, τρέμων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ θεοῦ. 4. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν ὡς ὁ

4. Ἄπεχε] Ies. 54, 14.

5. Καὶν] Gen. 4. — Σαοὺλ] I Reg. 17—18. — Ἰωάβ] III Reg. 2, 32.

VI, 1. οἰωνισμα] I Reg. 15, 23. — οὐκ ἔσται] Num. 23, 23.

2. τὸν υἱόν σου οὐκ κτλ.] Deut. 18,

10. — οὐδὲ οἰωνισθήσῃ κτλ.] Lev. 19, 26.

5. ἵνα μὴ] Cf. Matth. 6, 24.

6. κύριε] Ps. 130, 1. 2.

VII, 1. τῆς τιμωρίας] Cf. Num. 12—14.

re illi simili. *Recede enim*, inquit, *ab iniquo*, et tremor non appropinquabit tibi. 5. Ne sis iracundus neque invidus neque aemulator neque furiosus neque ferox, ne tibi accidant, quae Caïn et Saul et Ioab; quoniam primus quidem occidit fratrem suum Abel, quod is apud Deum praestantior esset inventus quod-
que eiusdem sacrificium praelatum fuisset; secundus vero sanctum David persequabatur, victorem Goliath Philistaei, invidens ob saltatricum faustam acclamationem; tertius denique duos exercitus duces confodit, Abner ducem Israël et Amasam ducem Iudae.

VI. Ne sis augur, quia id ducit ad idololatriam: *Augurium* enim, inquit Samuel, *peccatum est*: et: *Non erit auguratio in Iacob neque divinatio in Israël*. 2. Non eris incantator aut lustrans *filium tuum*. *Non ominaberis neque auguraberis neque auspicaberis* neque disces pravas disciplinas; haec enim omnia etiam lex prohibuit. 3. Ne sis cupitor malorum; deduceres enim in peccatorum nimietatem. 4. Non eris turpiloquus neque emissiciis oculis neque vinolentus; inde enim fornicationes et adulteria oriuntur. 5. Ne sis avarus, ne vice Dei servias mammonae. 6. Ne sis inanis gloriae cupidus neque elatus neque altum sapiens: ex his quippe omnibus superbiae prodeunt; memento illius, qui dixit: *Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum neque elati sunt oculi mei, neque ambulavi in magnis neque in mirabilibus super me, si non humiliter sentiebam*.

VII. Ne sis murmurator, memor poenarum, quas dederunt, qui Mosi obmurmurarunt. 2. Ne sis pervicax nec malitiosus nec duro corde nec iracundus nec pusilli animi; omnia enim haec ducunt ad blasphemiam. 3. Sis vero mitis, ut Moses et David, quandoquidem mites possidebunt terram.

VIII. Sis longanimis; qui enim talis est, *multus est in prudentia*, siquidem *pusillanimis vehementi stultitia tenetur*. 2. Sis misericors; *beati enim misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur*. 3. Esto innocens, quietus, bonus, tremens sermones Dei. 4. Non te exaltabis, ut Pharisaeus, *quia*

3. *πρᾶος ὡς Μωσῆς*] Cf. Num. Cf. Pseudoign. Her. 5, 2.
12, 3. — *Δαβὶδ*] Cf. Ps. 131, 1. | 2. *μακάριος*] Matth. 5, 7.
VIII, 1. *πολὺς κτλ.*] Prov. 14, 29.

Φαρισαῖος, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βδέλυγμα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. 5. Οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος, ὅτι θρασὺς ἀνὴρ ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς κακὰ. 6. Οὐ συμπορεύῃ μετὰ ἀφρόνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σοφῶν καὶ δικαίων· ὁ συμπορευόμενος γὰρ σοφοῖς σοφὸς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ συμπορευόμενος ἄφροσι γνωσθήσεται. 7. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι πάθη εὐμενῶς δέχου καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις ἀλύπως, εἰδὼς, ὅτι μισθὸς παρὰ θεοῦ σοι δοθήσεται ὡς τῷ Ἰὼβ καὶ τῷ Λαζάρῳ.

IX. Τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ δοξάσεις, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἷτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναί σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον· ἔπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν. 2. Ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἡμέραν τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν ἁγίων, ἵν' ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

X. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, μνησθεὶς τῶν Κορειτῶν. Εἰρηνεύσεις μαχομένους ὡς Μωσῆς, συναλλάσσων εἰς φιλίαν. 2. Κρινεῖς δικαίως· τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ κρίσις. 3. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγχει ἐπὶ παραπτώματι, ὡς Ἡλίας καὶ Μιχαῖας τὸν Ἀχαάβ, καὶ Ἀβδεμέλεχ ὁ Αἰθίοψ τὸν Σεδεκίαν, καὶ Νάθαν τὸν Δαβίδ, καὶ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἡρώδην.

XI. Μὴ γίνου δίφυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, εἰ ἔσται ἡ οὐ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης· Ὁλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας. 2. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συστέλλων.

XII. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ καὶ πίστεσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι. 2. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι πτωχῷ, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γάρ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀνταποδότης. Ὁ ἐλεῶν γάρ, φησί, πτωχὸν κυρίῳ δανείζει, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δόμα αὐτοῦ, οὕτως ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ. 3. Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ ἐνδεόμενον· Ὅς φράσσει γάρ, φησί, τὰ ὧτα αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι τοῦ δεομένου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται

4. πᾶς κτλ.] Luc. 18, 14. — τὸ | Cf. Luc. 16.
ὑψηλόν] Luc. 16, 15.

5. θρασὺς] Prov. 13, 17.

6. 4sq. ὁ συμπορευόμενος — γνωσθήσεται om Lagarde — ὁ συμπορευόμενος κτλ.] Prov. 13, 20.

7. Ἰὼβ] Cf. Iob. 42. — Λαζάρῳ]

IX, 1. ὡς γενέσεως αἷτιον] scilicet patrem vel matrem, qui infra c. 15. αἷτιοι γενέσεως appellantur. Cf. Pseudoign. Her. 4, 1.

X, 1. Κορειτῶν] Cf. Num. 16, 26 — 27. — Μωσῆς] Cf. Exod. 2, 13.

omnis, qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et quod altum est in hominibus, abominatio est apud Deum. 5. Non dabis animae tuae audaciam, quia vir audax incidet in mala. 6. Non gradieris cum insipientibus, sed cum sapientibus ac iustis; *qui enim graditur cum sapientibus, sapiens erit; qui vero graditur cum insipientibus, agnoscitur.* 7. Si tibi acciderint morbi et casus, placide eos accipito et absque aegritudine ferto, sciens, quod tibi a Deo dabitur merces sicut Iob et Lazaro.

IX. Eum, qui sermonem Dei tibi loquitur, coles, eiusque eris memor die ac nocte, honorabis autem eum non tamquam originis auctorem, sed tamquam illum, qui tibi ut bene esses conciliator exstitit; ubi enim doctrina de Deo, ibi Deus adest. 2. Exquires cotidie faciem sanctorum, ut acquiescas sermonibus eorum.

X. Non facies schismata adversum sanctos, memor Corintarum. Pacem inter dissidentes compones, ut Moses, eosque in amicitiam reconciliabis. 2. Iudicabis iuste; *Domini enim est iudicium.* 3. Non accipies personam in arguendo de peccato, ut Elias et Michaeas Achab arguerunt, et Abdimelech Aethiops Sedeciam, et Nathan David, et Ioannes Herodem.

XI. Ne sis duplici animo in precatione tua, utrum futurum sit an non; dixit enim Dominus mihi Petro in mari: *Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?* 2. Noli ad accipiendum quidem manum porrigere, ad dandum vero contrahere.

XII. Si habes manibus tuis, da, ut opereris in redemptionem peccatorum tuorum; *elemosynis enim ac fide purgantur peccata.* 2. Non dubitabis largiri pauperi, neque largiens murmurabis; cognosces enim, quis sit mercedis retributor. Ait quippe: *Qui miseretur pauperis, Domino fauerat, secundum autem datum illius, sic retribuetur ei.* 3. Ne avertas te ab indigente: *Qui obturat enim, inquit, aures suas, ne audiat egentem,*

2. τ. ζ. ἡ κρίσις] Deut. 1, 17. Cf. 5, 2.

3. Ἠλίας πτλ.] Cf. III Reg. 18, 21. 22. — Ἀβδεμέλεχ] Cf. Ierem. 38. — Ναθάν] Cf. II Reg. 12. — Ἰωάννης] Cf. Matth. 14, 3—4.

XI, 1. ὀλιγόπιστοι] Matth. 14, 31.

XII, 1. ἐλεημοσύναις] Prov. 16, 6.

Cf. Pseudoign. Her. 5, 2.

2. ὁ ἐλεῶν] Prov. 19, 17.

3. 30. καὶ ἀντὶς : ἀντὶς Pitra. — ὅς φράσσει] Prov. 21, 13.

καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ εἰσακούων αὐτοῦ. 4. Κοινωνήσεις εἰς πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρείς ἴδια εἶναι· κοινή γὰρ ἡ μετάληψις παρὰ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρεσκευάσθη. 5. Οὐκ ἄρεις τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις αὐτοὺς τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ.

5 Παίδευε γάρ, φησί, τὸν υἱόν σου· οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται σοι εὐελπὺς.

XIII. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν πεποιθόσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς, μήποτε στενάξωσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἔσται σοι ὀργὴ παρὰ θεοῦ. 2. Καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύποις θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις.

10 XIV. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν ᾗ ἀρεστὸν κυρίῳ, ποιήσεις. 2. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες παρ' αὐτοῦ, μήτε προστιθεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οὐ προσθήσεις γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐλέγξῃ σε καὶ ψευδὴς γένῃ. 3. Ἐξομολόγησιν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου τὰ ἁμαρτήματα σου καὶ
15 οὐκ ἔτι προσθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου, ὅς οὐ βούλεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν.

XV. Τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα θεραπεύσεις ὡς αἰτίους σοι γενέσεως, ἵνα γένη μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἡς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσι σοι. 2. Τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς σου μὴ
20 ὑπερίδῃς· τοὺς γὰρ οἰκείους τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψει.

XVI. Τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδώς, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία· τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ τιμήσεις ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεοῦ, ἔκδικοι γὰρ εἰσιν πάσης ἀδικίας· οἷς ἀποτίσατε τέλος, φόρον καὶ
25 πᾶσαν εἰσφορὰν εὐγνωμόνως.

XVII. Οὐ προσελύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πονηρίας σου, πρὶν ἂν λύσῃς τὴν πικρίαν σου. 2. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, ἥς γένοιτο ἐντὸς ὑμᾶς εὐρεθῆναι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

XVIII. Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἐν πράξεσι πονηραῖς θεω-
30 ρουμένη· 2. ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἄγνοια θεοῦ καὶ πολλῶν θεῶν ἐπεισ-
αγωγὴ, δι' ὧν φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, ἐπιπορκίαι, ἐπιθυμίαι παρὰ νόμους,

5. *παίδευε*] Prov. 19, 18.

XIII, 2. ὡς *τῷ κυρίῳ κτλ.*] Eph. 6, 7.

XIV, 3. *ἐξομολογήσῃ*] Doctrina 14, 14 praemittit *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*. Quae verba auctor ideo omisisse videtur.

quia suo tempore confessio peccatorum publica non nisi raro fiebat. Infra c. 30 confessionem peccatorum omisit, quam Doctrina 14, 1 in liturgia dominica celebranda postulat. — *οὐ προσθήσεις*] Prov. 30, 6. — *ἵνα*

et ipse invocabit, et non erit, qui exaudiat eum. 4. Communis omnia cum fratre tuo, et non dices propria esse; communis enim participatio a Deo omnibus hominibus praeparata fuit. 5. Non tolles manum tuam a filio tuo aut a filia tua, sed a iuventute doce eos timorem Dei. *Castiga enim, inquit, filium tuum; sic enim erit tibi bonae spei.*

XIII. Servo tuo aut ancillae, in eundem Deum fiduciam habentibus, non imperabis in amaritudine animae, ne forte ingemiscant adversus te, et tibi ira a Deo incumbet. 2. Et vos servi, dominis vestris tamquam Deum repraesentantibus estote subiecti in reverentia et metu, *sicut Domino et non hominibus.*

XIV. Odio habebis omnem hypocrisim, et quidquid Domino fuerit placitum, facies. 2. Ne deseras mandata Domini, servabis autem, quae accepisti ab eo, neque addens in eis, neque detrahens ab eis. *Non addis enim verbis illius, ne arguat te et mendax fias.* 3. Confiteberis Domino Deo tuo peccata tua, et non amplius adicies ad ea, *ut bene sit tibi a Domino Deo tuo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed paenitentiam.*

XV. *Patrem tuum et matrem coles* tamquam tibi ortus auctores, *ut fias longaevus super terram, quam Dominus Deus tuus dat tibi.* 2. Fratres tuos et cognatos tuos ne despicias; *domesticos enim seminis tui ne despexeris.*

XVI. Regem vereberis, sciens a Domino esse electionem; magistratus eius honorabis ut ministros Dei; vindices enim sunt omnis iniuriae; quibus grato animo exsolvite vectigal, tributum omnemque collationem.

XVII. Non accedas ad precationem tuam in die improbitatis tuae, priusquam amaritudinem tuam deponas. 2. Haec est via vitae, intra quam vos utinam inveniamini per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

XVIII. Via autem mortis in pravis actionibus cernitur; 2. in ea enim est ignoratio Dei et introductio multorum deorum, per quos caedes, adulteria, scortationes, periuria, cupiditates

εὖ σοι γ.] Deut 4, 40; 5, 16. — οὐ βούλεται] Cf. Ezech 18, 23. 32; 33, 11. II Petr. 3, 9.

2. τοὺς οἰκετοὺς] Ies. 58, 7.

XVI. Cf. Rom. 13, 1—7.

XVIII, 2. 31. ἐπιθυμία παράνομοι

XV, 1. τὸν πατέρα] Exod. 20, 12. exhibet Pitra ante πορνείαι.

κλοπαί, ειδωλολατρεΐαι, μαγίαι, φαρμακείαι, ἀρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδίαι, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὑψηλοφροσύνη, ἀλαζονεία, ἀφοβία, διωγμός ἀγαθῶν, ἀληθείας ἔχθρα, ψεύδους ἀγάπη, ἄγνοια δικαιοσύνης. 3. Οἱ γὰρ τούτων
 5 ποιηταὶ οὐ κολλῶνται ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἀγρυπνοῦσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακράν πραότης καὶ ὑπομονή· μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπίδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες θλιβόμενον, πλουσίον
 10 παράκλητοι, πενήτων ὑπερόπται, πανθαμάρτηγοι. Ῥυσθεῖητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

XIX. Ὅρα μὴ τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας· Οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς γάρ, φησίν, ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεξιὰ ἢ εὐώνυμα, ἵνα συνῆς ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐὰν πράσσης· οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν μὴ ἐκτραπῆς ἔξω τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ,
 15 δυσσεβήσεις.

XX. Περὶ δὲ βρωμάτων λέγει σοι ὁ κύριος· Τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε, καί· Πᾶν κρέας ἔδεσθε ὡς λάχανα χλόης, τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐκχεεῖς· οὐ γὰρ τὰ εἰσερχόμενα εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα, λέγω δὴ βλασφημίαι, καταλαλιαὶ καὶ εἴ τι
 20 τοιοῦτον. 2. Σὺ δὲ φάγη τὸν μυελὸν τῆς γῆς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τι ἀγαθόν, αὐτοῦ· σίτος νεανίσκοις καὶ οἶνος εὐωδιάζων παρθένοις· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρὲς αὐτοῦ; Παραινεῖ δέ σοι καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἑσδρας λέγων· Πορευέσθε καὶ φάγετε λιπάσματα καὶ πίετε γλυκίσματα καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθε.

XXI. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ειδωλοθύτων φεύγετε· ἐπὶ τιμῇ γὰρ δαιμόνων θύουσι ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὅβρει δηλαδὴ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, ὅπως μὴ γέννησθε κοινωνοὶ δαιμόνων.

XXII. Περὶ δὲ βαπτίσματος, ᾧ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε, ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον διετεξάμεθα, καὶ νῦν δὲ φαμεν, ὅτι οὕτω βαπτίσεις,
 30 ὡς ὁ κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν λέγων· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε

3. 5. δικαίᾳ : δικαίῳ Pitra.

XIX. 14. οὐ γάρ, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκτρ. ἔξω : σὺ γάρ, ἐὰν ἐκτραπῆς Lagarde — οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς] Deut. 5, 32. Versum Doctrinae sequentem, quo Christianus admonetur, ut totum Domini iugum portet vel saltem faciat, quidquid possit, auctor omisit.

XX, 1. τὰ ἀγαθὰ κτλ.] Ies. 1, 19. — πᾶν κρέας] Gen. 9, 3. Pseudoignatius Her. 1, 2 similiter hos duos locos et Zach. 9, 7 et Eccles. 2, 25 (v. 2) exhibet. — τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐκχ.] Deut. 15, 23. — οὐ γάρ κτλ.] Matth. 15, 11. 19.

2. 23 sq. παραινεῖ — λυπεῖσθε om

iniquae, furta, idololatriae, magiae, praestigiae, rapinae, falsa testimonia, simulationes, corda duplicia, dolus, superbia, malitia, pervicacia, avaritia, turpiloquium, zelotypia, feritas, elatio mentis, ostentatio, timoris vacuitas, bonorum vexatio, veritatis odium, mendacii amor, ignorantia iustitiae. 3. Qui enim haec faciunt, 5 non adhaerent bono neque iusto iudicio; vigilant non ad bonum, sed ad malum; a quibus longe est mansuetudo et patientia; qui vana diligunt, consecretantur remunerationem, non miserantur pauperem, non dolent de afflicto, non agnoscent creatorem suum, interfectores liberorum, per embryonis caedem cor- 10 ruptores plasmatis Dei, aversantes egenum, opprimentes calamitosum, divitum advocati, pauperum contemptores, omni ex parte peccatores. Liberemini, filii, ab his omnibus.

XIX. Vide, ne quis te faciat aberrare a pietate. *Non declinabis* enim, inquit, *ab ea ad dexteram vel ad sinistram*, ut intellegas in omnibus, quae feceris; nisi enim a via recta deflectas, non eris impius. 15

XX. De cibis vero tibi ait Dominus: *Bona terra comeditis*, et: *Omnem carnem edetis ut olera herbae; sanguinem vero effundes; non enim quae intrant in os, coinquinant hominem,* 20 *sed quae ex ore procedunt, blasphemiae, inquam, obtrectiones, et si quid huiusmodi.* 2. Tu vero *comede medullam terrae* in iustitia, *quoniam si quid pulcrum, eius est, et si quid bonum, eiusdem; frumentum iuvenibus et vinum odoratum virginibus. Quis enim comedet aut quis bibet sine ipso?* Sed et admonet te 25 sapiens Esdras, dicens: *Ite et comedite pinguedines, et bibite dulcedines, et nolite contristari.*

XXI. Porro ab immolatis simulacrorum abstinete; in honorem enim daemonum immolant ea, ad contumeliam scilicet solius Dei, *ne efficiamini participes daemonum.* 30

XXII. De baptismo autem, episcopo vel presbyter, iam quidem antea constituimus; et nunc vero dicimus, quod ita baptizabis, sicut Dominus iniunxit nobis dicens: *Euntes, docete omnes*

Lagarde — φάγη κτλ.] Gen. 45, 18.
— ἔτι εἴ τι] Zach. 9, 17. — τίς γάρ]
Eccles. 2, 25. — πορεύεσθε] II Esdr.
8, 10.

XXI. ἐπὶ τ. γ. δαυμόνων — κοινωνοὶ δαυμ.] I Cor. 10, 20.

XXII, 1. πρότερον] Cf. Constit. apost. II, 7; III, 9—11; 15—18; V,

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος παρακλήτου. 2. Χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ
 5 ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ, ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχή ᾗ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγὶς τῶν συνθηκῶν. Εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ἢ μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πρὸς χρίσιν καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα καὶ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἦτοι συναπο-
 10 θνήσκοντος. 3. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος νηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύριος πρῶτον βαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον αὐλισθεὶς, μετέπειτα ἐνήστευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας. 4. Ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπορυπώσεως ἢ νηστείας χρεῖαν ἔχων ἢ καθάρσεως, ὁ τῇ φύσει κα-
 15 θαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννῃ ἀλήθειαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται. 5. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν κύριος οὐκ εἰς ἑαυτοῦ πάθος ἐβαπτίσατο ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἀνάστασιν, οὐδέπω γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ' εἰς διάταξιν ἑτέραν, διὸ καὶ ἀπ' ἐξουσίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα νηστεύει ὡς κύριος Ἰωάννου· 6. ὁ δὲ εἰς
 20 τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον μυσούμενος πρότερον ὀφείλει νηστεῦσαι καὶ τότε βαπτίσασθαι, οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν συνταφέντα καὶ συναναστάντα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατηφεῖν· οὐ γὰρ κύριος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς διατάξεως τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἐπεὶπερ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης, ὁ δὲ ὑπήκοος.

25 XXIII. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρῃ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ τὰς πέντε νηστεύσατε ἡμέρας, ἢ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν· ὅτι τῇ μὲν τετράδι ἢ κρίσις ἐξῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, Ἰούδα χρήμασιν ἐπαγγειλαμένου τὴν προδοσίαν· τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν, ὅτι ἔπαθεν ὁ κύριος ἐν αὐτῇ πάθος τὸ διὰ
 30 σταυροῦ ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. 2. Τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἐορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, τὸ δὲ

16. — πορευθέντες] Matth. 28, 19.

2. 8. ἔλαιον ἡ : ἔλαιον, ἡ Pitra | τὸ ὕδωρ : ὕδωρ Pitra. — De oleo et unguento ad baptismum administrandum adhibendo Doctrina nihil dicit.

3. ν. ὁ βαπτιζόμενος] Doctrina 7,

4 baptizantem quoque ieiunare iubet. — ὁ κύριος] Cf. Matth. 3, 4.

6. εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον μ.] Cf. Rom. 6, 4. — τὸν συνταφέντα κτλ.] Cf. Col. 2, 12.

XXIII, 1. τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας] scilicet hebdomadis dies praeter sab-

gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti; docentes eos servare omnia, quaecumque mandavi vobis: in nomine patris, qui misit, Christi, qui venit, paracleti, qui testimonium perhibuit. 2. Unges autem prius oleo sancto, deinde baptizabis aqua; et tandem signabis unguento, ut oleum quidem sit parti-⁵ cipatio spiritus sancti, aqua vero symbolum mortis, unguentum autem sigillum pactionum. Quodsi neque oleum adsit neque unguentum, sufficit aqua et ad unctionem et ad sigillum et ad confessionem morientis seu commorientis. 3. Ante autem bap-¹⁰ tisma ieiunet, qui baptizatur; etenim Dominus primum a Ioanne baptizatus et in deserto commoratus, postea ieiunavit quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus. 4. Baptizatus autem fuit ac ieiunavit, non quod ipse opus haberet ablutione sordium vel ieiunio vel purgatione, qui natura purus et sanctus est, sed ut Ioanni veritatem attestaretur et nobis exemplum praeberet.¹⁵ 5. Igitur Dominus non quidem baptizatus est in passionem suam vel mortem vel resurrectionem; nondum enim quidpiam horum acciderat, sed in aliam ordinationem, quapropter ex potestate ieiunat post baptismum ut dominus Ioannis; 6. qui vero in mor-²⁰ tem illius per baptismum initiatur, debet prius ieiunare et tum baptizari. Aequum quippe non est, ut is, qui consepultus est et consurrexit, sub ipsam resurrectionem maereat. Non enim homo constitutionis ad servatorem pertinentis dominus est: quando-²⁵ quidem hic dominus est, ille vero subiectus.

XXIII. Ieiunia vero vestra ne sint cum hypocritis; ieiunant²⁵ enim secunda et quinta sabbatorum. Vos vero aut quinque diebus ieiunanto aut quarta feria et parasceve: quoniam quarto quidem hebdomadis die iudicium Dominum condemnans prodiit, cum Iudas pecunia proditorem esset pollicitus; parasceve autem, quia eo die Dominus mortem crucis passus est sub Pontio Pilato.³⁰ 2. Atqui sabbatum et dominicam festos dies habete, quia illud quidem creationis recordatio est, hoc vero resurrectionis. 3. Unum

batum ac dominicam. Similiter Augustinus Ep. 36 n. 8 ad Casul. multos, praesertim monachos, quinquies in hebdomade ieiunare dicit. Basiliius M. Hom. de ieiun. I, 7 πενθήμερον σπον-

δάς commemorans non cuiuslibet hebdomadis, sed Quadragesimae dies designare videtur.

2. 31. τὸ δέ: ἡ δέ Pitra. — Pseudo-ignatius Philipp. 13, 3 non tam sab-

ἀναστάσεως. 3. Ἐν δὲ μόνον σάββατον ὑμῖν φυλακτέον ἐν ὧν
τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσῆκεν,
ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑορτάζειν· ἐν ὧν γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ γῆν τυγχάνει,
ἰσχυρότερον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ πένθος τῆς κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν χα-
5 ρᾶς, ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργημάτων φύσει τε καὶ
ἀξίᾳ τιμιώτερος.

XXIV. Ὅταν δὲ προσεύχησθε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ'
ὡς ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διατάξατο, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν
ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθῆτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γεννηθῆτω
10 τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον
δοῦν ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν
τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς
ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ἔτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. 2. Τρις τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε, προπαρασκευ-
15 ᾶζοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀξίους τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, ἵνα μὴ ἀναξίως
ὑμῶν αὐτὸν πατέρα καλοῦντων ὀνειδισθῆτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ
Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ποτε πρωτότοκος υἱὸς ἤκουσεν, ὅτι Εἰ πατήρ εἰμι ἐγώ,
ποῦ ἔστιν ἡ δόξα μου; καὶ εἰ κύριός εἰμι, ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ φόβος μου;
3. Δόξα γὰρ πατέρων ὁσιότης παίδων καὶ τιμὴ δεσποτῶν οἰκειῶν
20 φόβος, ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐναντίον ἀδοξία καὶ ἀναρχία· Δι' ὑμᾶς γάρ,
φησί, τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

XXV. Γίνεσθε δὲ πάντοτε εὐχάριστοι, ὡς πιστοὶ καὶ εὐγνώ-
μονες δοῦλοι, περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτω λέγοντες· 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν
σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ζωῆς ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, δι'
25 οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὧν προνοεῖς, ὃν καὶ ἀπέστειλας
ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ὃν καὶ συνεχώρησας
παθεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ὃν καὶ ἀναστήσας εὐδόκησας δοξάσαι καὶ
ἐκθέσθαι ἐκ δεξιῶν σου, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐπηγγείλω ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν
τῶν νεκρῶν. 3. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, θεὲ αἰώνιε, ὥσπερ ἦν
30 τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο εἰς ἄρτος, οὕτω συνάγαγέ σου τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν. 4. Ἐτι εὐχα-
ριστοῦμεν, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ-
χυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, οὗ καὶ ἀντίτυπα

batum et dominicam dies festos ha-	excepto.
beri iubet, quam condemnat eos, qui	XXIV, 1. 13. καὶ ἡ δ. καὶ ἡ δόξα]
diebus illis ieiunant, uno sabbato	om Pitra.

vero dumtaxat sabbatum vobis observandum est in toto anno, illud, quo Dominus sepultus fuit, quo ieiunare decuit, non autem festum agere. Quamdiu enim creator sub terra degit, plus valet luctus de eo susceptus quam laetitia de creatione, quoniam creator creaturis suis natura ac dignitate praestat. 5

XXIV. Cum autem oraveritis, ne sitis quemadmodum hypocritae; sed sicut Dominus nobis in Evangelio praecepit, ita orate: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum; adveniat regnum tuum; fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra; panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie; et dimitte 10
nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo, quia tuum est regnum et virtus et gloria in saecula. Amen. 2. Ter in die sic orate, et praeparate vos, ut sitis digni adoptione patris, ne, si eum indigne patrem appelletis, probrum ab eo referatis, 15
sicut et Israël, qui olim erat primogenitus filius, audivit: *Si pater ego sum, ubi est honor meus, et si Dominus sum, ubi est timor meus?* 3. Gloria enim patrum est sanctitas filiorum, et honor herorum famulorum metus, quemadmodum utique quod contrarium est, despectio et imperii abiectio censetur. *Propter* 20
vos enim, inquit, nomen meum blasphematur in gentibus.

XXV. Estote autem semper ad gratias agendas intenti, ut fideles et grati servi, de eucharistia quidem ita dicentes: 2. Gratias agimus tibi, pater noster, pro vita, quam manifestasti nobis per Iesum filium tuum, per quem tum omnia creasti, tum uni- 25
versis provides, quem et misisti, ut ad salutem nostram homo fieret; quem et permisisti pati et mori; quem et resuscitans glorificare voluisti, et sedere fecisti ad dexteram tuam, per quem et promisisti nobis resurrectionem mortuorum. 3. Tu, Domine omnipotens, Deus aeternae: quemadmodum hoc erat dispersum 30
et cum fuit congregatum, factus est unus panis, ita congrega ecclesiam tuam a finibus terrae in regnum tuum. 4. Adhuc gratias agimus, pater noster, pro pretioso sanguine Iesu Christi, qui effusus est nostra causa, et pro pretioso corpore, cuius et

2. εἰ πατὴρ καὶ λ.] Malach. 1, 6.

3. δι' ἡμῶν] Ies. 52, 5.

XXV, 1. δι' οὗ — πρὸ νοσῆς] Ea-

dem verba habet Pseudoignatius

Philad. 9, 2.

ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν, αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον· δι' αὐτοῦ γάρ σοι καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. 5. Μηδεὶς δὲ ἐσθιέτω ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμυήτων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ βεβαπτισμένοι εἰς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου θάνατον. 6. Εἰ δέ τις ἀμύητος κρύψας ἑαυτὸν 5 μεταλάβῃ, κρίμα αἰώνιον φάγεται, ὅτι μὴ ὢν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως μετέλαβεν ὢν οὐ θέμις, εἰς τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβῃ, τοῦτον τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μυσάτε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονητῆς ἐξέλθοι.

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν 10 σοι, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἀθανασίας ἧς ἔδωκας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. 3. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν ὅλων, ὁ κτίσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ νόμον κατεφύτευσας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν 15 καὶ τὰ πρὸς μετάληψιν προευτρέπισας ἀνθρώποις· ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀμέμπτων πατέρων ἡμῶν, Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τῶν πιστῶν δούλων σου· ὁ δυνατὸς θεός, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀψευδής ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὁ ἀποστείλας ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν σου ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν ὄντα 20 λόγον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν πλάνην πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν· 4. αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δι' αὐτοῦ μνησθητι τῆς ἀγίας σου ἐκκλησίας ταύτης, ἣν περιποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ῥῦσαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελείωσον αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, καὶ συνάγαγε πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ. 5. Μαράν 25 ἂθά· ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανείς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί. 6. Εἰ τις ἄγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας. Ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖν.

XXVII. Περί δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαρι- 30 στοῦμέν σοι, θεὲ δημιουργὲ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἰῶνος οὗ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ

4. καταγγέλλειν — θάνατον] I Cor. 11, 26.

6. κρίμα αἰ. φάγεται] I Cor. 11, 29. XXVI, 1. 10 sq. ὀνόματός σου om Pitra.

2. ὁ θεὸς τῶν ὅλων] Sic Deus pater in Constitutionibus apostolorum saepius vocatur. Cf. V, 7 extr.; VI, 7 init.; VII, 38. 39. 43. 44; VIII, 9. 10.

4. 24. αὐτῇ : αὐτὴν Pitra.

haec antitypa celebramus, cum ipse nobis constituerit *mortem illius annuntiare*; per ipsum enim tibi etiam gloria in saecula.

Amen. 5. Nullus porro eorum, qui initiati non sunt, ex eis comedat; sed soli ei, qui baptizati fuerunt in Domini mortem.

6. Si quis vero non initiatus celaverit se ipsum et sic communica- 5
caverit, *iudicium manducat* aeternum, quod non addictus fidei in Christum sumpsit, quae fas non erat, in supplicium suum. Si quis autem per ignorantiam participaverit, hunc cito instruite ac baptismo initiate, ne contemptor exeat.

XXVI. Post communionem vero sic gratias agite: 2. Gra- 10
tias agimus tibi, Deus et pater Iesu salvatoris nostri, pro sancto nomine tuo, quod habitare fecisti in nobis, et pro cognitione et fide et caritate et immortalitate, quae dedisti nobis per Iesum Christum filium tuum. 3. Tu, Domine omnipotens, Deus uni-
versorum, qui creasti mundum et quae sunt in eo per ipsum, 15
et legem inseruisti in animabus nostris, et victui accommoda praeparasti hominibus; Deus sanctorum et inculpatorum patrum nostrorum, Abraham et Isaac et Iacob, fidelium servorum tuorum, Deus potens, fidelis et verax et in promissis non mendax, qui misisti in terram Iesum Christum tuum, ut cum hominibus con- 20
versaretur tamquam homo, cum sit et Deus verbum et homo, et errorem radicitus evelleret; 4. ipse et nunc per eum memento huiusce sanctae ecclesiae tuae, quam acquisisti pretioso sanguine Christi tui; atque eam ab omni malo libera, et perforce illam in caritate tua et veritate tua, et nos omnes congrega in regnum 25
tuum, quod praeparasti ei. 5. Maran atha. Hosanna filio David. *Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini*, Deus Dominus, qui apparuit nobis in carne. 6. Si quis sanctus est, accedat; si quis vero talis non est, fiat per paenitentiam. Committite autem et presbyteris vestris, ut gratias agant. 30

XXVII. Pro unguento autem hunc in modum gratias agite: Gratias agimus tibi, Deus creator omnium, etiam pro fragrantia unguenti et pro immortali saeculo, quod notificasti nobis per

5. ἐὺλογημένοις] Matth. 21, 9.

tas gratias agere sinit, quantas velint.

6. πρεσβυτέροις] i. e. presbyteris, non solum episcopo. Doctrina 10, 7 prophe-

XXVII, 1. περὶ τ. μύρον] Doctrina nihil dicit.

τοῦ παιδός σου· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰ-
ῶνας· ἀμήν.

2. Ὃς ἐὰν ἐλθὼν οὕτως εὐχαριστῇ, προσδέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ
μαθητὴν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσῃ παρ' ἣν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ
5 Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖτε εὐχαριστεῖν· ὑβρίζει
γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν θεόν, ἥπερ δοξάζει.

XXVIII. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δοκιμασθεῖς, οὕτω δεχέσθω·
σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε, καὶ δύνασθε γινῶναι δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστεράν καὶ διακρίναι
ψευδοδιδασκάλους διδασκάλων. 2. Ἐλθόντι μέντοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ
10 ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐπιχορηγήσατε τὰ δέοντα· τῷ δὲ ψευδοδιδασκάλῳ δώσετε
μὲν τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν, οὐ παραδέξεσθε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην. οὔτε
μὴν συμπροσεύξησθε αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ συμμιανθῇτε αὐτῷ. 3. Πᾶς προ-
φήτης ἀληθινὸς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἅξιός ἐστι τῆς τρο-
φῆς ὡς ἐργάτης λόγου δικαιοσύνης.

XXIX. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ, ἄλωνος βοῶν τε καὶ προ-
βάτων δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἵνα εὐλογηθῶσιν αἱ ἀποθήκαι τῶν τα-
μείων σου καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς σου, καὶ στηριχθῆς σίτις καὶ
οἶνος καὶ ἐλαίω, καὶ αὐξηθῇ τὰ βουκόλια τῶν βοῶν σου καὶ τὰ
ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων σου· πᾶσαν δεκάτην δώσεις τῷ ὀρφανῷ καὶ
20 τῇ χήρᾳ, τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ. 2. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων
θερμῶν, κεραμίου οἶνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ μέλιτος ἢ ἀκροδρύων, σταφυλῆς
ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἀπαρχὴν δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισ-
μοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος τῷ ὀρφανῷ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ.

XXX. Τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακὴν φαμεν,
25 συνέρχεσθε ἀδιαλείπτως, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι ἐφ'
οἷς εὐηργέτησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ, ῥυσάμενος ἀγνοίας, πλάνης,
δεσμῶν· 2. ὅπως ἄμεμπτος ἦ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν καὶ εὐανάφορος θεῷ, τῷ
εἰπόντι περὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι Ἐν παντί τόπῳ
μοι προσενεχθήσεται θυμίαμα καὶ θυσία καθαρὰ· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ
30 εἰμι, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

XXXI. Προχειρίσαθε δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πρεσβυ-
τέρους καὶ διακόνους, ἄνδρας εὐλαβεῖς, δικαίους, πραεῖς, ἀφιλαργύρους,

2. Post hunc versum Doctrina 11,
3—12 de apostolis suscipiendis et
prophetis diiudicandis agit. Auctor
sectionem totam velut pro ratione
temporis supervacaneam praetermi-

sit. - Uno tantum verbo XXVIII, 3
prophetam respicit, Doctrinam 13, 1
repetens.

XXVIII. Cf. Doctrina 12, 1; 13, 1—2.
XXIX, 1. τ. ἱερεῦσιν] τοῖς προφή-

Iesum filium tuum, quoniam ad te pertinet gloria et potestas in saecula. Amen.

2. Qui accedens hoc modo gratias egerit, recipite illum ut discipulum Christi; sin vero aliam doctrinam praedicet praeter eam, quam vobis per nos Christus tradidit, huic ne permittatis gratias agere; is enim contumelia afficit Deum potius quam honorat.

XXVIII. Quicumque vero ad vos venit, probetur et sic admittatur: intellegentiam enim habetis, et potestis agnoscere dexteram vel sinistram atque discernere falsos doctores a doctoribus. 2. Venienti sane doctori ex animo suppeditate necessaria; falso autem doctori tribuetis quidem, quae opus sunt; at non recipietis errorem illius neque etiam una cum eo oretis, ne eius societate inquinemini. 4. Omnis propheta verus vel magister, qui venit ad vos, dignus est cibo ut operarius sermonis iustitiae.

XXIX. Omnes primitias provenientes e torculari, area et bobus atque ovibus, dabis sacerdotibus, ut *benedicantur reposita in cellariis tuis et fructus terrae tuae, utque innitaris frumento et vino et oleo, augeanturque armenta bouum tuorum et greges ovium tuarum*; omnem decimam dabis pupillo ac viduae, pauperi et advenae. 2. Omnes primitias panum calidorum, urcei vini vel olei vel mellis vel fructuum arborum, uvae vel aliarum rerum primitias dabis sacerdotibus, argenti vero et vestimenti omnisque possessionis orphano ac viduae.

XXX. Die resurrectionis Domini, hoc est, dominica, convenite assidue, gratias agentes Deo et confitentes de beneficiis, quae in vos contulit Deus per Christum, liberans ab ignorantia, errore, vinculis, 2. ut sacrificium vestrum sit irreprehensum et Deo acceptum, qui dixit de ecclesia sua oecumenica: In omni loco mihi offeretur incensum et sacrificium mundum; quia rex magnus ego sum, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et nomen meum admirabile in gentibus.

XXXI. Eligite autem episcopos dignos Domino, et presbyteros ac diaconos, viros pios, iustos, mites, non avaros, amantes

ταῖς Doctr. 13, 3. — εὐλογ. αἱ ἀπο- Gen. 27, 37.

θῆραι καὶ κτλ.] Deut. 7, 13; 28, 4. 5. XXX. Cf. Doctr. 14.

φιλαλήθεις, δεδοκιμασμένους, δόσιους ἀπροσωπολήπτους, δυναμένους διδάσκειν τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας ὀρθοτομοῦντας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου δόγμασιν. 2. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τιμᾶτε τοὺτους ὡς πατέρας, ὡς κυρίους, ὡς εὐεργέτας, ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι αἰτίους.

5 3. Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους, μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ εἰρήνης. 4. Πάντα τὰ προστεταγμένα ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξατε. 5. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. Ἔστωσαν αἱ ὁσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιδόμενοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν, πότε ἥξει, ἐσπέρας
10 ἢ πρῶτῃ ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ μεσονυκτίου· ἥ γὰρ ὥρα οὐ προσδοκῶσιν, ἐλεύσεται ὁ κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ ἀνοίξωσι, μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι εὐρέθησαν γρηγοροῦντες· ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. 6. Νήφετε οὖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε μὴ ὑπνῶσαι εἰς θάνατον· οὐ γὰρ ὀνήσει ὑμᾶς τὰ πρότερα κατορθώ-
15 ματα, ἐὰν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα ὑμῶν ἀποπλανηθῇτε τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἀληθοῦς.

XXXII. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπρο-
φῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ στραφίσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη εἰς μῖσος· πληθυνθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας ψυγίησεται ἡ ἀγάπη
τῶν πολλῶν, μισήσουσι γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ διώξουσι καὶ προ-
20 δώσουσι. 2. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς, ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους προστάτης, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὁ διὰ χειλέων ἀναιρῶν ἀσεβῆ· καὶ πολλοὶ σκαν-
δαλισθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες εἰς τέλος, οὗτοι σωθήσονται. 3. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
25 εἴτα φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ἔσται δι' ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναβίωσις τῶν κεκοιμημένων· 4. καὶ τότε ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας, κατακρῖναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον καὶ απο-
δοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ. 5. Τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ
30 μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἤτοι-
μασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· καὶ χαρήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

XXXI, 1. τ. λόγον κτλ.] II Tim. | 35—37 et Marc. 13, 35 in unum con-
2, 15. flavit.

5. ἔστωσαν κτλ.] Auctor Luc. 12, 6. νήφετε καὶ προσεύχεσθε] Cf. Matth.

veritatis, probatos, sanctos, non acceptores personarum, qui valeant docere *sermonem pietatis recte tractantes* in dogmatibus Domini. 2. Vos vero hos honorate ut patres, ut dominos, ut beneficos, ut auctores quod bene estis.

3. Arguite etiam vos mutuo, non in ira, sed in aequanimitate, cum benignitate ac pace. 4. Omnia vobis a Domino praecepta servate. 5. Vigilate pro vita vestra. *Sint lumbi vestri praeincti et lucernae ardentes, et vos similes hominibus expectantibus dominum suum, quando veniet, vespere vel mane vel galli cantu vel media nocte; qua enim hora non expectant, veniet* Dominus, *et ei si aperuerint, beati servi illi, quia inventi sunt vigilantes, quoniam praecinget se et faciet illos discumbere et transiens ministrabit illis.* 6. Vigilate igitur et orate, ne dormiatis in mortem; non enim iuvabunt vos priora recte facta, si in extremis vestris a fide vera aberraveritis.

XXXII. In ultimis enim diebus multiplicabuntur falsi prophetae et corruptores sermonis, et convertentur oves in lupos et caritas in odium; nam multiplicata iniquitate refrigescet caritas multorum; homines enim se invicem odio habebunt et persequentur et prodent. 2. Ac tunc apparebit orbis deceptor, inimicus veritatis; propugnator mendacii, quem *spiritu oris sui interficiet* Dominus Iesus, qui *per labia interimet impium.* Et multi scandalum patientur in eo; *qui autem perseveraverint usque in finem, hi salvi erunt.* 3. Tuncque apparebit signum filii hominis in caelo, deinde vox tubae erit *per archangelum* et interea reviviscent, qui dormierunt; 4. et tunc veniet Dominus ac omnes sancti cum eo in terrae motu super nubes *cum angelis* virtutis suae in solio regni, ut condemnet orbis deceptorem diabolum *et reddat unicuique secundum opera eius.* 5. *Tunc abibunt mali quidem in aeternum supplicium, iusti autem ibunt in vitam aeternam,* hereditatem adeuntes eorum, *quae oculus non vidit et auris non audivit, et in cor hominis non ascenderunt, quae praeparavit Deus eis, qui diligunt illum;* et gaudebunt in regno Dei, quod est in Christo Iesu.

26, 41. Marc. 14, 38.

XXX, 2. ἀνελείητε.] Ies. 11, 4. —
οἱ δὲ ἐπομείναντες] Matth. 24, 13.

4. καὶ ἀποδοῦναι] Matth. 16, 27.

5. τότε ἀπελεύσονται] Matth. 25,

46. — ἃ ὁφθαλμός] I Cor. 2, 9.

BARNABAE EXPOSITIO DUARUM VIARUM.

XVIII. Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδασχῇν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν διδασχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτός καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. Διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. 2. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπ' αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

XIX. Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὐτῇ· ἐάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτῃ. 2. Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου· ἔσῃ ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου, μισήσεις πᾶν, ὃ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ,

XVIII, 1. Vocem διδασχῇν characteribus mutatis dedi, quia Barnabas eam e fonte suo vel inscriptione Doctrinae apostolorum deprompsisse videtur. Epistulae Barnabae enim capita XVIII—XX recudens ea, quae in hac scriptura leguntur ex eaque repetenda sunt, litteris obliquis expressi. — ὁδοὶ δύο κτλ.] Cf. D (Doctrina apost.) 1, 1. — φωτός καὶ σκότους] Hae voces, quas Barnabas vocibus ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου substituit, in S. Scriptura et praesertim in scripturis S. Ioannis saepe leguntur. Cf. Iob. 12, 25. Ioann. 1, 4—9; 3, 19.

II Cor. 6, 14. I Ioann. 1, 5—7.

XIX, 1. Cf. D 1, 2.

2. ἀγαπήσεις κτλ.] D 1, 2. Barnabas τὸν θεόν post ἀγαπήσεις deleuit, plura autem addidit. — φοβηθήσῃ.. δοξάσεις] Sirach verbis 7, 30 ἐν ὕλῃ δυνάμει ἀγάπησον τὸν ποιήσαντά σε καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς 7, 31 confestim addit: φοβοῦ τὸν κύριον, καὶ δόξασον ἱερέα. — ἀπλοῦς τ. κ.] Eph. 6, 5 et Col. 3, 22 ἀπλότης τῆς καρδίας commemoratur. — πλούσιος τ. πν.] Matth. 5, 3 praedicantur οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι. — μισήσεις κτλ.] D 4, 12. Barnabas

μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου. 3. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὶν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα· οὐκ ἄρεις ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θρόνος. 4. Οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορεύσεις. Οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν 5 ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. Ἐσῃ πραῦς, ἔσῃ ἡσύχιος, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. 5. Οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. Οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκ- 10 νον ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. Οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον κυρίου. 6. Οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης· οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφῇς. 15 Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδώς, ὅτι ἔνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. 7. Οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία. Ὑποταγίση κυρίως ὡς τύπῳ

membra invertit, pro κυρίῳ posuit θεῶν, μισήσεις iteravit. — οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς κτλ.] D 4, 13.

3. οὐχ ὑψ. σ.] D 3, 9. — οὐ λήψῃ κτλ.] D 2, 6. — οὐ δώσεις] D 3, 9. Barnabas in hoc versu inter sententias Doctrinae duas inter se coniunctas similesque tertiam eamque dissimilem et ex alio loco desumptam inseruit; primam sententiam insuper amplificavit. Doctrina ergo ordinem sententiarum magis consentaneum habet.

4. οὐ πορνεύσεις κτλ.] D 2, 2, ubi autem membrorum ordo alius est. — οὐ λήψῃ] D 4, 3. — ἔσῃ πραῦς κτλ.] D 3, 7. 8. Barnabas hunc locum repetens plura omisit. — οὐ μνησικακήσεις] D 2, 3. Ut notae indicant, Barnabas hunc versum ex quattuor Doctrinae locis compilavit.

5. οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς] D 4, 4. Bar-

nabas hic et pluribus aliis locis, scilicet etiam in hoc versu (οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς) et in versibus 6 et 7, οὐ μὴ scribit pro οὐ. — οὐ μὴ λάβῃς] Exod. 20, 7. Deut. 5, 11. — ἀγαπήσεις] Barnabas hic D 1, 2 et 2, 7 in unum conflavit et sententiam Doctrinae mutavit, quae hominem non in universum admonet, ut proximum plus amet quam animam suam, sed loco principali de amore proximi verba Evangelii reddit. — οὐ φονεύσεις] D 2, 2. — οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς] D 4, 9.

6. οὐ μὴ κτλ.] D 2, 2. 6. — οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ] D 3, 9 (οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου κτλ.). — τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι] D 3, 10.

7. οὐκ ἔσῃ] D 2, 4. — ὑποταγίση] D 4, 11. In Doctrina versus sic incipit: ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγίσεσθε, ita ut vox κύριος omnem hominem significet, qui servorum potestatem

Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ
 ἐν πικρίᾳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μὴ ποτε οὐ μὴ
 φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· ὅτι ἦλθεν οἱ κατὰ πρόσω-
 πον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. 8. Κοινωνήσεις
 5 ἐν παῖσιν τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
 ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστέ, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; Οὐκ ἔστι
 πρόγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ στόμα θανάτου. Ὅσον δύνασαι, ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. 9. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων
 τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. Ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρη
 10 τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου.
 10. Μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐκζητήσεις
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κόπιων
 καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι
 15 ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λίτρον ἁμαρ-
 15 τιῶν σου. 11. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ
 δέ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. Φυλάξεις, ἃ παρέλαβες,
 μῆτε προστιθεῖς μῆτε ἀφαιρῶν. Εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸν πονηρόν.

habeat. Illa verba autem omittens
 Barnabas vim vocis κυρίος mutavit,
 quae apud eum non solum dominos
 servorum, sed etiam dominos vel
 praepositos hominum liberorum de-
 notet. — οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς] D 4, 10,
 ubi ergo haec sententia praecedenti
 anteposita est.

8. κοινωνήσεις] D 4, 8, ubi prae-
 mittitur: οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεό-
 μενον et voces ἀθανάτῳ et θνητοῖς
 leguntur pro vocibus ἀφθάρτῳ et
 φθαρτοῖς. Cum Barnabas de officio
 caritatis ergo proximum etiam v. 9
 agat, verbis οὐκ ἔστι κτλ. additis or-
 dinem sententiarum male interruptit.

9. μὴ γίνου] D 4, 5. — ὡς κόρη
 τ. ὀφθ9.] S. Scriptura fere ubique
 (Deut. 32, 10. Ps. 16, 8. Prov. 7, 2)
 de custodienda (non amanda) pupilla
 oculi loquitur. Animadvertite, quod
 Barnabas 19, 5 vult, ut Christianus
 proximum amet plus quam animam

suam. — τὸν λαλοῦντα] D 4, 1.

10. μνησθήσῃ κτλ.] D 4, 1. Auctor
 Doctrinae verbum μνησθήσῃ cum
 sententia praecedente vel verbis τοῦ
 λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ
 coniunxit. Barnabas ibi verbum
 ἀγαπήσεις posuit et nonnulla alia
 addidit; hic ἡμέραν κρίσεως inseruit.
 — ἐκζητήσεις] D 4, 2. — Barnabas
 post ἀγίων omisit verba: ἵνα ἐπανα-
 παῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν, alia autem
 adiecit. — διὰ τῶν χειρῶν] D 4, 6.

11. οὐ διστάσεις] D 4, 7. Haec etiam
 ad officia caritatis erga proximum
 pertinent, quae in Doctrina 4, 5—8
 simul exhibentur. Barnabas ergo
 sectionem in tres partes (cf. v. 8 et 9)
 discerpit. — φυλάξεις κτλ.] D 4, 13.
 Hic verba recte succedunt mandato:
 οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου,
 a Barnaba autem ordine consentaneo
 relicto ita posita sunt, ut vix possint
 intellegi. — εἰς τέλος] Si malus, qui

Κρινεῖς δικαίως. 12. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δέ μαχομένους συναγαγών. Ἐξομολογήση ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου. Οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

XX. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. Ὁδὸς γάρ ἐστιν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ⁵ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασυτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία θεοῦ· 2. διώκεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδη, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ¹⁰ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, χῆρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιή-¹⁵σαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτηγοι.

odio est habendus, homo est, non Satan, Barnabas D 2, 7 respexit cor-rexitque. — *κρινεῖς δικαίως*] D 4, 3.

12. οὐ ποιήσεις] D 4, 3. — *ἐξομολογήση κτλ.*] D 4, 14, ubi praemittitur ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ et pro ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις legitur τὰ παραπτώματα.

XX, 1. Barnabas praesertim initium capituli mutavit, quod in Doctrina 5, 1 est hoc: ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. Prae-

terea peccata aliter posuit, pauca adiecit, plura omisit, scilicet ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνείαι, κλοπαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, ἀλαζονεία. Vocī πονηρὰ substituit vocem σκολιὰ fortasse respiciens Prov. 2, 15.

2. Hic versus in utraque scriptura fere idem est. Barnabas pauca adiecit, mutavit τὸ ἀγαθόν (post ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς) in φόβον θεοῦ, omisit conclusionem: ὁρσθήτε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

FRAGMENTUM LATINUM.

Doctrina apostolorum.

I. Viae duae sunt *in saeculo*, vitae et mortis, *lucis et tenebrarum*. *In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter*

Inscr. Latinus unam tantum inscriptionem habet et omisit vocem *δώδεκα*, quam etiam omnes testes omiserunt, qui scripturae mentionem expressam fecerunt, Eusebius, Athanasius etc.

I, 1. *in saeculo*] Haec verba et alia, quae in textu graeco vel codice Constantinopolitano desunt, litteris obliquis expressi. Haud dubie a Latino de suo addita sunt, quippe quae a nullo teste agnita sint, neque a Barnaba neque ab auctoribus Canonum ecclesiasticorum et Constitutionum apostolicarum. Attamen animadvertendum est, Lactantium de duabus *humanae vitae* viis (Epit. 59) vel de duabus viis dicere, per quas *humanam vitam* progredi necesse est (Divin. Instit. VI, 3). — *vitae et mortis*] His vocibus testes omnes praemittunt *μὴ*. Lactantius quoque Divin. Instit. VI, 3 pergit: una quae in caelum ferat, altera quae ad inferos deprimat. — *lucis et ten.*] Haec

verba Barnabas 18, 1 tantum exhibet eaque sola, nec cum Latino verba *vitae et mortis* praemittens, quae a ceteris testibus traduntur. Lactantius quidem Divin. Instit. VI, 3 extr. vocibus illis utitur. Cum autem eodem loco veteres impugnans dicentes, humanae vitae cursum vel duas vias litterae Y similes esse, duas vias disserat potius alteram esse ad solis ortum conversam, alteram ad occasum, iure dubitamus, num voces in Doctrina aliqua apostolorum legerit. Epit. 59 idem scribit: philosophos alteram viam industriae, alteram inertiae esse velle; melius poetas alteram iustorum, alteram impiorum; etiam rectius Christianos alteram vitae, alteram mortis. — *in his constituti*] Similiter Barnabas 18, 1 in viis constitutos esse angelos Dei et angelos Satanae dicit. Quem locum Latinum exscripsisse non est dubium. Praeterea autem et Herm. Mand. VI, 2, 1 respexisse vel in mente habuisse

iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. 2. Via ergo vitae haec est: Primo diliges Deum *aeternum*, qui te fecit; secundo proximum tuum ut te ipsum; omne autem, quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris. 3. Interpretatio autem horum verborum haec est.

5

II, 2. Non moechaberis, non homicidium facies, non falsum testimonium dices, non puerum violaveris, non fornicaveris, non malefacies, non medicamenta mala facies, non occides filium in abortum nec natum succides, non concupisces quidquam de re proximi tui. 3. Non periurabis, non male loqueris, non eris memor malorum factorum. 4. Non eris duplex in consilium dandum neque bilinguis; tendiculum enim mortis est lingua.

videtur, ubi non in universum angeli vel angeli Dei et Satanae, sed similiter atque apud Latinum nostrum duo angeli commemorantur, unus iustitiae et unus nequitiae. Lactantius Divin. Instit. VI, 3 scribit: Christianos utrique viae praepositum esse dicere, utrumque immortalem, sed alterum honoratum, qui virtutibus ac bonis praesit, alteram damnatum, qui vitiis ac malis. Cum autem caelestis itineris ducem paullo post non angelum vel angelos, sed Deum ipsum appellet cumque eo, quod philosophi de duce viae dexterioris locuti sunt, commotus esse videatur, ut de hac re ageret, minime certum vel verisimile est, eum talem Doctrinae apostolorum formam habuisse, qualem testatur fragmentum latinum. — *duarum viarum*] Latinus omittit cum Barnaba particulam *μεταξύ*, quam codex Const. et Canones exhibent.

2. *aeternum*] Hanc vocem habet Latinus solus.

3. *haec est*] Sequuntur in codice Constant. et in Constitutionibus apostolorum plura, quae praecipue ex Matth. 5 desumpta, sed et apud Bar-

nabam et in Canonibus ecclesiasticis praetermissa sunt. Initium vel versus primus capitis II deinde alterum mandatum doctrinae indicat. Quae respiciens versum sequentem numero 2 noto, ut dispositio eadem sit atque in Doctrina apostolorum graeca.

II, 2. Latinus unum mandatum textus graeci praetermittit, scilicet *οὐ κλέψεις*, reliqua autem plane aliter disponit atque ceteri testes, praesertim adulterio pro secundo primum, falso testimonio, quod textus graecus in versu sequente post periurium exhibet, tertium locum attribuit. Mandata sic digessisse videtur respiciens Rom. 13, 9. — *puerum*] Codex post hanc vocem lacunam parvam habet, ut videtur ob plicaturam membranae. — *non malefacies*] i. e. *οὐ μαγεύσεις*. Codex habet *maofacies* Pez haec verba omisit.

3. Textus latinus cum graeco concordat; modo mandatum *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις*, quod in textu graeco secundum locum obtinet, a Latino supra v. 2 positum est.

4. *lingua*] Graece *διγλωσσία*.

5. Non erit verbum tuum vacuum nec mendax. 6. Non eris *cupidus nec avarus nec rapax nec adolator nec . . .*

5. *vacuum nec mendax*] Ita etiam Canones ecclesiastici. Codex Constant. habet: *ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*. Si quis verba ultima omisit, illa facile aliter disponere potuit.

6. *cupidus nec*] Latinus solus exhibet. Infra 3, 3 quidem textus graecus *ἐπιθυμητής* habet. Non est autem verisimile, Latinum hunc locum respexisse et vocem aliter collocasse. Praeterea quaeritur, num *cupidus* ante voces sequentes idem denotet

atque *ἐπιθυμητής* 3, 3. — *adolator*] Textus graecus legit hoc loco *ὑποκριτής*, i. e. *simulator*. Epit. c. 64 Lactantius postquam de homicidio, adulterio et falso testimonio egit, pergit scribens, viro iusto nec adulari licere. Inde autem, ut iam in Prolegomenis exposui, eum versionem legisse non sequitur. — *nec*] Post hanc vocem in folio codicis ultimo etiam verbum unum scriptum erat, quod autem evanuit.

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1. Ubi signum * prostat, aut locus S. Scripturae disertis verbis allegatur, aut locus Doctrinae ad locum biblicum tam prope accedit, ut verba scripturae velut verba biblica litteris obliquis exprimenda esse mihi visa sint.

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εὐσταθής 18, 4.

εὐτροπος 19, 1.

ἡδονή 8, 1. 3.

ἡμέρα 1 (κρίσεως); 14, 2 (κυρίου).

ἡσυχος 20, 2.

θεμελίωσις ἐκκλησίας 1.

θεοδίδακτος 14, 3.

θησανρῖζω 29.

θησανρίσματα ἀγαθά 21, 2.

θησανρὸς καλὸς 29.

θλίβω 22, 1.

θυμός 7; 8, 3.

θυσιαστήριον 18, 4. 5; 23, 1.

Θωμᾶς inser.; 12, 1.

Ἰάκωβος inser.; 10; 19, 1; 28.

ἰδρὼς 12, 3.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστός inser.; 1.

Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου inser.

ἰσότης 14, 1.

Ἰωάννης inser.; 3; 4, 1; 17; 18, 2;
26, 1.

καθέζομαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 27.

κάλλος 13, 1.

καταλογίζομαι 1.

καταδυναστεύω 20, 2.

καταφρονέω 20, 3.

καταφρονητής 20, 3.

καθιστάνω 17; 19; 20, 1; 21, 1.

κέλευσις 1.

Κηφᾶς inser.; 13, 1; 21, 1; 27.

κληροῦμαι 1.

κοινωνικός 20, 3.

κόρη ὀφθαλμοῦ 12, 1.

κρύφια ἔργα 20, 3.

κύριος inser.; 1; 2; 12, 1. 3; 13, 1;
14, 3; 20, 1; 21, 2; 30.

λαϊκός 23, 1.

λογία 22, 1.

λογίζω 19; 29.

λοῖδορος 16, 1; 20, 3.

λυτρῶω 4, 2.

Μάρθα 26, 2.

Μαρία 26, 2.

μαρτυρέω 20, 2.

Ματθαῖος inser.; 5; 20, 1.

μέθυσος 16, 1; 19.

μειδιάω 26, 2.

μετάδοσις 29.

μονόγαμος 20, 2.

Ναθαναήλ inser.; 11, 1.

νηπτικός 21, 2.

νήφω 21, 2.

νομοθέτης 14, 3.

νόσος 21, 2.

νουθεσία 2.

νουθετέω 20, 3.

νοννεχία 1.

νυκτερινή ὑπηρεσία 21, 2.

οἰδαίνω 8, 3.

οἰκουμένη 1.

οἶνος 20, 2; 21, 2.

ὀλιγανδρία 16, 1.

ὀργή 8, 1; 20, 2.

ὀργίλος 20, 2.

ὀρθός 27.

παράίτιος τῆς ζωῆς 12, 1.

παρακαλέω 20, 3.

παραπέμπω 20, 3; 22, 1.

παρετέμνω 23, 3.

παρεδρεῖα διακόνων 1.

παρεδρεύω 21, 2; 23, 2.

πεῖρα 21, 1.

πένης 20, 2; 22, 1.

περιπειθέω 23, 1.

περιποιέω 22, 2; 29.

Πέτρος inser.; 6, 1; 15; 16, 1; 25; 30.

πήγνυμι 16, 1.

πλεονέκτης 16, 1.

πληθος 16, 1; 18, 2. 3. 4; 20, 2. 3.

πλούσιος 20, 2; 22, 2.

πλοῦτος 13, 1.

πνεῦμα 2 (ἅγιον); 8, 2 (πονηρόν).

ποιμενικός τόπος 22, 2.

ποιμήν 18, 3.

πόνος τῶν χειρῶν 12, 3.

πόρνος 16, 1.

ποτήριον 26, 1.

πραῦς 16, 2.

πρεσβύτερος 1, 1; 17; 18, 1. 3. 4; 21, 2.

προθυμέομαι 18, 3.

προκρίνω 13, 1.

προνοέω 18, 4.

προσενχή 13, 2; 21, 1.

προσεύχομαι 27.

προστίθημι 14, 3; 30.

προσφορά 24.

προσωποληπτέω 20, 1.

προσωπολήπτῃς 16, 1.

πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν 3; 18, 3. 5; 20, 2.

προτρεπικός 20, 3.

Σίμων inser.; 9.

σύμβουλος 14, 3.

συμύστης 18, 3.

συναθροίζω 1; 18, 3.

σύνδρομος 19, 1.

συνέλευσις πρὸς γυναῖκας 18, 3.

συνεπίμαχος 18, 3.

σύνδοδος κυριακή 19.

σφραγίς 12, 1.

σῶμα 25; 26, 1.

σωτήρ 1.

σώφρων 16, 1; 20, 2.

τεκνοτρόφος 20, 2.

τιμάω 12, 3; 18, 4; 20, 3.

τιμή 20, 3.

τόπος 1; 19 (εὐαγγελιστοῦ); 22, 2 (ποιμενικός); 23, 1 (ἴδιος).

τροφὴ θφαρτὴ καὶ πρόσκαιρος 12, 3.

τύπος τῶν ἐπουρανίων 1.

ὑπεροπτεύω 22, 1.

ὑπηρεσία 21, 2.

ὑποταγή 18, 4.

φήμη 16, 1.

φιάλη 18, 2.

φιλεχθρέω 23, 2.

φιλόθεος 17.

Φίλιππος inser.; 8, 1; 23, 1; 29.

φιλόπτωχος 16, 1.

φιμόω 12, 3.

φόβος 20, 3.

φρόνιμος 20, 2.

φυλάττω 1; 14, 3; 30.

φυτεύω 12, 3.

χῆρα 1; 21, 1.

Χριστός inser.; 1; 20, 3.

χρονίζω 18, 3.

ψηφίζω 16, 1.

ψυχή 8, 2. 3.

zu machen, werden sich im Kapitel 11 als solche herausstellen, die mit erheblichen Schwierigkeiten behaftet sind.

Waren aber die Hebräer stets Monotheisten, so konnte auf dem Boden ihres Volksthum und ihrer Literatur niemals ein nationaler Mythos von einem Sonnengotte erwachsen.

Eine Entlehnung von Außen her bezeichnet auch Steinthal als unmöglich.

Was bleibt nach allem diesem von der ganzen Hypothese noch übrig?

(Fortsetzung folgt.)

**Zur alten lateinischen Uebersetzung der Doctrina
apostolorum.**

Franz Xaver ✓
Von Prof. Dr. Funf.

Wie in Qu. Schr. 1885 S. 161 mitgetheilt wurde, ist es der Gelehrsamkeit des Herrn D. v. Gebhardt gelungen, das Fragment einer alten Uebersetzung der Doctrina apostolorum an das Licht zu ziehen. Das Bruchstück wurde von B. Pez aus einem Melker Codex in seinem Thesaurus IV, 2, 5 f. veröffentlicht. Glücklicherweise ist die Handschrift, die es enthält, nicht verloren, wie Gebhardt seiner Zeit melden mußte (Texte u. Untersuch. II, 1, 277). Als in den verflossenen Herbstferien in meiner Anwesenheit in der Bibliothek des Klosters Melk neue Nachforschungen angestellt wurden, wurde der Codex gefunden. Ich nahm sofort, soviel es meine knapp zubemessene Zeit erlaubte, Einsicht von ihm und erstatte im Nachstehenden kurzen Bericht über den Befund.

Es ist eine Pergamenthandschrift in Quartformat. Das Alter dürfte von Pez im ganzen richtig bestimmt worden sein. Doch möchte ich den Codex eher etwas weiter herabrücken. Die Zahl der Blätter ist 115. Die

Ueberschriften der einzelnen Stücke sind mit rother Tinte gegeben, so auch das Doctrina apostolorum. M. Kropff bezeichnet die Handschrift in seiner Bibliotheca Mellicensis (1747) p. 18 als Lectionarium . . . ex SS. PP. homiliis excerptum. Sie ist m. a. W. eine Sammlung von Homilien über die Episteln des Kirchenjahres, beginnend mit dem Sonntag nach Pfingsten. Der Inhalt ist näherhin folgender.

Der Anfang lautet:

Dominica Octavas (? 1. Octavae post) Pentecosten. Lectio epistolae beati Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios. Fratres, scitis, quoniam cum gentes essetis, ad simulacra muta prout ducebamini euntes. Ideo notum vobis facio, quod nemo in spiritu Dei loquens dicit anathema Jesu etc. etc. (I Kor. 12, 2 ff.).

Omelia lectionis eiusdem.

Celebratur apud nos hodie, dilectissimi, octavus dies solemnitatis praecipuae, qua Deus Dei filius promissum spiritum sanctum in filios adoptionis effudit u. f. w.

Dann folgen in gleicher Weise Homilien auf die Episteln der sechs folgenden Sonntage sowie auf Feria IV, Feria VI und Sabbatum nach dem vierten Sonntag. Dom. II: Lectio ep. beati Johannes apostoli: Deus charitas est; in hoc apparuit charitas Dei in vobis u. f. w. (I Joh. 4, 8 ff.); Homilie: Intente oportet audire, fratres charissimi, diligenterque u. f. w. Dom. III: Lectio I Joh. 3, 13 ff.: Charissimi, nolite mirari (wie jetzt Dom. II post Pent.) Homilie: De humanitate erga proximos et de cavendo odio praesenti lectione ammonemur u. f. w. Dom. IV: Lectio

I. Petr. 5, 6 ff. (jezt Dom. III. p. P.); Homilie: Modo, fratres charissimi, audimus beatum Petrum apostolum ad humilitatem nos cohortantem u. s. w. Dom. V: Lectio Röm. 8, 18 ff. (jezt Dom. IV. p. P.); Homilie: Quod ad comparationem aeternae gloriae, quam sanctis suis Deus ante saecula praeparavit u. s. w. u. s. w. Nach dem 7. Sonntag oder der Ebdomas VII kommt Vigilia sancti Johannis baptistae VIII K. Jul. Lectio Hieremiae prophetae: In diebus illis factum est verbum u. s. w., wie noch jetzt. Daran reiht sich Natale sancti Johannis baptistae VIII K. Jul. Lectio Jesaiae prophetae: Haec dicit Dominus: Audite insulae u. s. w. (noch jetzt). Dann kommt Dominica post natale sancti Johannis b.; Vigilia u. Natale s. Petri; Natale s. Pauli; Ebdomades I—V post natale apostolorum; Natale s. Laurentii; Adsumptio sanctae Mariae XVIII K. Sept.; Ebdomades I—VI post s. Laurentium; Mensis septimi Fer. IV, VI u. Sabbatum; Dominica mensis septimi post XII lectiones; Natale s. angeli Michaelis; Ebdomades I—VIII post natale s. angeli M. (wobei aber III fehlt); Natale s. Andreae apostoli pridie Kl. Dec.; Ebdom IV—II ante natale Domini; Mensis decimi Feria IV, VI, Sabbatum; Ebdom. I. ante natale Domini. Nunmehr folgen Dedicatio ecclesiae (Lectio Apoc. 21, 2 ff wie noch jetzt; Homilie: Sancti templi Domini dedicationem quotiescunque u. s. w.); Natale omnium apostolorum; N. unius sancti martyris; N. plurimorum sanctorum; N. sanctorum sacerdotum, N. virginum, also eine Commune sanctorum, und zwar, abgesehen vom Kirchweihfest, mit doppelter Homilie für die einzelnen Tage. Weiter kommen: Omelia

de ecclesia (Inter cetera beneficia Domini et salvatoris nostri u. s. w.): Omelia sancti Augustini de Alleluia (Ad laudem Dei atque ad confessionem verae fidei invitat nos sermo hebraeus u. s. w.); De resurrectione fidelium s. Augustini (Certissima fiducia est Christianorum divinitus promissio resurrectio mortuorum); Omelia de fide (Ad verae igitur et ad aeternae beatitudinis gaudia); Item alia; Item alia. Daran reiht sich fol. 114a—115a mit der Ueberschrift: Incipit ammonitio sive praedicatio sancti Bonifacii episcopi de Abrenuntiatione in baptismo, die von Bez veröffentlichte Homilie des hl. Bonifatius. Den Schluß auf fol. 115b machen endlich Dicta s. Augustini und Doctrina apostolorum. Gene Worte lauten: Haec est fides, quae paucis verbis tenenda in symbolo novellis Christianis datur; quae pauca verba fidelibus nota sunt, ut credendo subiugati recte vivant, recte vivendo cor mundent, corde mundato quod credunt intellegant.

Das ist der Inhalt der Handschrift. Dieselbe enthält, wie man sieht keine vollständige Homiliensammlung. Es fehlt die Hälfte des Kirchenjahres, die Zeit von Weihnachten bis Pfingsten, und dieser Theil ging dem jetzt noch vorhandenen ohne Zweifel voraus. Es zeigt das der Mangel einer Ueberschrift für das Ganze in unserer Handschrift und die Stellung des Commune Sanctorum am Ende. Die Handschrift in ihrem gegenwärtigen Bestand ist demgemäß wie am Ende so auch am Anfang defekt.

Was nun aber das Stück anlangt, das uns zunächst allein besonders interessirt, die Doctrina apostolorum, so wurde das Bruchstück, das sich erhalten hat,

von Bez im ganzen getreu wiedergegeben. Zu bemerken ist nur Folgendes. Die Eintheilung des Textes in mehrere Abschnitte ist eine That von Bez. Der Coder hat sie nicht. Die nach fornicaveris von Bez belassene Lücke sodann findet sich im Coder nicht vor. Hier steht vielmehr an der Stelle non malefacies, entsprechend dem griechischen οὐ μαγεύσεις. Bez aber ließ jene Worte weg, entweder weil die Schrift nicht ganz deutlich ist (eigentlich liest man non maofacies), oder weil er in Anbetracht des folgenden non medicamenta mala facies ein Versehen des Schreibers vermuthete, oder aus beiden Gründen zusammen. Auf der andern Seite hat der Coder eine Lücke nach non puerum oder vor violaveris, und zwar von der Größe, daß für ein oder anderthalb Worte Raum ist. Die Lücke hat indessen schwerlich etwas Besonderes zu bedeuten. Die Worte puerum violaveris gehören als Uebersetzung des παιδοφθορίας unmittelbar zusammen und die Lücke wurde vielleicht nur durch die Falte veranlaßt, welche das Pergament an dem betreffenden Orte hat. Nach dem letzten nec stand, wie auch die Punkte bei Bez andeuten, noch ein Wort. Dasselbe ist aber so verblichen, daß es auch mit Zuhilfenahme einer Lupe nicht mehr zu entziffern ist. Endlich ist noch zu bemerken, daß der Coder nicht adulator liest, sondern adolator.

Der Gewinn, den wir dem Coder für die Doctrina apostolorum verdanken, ist somit sehr gering. Wichtiger aber dürfte die Auffindung der Handschrift insofern sein, als wir nun deren Charakter kennen, und ich habe aus diesem Grunde eine kurze Beschreibung von ihr gegeben. Sie ist ein Homiliarium und zwar ein

Homiliarium zu den Episteln des Kirchenjahres. Vielleicht liegt das Gesuchte noch in andern alten Homilien-sammlungen begraben. Ich erlaube mir daher zum Schluß an die Vorstände von Kloster- und andern nicht näher bekannten Bibliotheken die Bitte zu richten, in ihren handschriftlichen Schätzen nach dem wichtigen Dokumente zu fahnden.

II. Recensionen.

1.

1. **Archiv für Literatur- u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters.**
Herausgegeben von P. H. Denifle O. P. und F. Ehrle
S. J. Erster Band 1885. 642 S. gr. 8. Berlin.
Weidmann. Pr. 20 M.
2. **Die Bulle Ne pretereat und die Reconciliationsverhandlungen** Ludwigs des Bayern mit dem Papste Johann XXII.
Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des 14. Jahrh. von W. Fellen.
Mit einem Anhang von Urkunden aus Trier, Koblenz
und dem Vatikanischen Archiv. I. Theil. VIII. 79 S.
8°. Trier. Paulinus-Druckerei. 1885.
3. **La Biblioteca della Sede apostolica ed i catalogi**
dei suoi manoscritti. I gabinetti di oggetti di scienze
naturali, arti ed archeologia-annessi alla Bibl. Vaticana.
Par G. B. de Rossi. Roma 1884. 68 S. gr. 8.¹⁾
4. **Leonis X. P. M. Regesta** ed. Jos. S. R. E. Cardinalis
Hergenröther. Fasc. II—III. p. 137—384.

1. Ein bedeuſames Unternehmen, deſſen Beachtung wir den Leſern der Qu. Schrift hiemit empfehlen. Zwei auf dem literariſchen Gebiete bereits berühmte Landſ-

1) Die Schrift iſt neuerdings (1886) als Einleitung zu dem erſten Band der palatinischen Handſchriften der vatikanischen Bibliothek, ſowie auch ſeparat, in erweiterter Geſtalt und in lateiniſcher Sprache (De origine, historia, indicibus scrinii et bibliothecae Sedis apostolicae commentatio J. B. de Rossi) erſchienen.

Zach. geschrieben, der »glossae super unum ex quatuor« betitelt ist, aber noch im Manuskripte liegt. Viele Ähnlichkeit mit dem Comment. des Chrysopoliten zeigt die Historia scholast. von Petrus Comestor, Nr. 37 zu den Evangelien (z. B. die sonderbaren Namen der Magier u. a.). Ohne Zweifel hat aber auch der h. Thomas von Aquin bei Abfassung seiner Catena aurea den Commentar des Zach., der ohnehin im 13. Jahrh. bereits durch zahlreiche Handschriften verbreitet war, vor Augen gehabt; es würde sich dies durch gegenseitige Zusammenstellung der beiderseits benützten Auctoren im allgemeinen sowie durch auffallende einzelne Stellen (z. B. Magna quaestio est. utrum hoc (näml. Mtth. 5, 40) etiam de servis accipiendum sit etc.), allerdings überragt die Catena aurea des h. Thomas bedeutend den Commentar des Chrys. durch die Zahl und Vortrefflichkeit der ausgewählten Auctoren.

Zur Apostellehre und apostolischen Kirchenordnung.

Von Prof. Dr. Funk.

Die Apostellehre hat, seitdem das letztemal in der Qu.-Schr. (1885, 159 ff.) von den über sie erschienenen Schriften die Rede war, zu einer großen Anzahl von Untersuchungen Anlaß geboten. Die Zahl der Ausgaben, Abhandlungen, längeren und kürzeren Mitteilungen wird bereits auf etwa 200 geschätzt. Wir werden im Laufe dieser Untersuchung auf mehrere dieser Schriften zurückkommen. Hier seien zunächst zwei der Beachtung empfohlen. Die eine ist die Ausgabe von Ph. Schaff in New-York. Sie führt den Titel: The oldest Church manuel called the Teaching of the twelve apostles, erschien 1885 (New-York, Funk and Wagnalls) und ward 1886 in zweiter Auflage herausgegeben, indem zur älteren Litteratur die vom März 1885 bis März 1886 erschienene nachgetragen wurde. Das Werk enthält nächst der Ausgabe von Harnack v. J. 1884 die eingehendste Untersuchung über die vielerörterte Schrift, die vollständigste Zusammenstellung der einschlägigen Texte und Dokumente, annähernd vollständiges Litteraturverzeichnis, und zwar so, daß bei den wichtigeren Schriften die entscheidenden Punkte kurz angegeben wer-

den, und bei der Umsicht und Gründlichkeit, mit der es ausgearbeitet ist, wird es nicht bloß jenseits, sondern auch diesseits des Ozeans seine Dienste leisten ¹⁾. Die andere Schrift: die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege (Leipzig. Hinrichs 1886) hat A. Harnack zum Verfasser. Sie ist ein erweiterter Abdruck aus der Real-encyklopädie für protest. Theol. und Kirche, gibt aber zugleich den Text der Apostellehre (mit den erforderlichen wenigen kritischen Noten und ohne Sacherklärung) sowie den Text der vermeintlichen jüdischen Lehre von den beiden Wegen und dürfte sich als bündige Zusammenfassung der Hauptfragen zur schnellen Orientierung besonders eignen, wenn gleich der neue Standpunkt, den H. zur Apostellehre einnimmt, noch unrichtiger ist, als der frühere.

Nicht gleichen Schritt mit dem Wachstum der Literatur hielt der Fortschritt der Erkenntnis. Wie am Anfang, so gehen die Ansichten über die Schrift auch jetzt noch nach den verschiedensten Seiten auseinander, sowohl bezüglich der Zeit und der Heimat, als bezüglich des Charakters und der Richtung, der Quellen und der Integrität der Schrift. Indem ich auf die genannten Arbeiten wie meine demnächst erscheinende Ausgabe verweise, darf ich von Aufführung der verschiedenen Ansichten Umgang nehmen. Dagegen sollen im folgenden einige wichtigere Fragen eingehender erörtert werden.

1) Die Erwähnung einer Ausgabe der äthiopischen Version der apostolischen Kirchenordnung durch W. Fell (Leipzig 1881) S. 238 beruht wohl auf einem Versehen. Die *Canones apostolorum*, welche Fell 1871 äthiopisch mit lateinischer Uebersetzung herausgab, sind die sog. apostolischen Kanones, und eine andere hieher gehörige Ausgabe von F. ist mir nicht bekannt geworden.

1. Eine nicht unbedeutende Frage betrifft das Verhältniß der Apostellehre (D) zum Barnabasbrief (B). Welche Schrift ist, wenn von einer gemeinsamen Quelle abgesehen wird, als ältere oder als Quelle der anderen zu fassen? Die meisten Kritiker, insbesondere fast alle englischen und amerikanischen sprachen sich nach und nach für die Priorität von D aus, in Deutschland Zahn, Langen (Hist. Zeitschrift 1885 Bd. 53), Dehler (das apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter 3. A. 1885), Aberle (Lit. Rundschau 1885 Nr. 8, 9), Arnold (Zeitschr. f. N. N. 1885). Harnack erörtert die Frage in seiner jüngsten Schrift S. 11 f. aufs neue, und er findet sich durch seine wiederholte Untersuchung in der entgegengesetzten Auffassung des Verhältnisses nur bestärkt. Sein neuer Beweis ist folgender. Indem er zunächst bemerkt, daß D 1—5 ziemlich viel enthält, was in B 18—20 fehlt, nämlich 1, 2—6; 3, 1—6 und außer diesen zwei größeren Abschnitten eine Reihe von größeren und kleineren Zusätzen zu den mit B gemeinsamen Sentenzen, während B über D hinaus in den zur Rede stehenden Kapiteln nur sehr wenig bietet, namentlich ein paar Sätzchen in 19, 2. 3. 4. 8, und zumal Sätze, deren Fehlen in D sich nahezu überall leicht begründen lasse, fährt er fort: „Wenn von zwei Schriftstellern A einen Stoff m, C aber den Stoff m + n bringt, ist natürlich a priori nicht zu entscheiden, wer der Gewährsmann des anderen gewesen ist; denn Verkürzungen sind ebensowohl möglich, als Erweiterungen. Wenn aber C selbst ausdrücklich sein Elaborat als eine Kompilation bezeichnet — διδασκῶν κτρίον διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων — wenn ferner jenes n offenkundig lauter von anders woher genommenen, nicht

originalen Stoff umfaßt, so ist es schlechterdings unmöglich, die Arbeit von A für ein Exzerpt aus C zu halten. So aber steht es in diesem Fall. Wäre Barnabas der Ausschreiber, so hätte er mit Sorgfalt alle evangelischen Sprüche aus der Apostellehre weggelassen (!); er hätte 3, 1—6 weggelassen; er hätte endlich die gute Reihenfolge in der Apostellehre in ein Chaos verwandelt. Das glaube wer mag!“ Das Bisherige bezieht sich auf das Verhältnis von B und D in der Lehre von den zwei Wegen. Daß aber auch in den weiteren Parallelstellen, B 4, 9. 10 u. D 16, 2. B als Quelle anzuerkennen sei, dafür wird geltend gemacht, daß D im letzten Kapitel, einer bloßen Kompilation aus evangelischen Stellen, Zach. 14, 5 und einer Ueberlieferung über den Antichrist, den hier stehenden, mit B 4, 9, 10 fast wörtlich zusammentreffenden Satz notwendig von diesem entlehnt haben müsse, da nicht denkbar sei, daß B, wäre er der spätere, den einzigen Vers, der das geistige Eigentum des Verfassers von D wäre, sich angeeignet haben sollte, sowie daß B das Ende bereits vor der Thüre erblickt, wie das von ihm gebrauchte *vñ* anzeige, während in D das nicht der Fall sei, das bedeutsame *vñ* vielmehr fehle.

So formuliert Harnack jetzt seinen Beweis für die Priorität von B gegenüber D. Der zweite Teil der Beweisführung ist übrigens nicht neu; er ist nur eine Wiederholung dessen, was er schon in den Zusätzen und Berichtigungen zu seiner größeren Schrift (S. 287 f.) gegen die andere Auffassung vorbrachte. Was nun zunächst die in diesem Teil enthaltenen zwei Argumente anlangt, so soll das zweite das entscheidende sein. Har-

nach mag es in der That für das wichtigste halten. Eine wirklich entscheidende Bedeutung kommt ihm aber schwerlich zu. Wer nicht zum Voraus von der Priorität von B überzeugt ist, wird nicht einsehen, daß die mattere Formulierung nicht auch die frühere sein könne und die schärfere die spätere. In meinen Augen ist eher das zweite Argument das gewichtigere, und wenn die Sache nur so und ganz so stände, wie sie von Harnack dargestellt wird, würde ich ihm selbst eine Beweiskraft zuerkennen. Allein das ist eben nicht der Fall. Harnack hat wohl hervorgehoben, was zu Gunsten der Priorität von B geltend gemacht werden kann; von den Gründen aber, aus denen B nicht als eine Originalkomposition zu betrachten ist und die eben deshalb notwendig in Erwägung zu ziehen waren, hat er keinen einzigen berührt. Sein Verfahren ist somit ein sehr einseitiges und daher nicht geeignet, auf den, der sich ein eigenes Urtheil über die Frage gebildet, einen besonderen Eindruck zu machen. Zudem ist auch das fragliche Argument selbst nicht so gar stark. Ist es denn so ganz gewiß und sicher, daß D 16, 2 als geistiges Eigentum des Verfassers der Apostellehre zu gelten hat? Kann nicht auch diesem Satz eine Ueberlieferung, sei es mündlicher oder schriftlicher Art, zu Grunde liegen, und ist, wenn die Auffassung des Satzes als alleinigen geistigen Eigentums des Verfassers im ganzen Kapitel so große Schwierigkeiten macht, in Anbetracht der ganzen Sachlage eine solche nicht einfach voranzusetzen? Was endlich die Schwierigkeiten betrifft, die der Annahme der Priorität von D gegenüber B in dem Abschnitte von den zwei Wegen entgegenstehen sollen, so kann sie Harnack zum größeren Theil selbst lösen. Es

sei unglaublich, behauptet derselbe, daß B D 3, 1—6 ausgelassen und die gute Reihenfolge in der Apostellehre in ein Chaos verwandelt habe. Und doch muß er dieses Unglaubliche neuestens selbst annehmen, indem er B auf eine jüdische Grundschrift zurückführt, die, abgesehen von D 1, 3—6, mit unserer Apostellehre in der Lehre von den zwei Wegen fast gänzlich zusammentrifft. Wie mag man unter solchen Umständen von Unglaublichem reden? Oder soll der Sprung, der hier gemacht wird, etwa dadurch gerechtfertigt werden, daß Harnack, um die Unordnung der Reihenfolge der Sentenzen in B zu erklären, jetzt annimmt (S. 29), Barnabas habe wohl aus dem Gedächtnis zitiert? Da hätten sicherlich die Vertreter der andern Auffassung mehr Recht, als er, zu antworten: das glaube wer mag! Es bleibt also nur das Fehlen von D 1, 3—6 in B übrig. Dieser Punkt kann aber unmöglich von großer Bedeutung sein. Barnabas hat sich ja schon D 1, 2 gegenüber die größten Abweichungen erlaubt. Von den drei höchst bedeutsamen Sätzen, die hier stehen und die von Harnack alle auch in die jüdische Grundschrift aufgenommen werden, hat er den dritten, das Gebot: dem Nächsten nicht zuzufügen, was man selbst nicht zu erfahren wünsche, gänzlich ausgelassen; die beiden anderen, die Gebote der Gottes- und der Nächstenliebe, hat er auseinandergerissen und weit auseinandergestellt und das erste in beträchtlich erweiterter, das zweite in beträchtlich veränderter Gestalt gegeben. Sollte bei solchem Sachverhalt das Auslassen des folgenden Abschnittes so gar undenkbar sein? die Frage ist nach dem vorstehenden schwerlich zu bejahen.

2. Wie steht es mit der jüdischen Grund-

schrift der Apostellehre, von der bereits im Vorausgehenden die Rede war? Die Hypothese ist englischen Ursprunges. Harnack hatte sie zwar bereits in seiner Dogmengeschichte (I, 105) angedeutet. Allein er erkennt Taylor (*The Teaching of the twelve apostles with illustrations from the Talmud* 1886) das Verdienst zu, sie energisch geltend gemacht und bewiesen, „fast zur Evidenz“ gebracht zu haben. Auf der andern Seite hat er aber selbst sie weiter entwickelt, indem er auf Grund der Hypothese die verschiedenen Lehren von den zwei Wegen nach ihrem Ursprungsverhältnis neu bestimmte, und so möge vor allem seine Anschauung vorgeführt werden.

Während Harnack früher die Apostellehre unmittelbar aus dem Barnabasbriefe hervorgehen ließ, nimmt er jetzt eine gemeinschaftliche Quelle für beide Schriften an und zwar so, daß unserem gegenwärtigen Texte von D mehrere Rezensionen vorausgehen. Jene Quelle sei eine jüdische Lehre von den beiden Wegen gewesen, eine jüdische Proselyteninstruktion, die, wie das Alte Testament, von Christen sehr frühe übernommen und als Taufrede zur Einschränkung der christlichen Sittlichkeit gebraucht worden sei. Dieselbe sei im ersten Jahrhundert u. Z. oder schon früher verfaßt worden. Im nachapostolischen Zeitalter habe sodann zunächst Barnabas die Instruktion seiner Schrift einverleibt und zwar wohl aus dem Gedächtnis, wie die Unordnung zeige, in welcher er ihre Sätze reproduziere. Ein anderer unbekannter Christ habe ferner die jüdische Instruktion zu einer „Lehre der (zwölf) Apostel“ erhoben, indem er c. 7—16 hinzufügte. Diese Edition sei uns zwar nicht erhalten;

sie habe aber dem alten Lateiner (L) und dem Verfasser der apostolischen Kirchenverordnung (K) vorgelegen, die beide einen älteren Text zeigen, als unsere heutige Apostellehre. Diese Rezension sei weiter, um die „beiden Wege“ mit evangelischem Stoff auszustatten, den man in einer *Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων* habe vermissen müssen, um den Abschnitt D 1, 3—2, 1 erweitert worden, und so sei unter Hinzufügung kleiner, unbedeutender Aenderungen die Form der Apostellehre entstanden, die uns in der Handschrift von Konstantinopel (M) und den apostolischen Konstitutionen (C) vorliege. Wahrscheinlich habe es, wie die Zeugnisse der Kirchenväter zeigen, noch andere Rezensionen gegeben. Die jüdische Urschrift könne aus den uns überlieferten Rezensionen der „zwei Wege“, nämlich aus BMKLC noch fast wörtlich wiederhergestellt werden; die älteste christliche Lehrform, die sich indessen von der jüdischen sachlich wenig unterschieden habe, lasse sich aus KLM, die zweite aus MC ermitteln (S. 25—32).

Die Hypothese von der jüdischen Grundschrift ist, wie man auf den ersten Blick erkennt, sehr bedeutsam. Sie wirft, wenn richtig, auf die Geschichte der Apostellehre ein ganz neues Licht, und sie verdient daher eine ernstliche Prüfung. Hören wir zunächst ihre Begründung.

Der englische Gelehrte giebt sie in seiner Schrift S. 18—22, indem er die äußeren und inneren Gründe geltend macht, welche gegen die Ursprünglichkeit des Abschnittes 1, 3—2, 1 in der Apostellehre sprechen sollen. In jener Beziehung verweist er auf das Fehlen des Abschnittes in K u. L. In dieser Hinsicht betont er vor allem, daß die bezüglichen Worte nicht eine spezielle

und ausdrückliche Erklärung des „ersten Gebots“ (der Gottesliebe) enthalten, wie wir sie nach dem Sage 2, 1 erwarten dürfen, welcher das zweite Kapitel mit Nachdruck als eine Entwicklung des „zweiten Gebotes der Lehre“ bezeichne. Weiter wird bemerkt, daß Vollkommenheitsprüche in naturgemäßer Ordnung nicht vor einer so rudimentären Lehre kommen, wie den Verboten: du sollst nicht töten, nicht ehebrechen u. s. w., sondern dieser sicherlich folgen würden; daß die Pflicht des Almosengebens in richtiger Ordnung in c. 4 vgetragen werde, und daß es daher nicht nötig gewesen, sie auch in c. 1 einzuschärfen; endlich, daß die fraglichen Sätze (1, 3—6) bei ihrer Weitschweifigkeit auch stilistisch als spätere Zuthat zu dem ursprünglichen Dokumente sich darstellen. Und indem er die Sätze als freie Zitate aus der Bergpredigt der ursprünglichen Schrift ab spricht, schließt er: nach ihrer Beseitigung bleibe im ersten Teil der Apostellehre wenig oder nichts ausgesprochen Christliches; man werde also zu einer älteren Form der Lehre von den zwei Wegen, von jüdischem Charakter und möglicherweise vorchristlichem Ursprung, zurückgeführt, aus der unsere Kapitel I—VI gebildet wurden und von der sie sich in ihrer endgültigen Form nur durch die Beifügung der längeren Sätze in c. 1 und einiger Sätzchen vielleicht in c. 4 unterscheiden. So Taylor. Harnack seinerseits folgerte den jüdischen Ursprung des Dokumentes „aus der Abwesenheit aller spezifisch christlichen Merkmale und evangelischen Sprüche, aus der Beobachtung, daß das Thema (D 1, 2) nicht in der evangelischen Fassung angegeben ist, und aus den zahlreichen Paral-

lesen, welche die jüdisch-palästinensische und hellenistische Litteratur bieten“ (S. 28 Anm. 1).

Ist aber mit diesen Gründen, wie Harnack meint, die jüdische Urschrift wirklich fast zur Gewißheit gebracht? Ich glaube nicht, und ich bin im Gegenteil überzeugt, daß sich der christliche Ursprung der Schrift mit voller Sicherheit beweisen läßt.

Was vor allem die Argumente Taylors anlangt, so beweisen sie mehr den späteren Ursprung von D 1, 3—2, 1 als den jüdischen Ursprung des übrigen Theiles der Lehre von den zwei Wegen. Denn in letzterer Beziehung sagt er nur: nach Abzug des fraglichen Abschnittes bleibe wenig oder nichts ausgesprochen Christliches in der Lehre von den zwei Wegen, also sei diese ursprünglich jüdisch. Ist aber der Schluß konfludent? Konnte nicht auch ein Christ in dieser Weise eine Moral schreiben, zumal in einer Zeit, wo die Evangelien noch kaum oder noch nicht entstanden waren? Taylor gesteht zudem mit den Worten „wenig oder nichts“ selbst zu, daß jene Elimination nicht hinreiche, um alle christlichen Anzeichen aus der Schrift zu entfernen, und dieser Umstand genügt vorerst, um ein Schriftstück, das wohl bei den Christen im Gebrauch war, von dessen Gebrauch im Judentum aber schlechterdings nichts bekannt ist, auch in seinem Ursprung als christlich festzuhalten.

Harnack freilich geht in dieser Beziehung etwas radikaler vor. Während Taylor in der ursprünglichen Lehre von den zwei Wegen wenig oder nichts Christliches findet, redet er von Abwesenheit aller spezifisch christlichen Merkmale und evangelischen Sprüche. Insbesondere vermißt er die evangelische Fassung des Themas,

und es ist richtig, daß die drei Gebote 1, 2 nicht ganz die Form haben, in der wir sie in den Evangelien, bezw. bei Matthäus finden. Gleichwohl ist nicht auf jüdischen, sondern vielmehr auf christlichen Ursprung zu schließen. Denn wenn die Gebote der Gottes- und der Nächstenliebe in D auch nicht ganz in evangelischer Fassung vorliegen, so läßt sich in ihrer Fassung evangelischer Einfluß doch schwerlich verkennen. Fürs erste sind die beiden Gebote in D ebenso unmittelbar miteinander verbunden wie in den Evangelien, während von einer ähnlichen Zusammenstellung in der jüdischen Literatur bisher nichts beigebracht wurde. Die Gebote sind zweitens nicht bloß miteinander verbunden, sondern auch klassifiziert, und zwar ganz mit den gleichen Worten wie in der hl. Schrift. Das *πρῶτον* vor *ἀγαπήσεις* und das *δεύτερον* erinnert so stark an das *αὕτη ἐστὶν πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολή* und *δεύτερα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ* Matth. 22, 38. 39, daß, so lange nicht eine andere Parallelstelle nachgewiesen ist, die Quelle der Worte dort gesucht werden muß.

Die Bekanntschaft mit dem N. T. verrät sich indes, von 1, 3—2, 1 natürlich ganz abgesehen, da dieser Abschnitt hauptsächlich der christliche Zusatz zu der jüdischen Grundschrift sein soll, in D nicht bloß im Thema, sondern auch an anderen Stellen. Vor allem kommt 3, 7 in Betracht, wo den Worten *Ἰσθι δὲ πραιός*, aus Matth. 5, 5 beigelegt ist: *ἐπεὶ οἱ πραιεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν*. Die Quelle der Worte ist schwerlich zweifelhaft. Allerdings läßt sich fragen, ob die Worte ursprünglich sind. Harnack hat sie in der That in seiner jüdischen Lehre von den beiden Wegen gestrichen. Die

Worte fehlen auch bei Barnabas. Auf der anderen Seite stehen sie bei allen übrigen Zeugen, insbesondere in der Rezension, die Harnack selbst als Hauptquelle für die jüdische Lehre von den zwei Wegen anerkennt, in der apostolischen Kirchenordnung, und ich sehe daher nicht ein, mit welchem Grund die Stelle gestrichen werden soll. Das bloße Fehlen bei Barnabas giebt bei dem bekannten Verfahren dieses Schriftstellers dazu doch sicherlich noch kein Recht. Uebrigens verhalte es sich mit dieser Stelle wie es wolle: die angeblich jüdische Grundschrift enthält noch weitere christliche Spuren.

Die δευτέρα ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς (2, 1) beginnt mit den Worten: οὐ φονεῖσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις u. s. w. Ganz mit denselben Worten beginnt der Herr Matth. 19, 18 seine Rede an dem Jüngling, der ihn gefragt hatte, was er thun müsse, um das ewige Leben zu erlangen. Ist dieser gleiche Anfang nicht höchst bedeutsam?

In dem Sündencatalog 5, 1 stehen fünf Sünden, nämlich φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι, ἄρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, allerdings mit einigen anderen untermischt, ganz in derselben Ordnung wie Matth. 15, 19; fünf weitere, nämlich δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, πλεονεξία, ἀλαζονεία (5, 2) stehen Röm. 1, 29. 30, freilich nicht in der gleichen Reihenfolge und das zweite und letzte in der Form von ὑπερήφανοι und ἀλαζόνες, eine Verschiedenheit, die übrigens schwerlich von wesentlicher Bedeutung ist; die Worte κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ 5, 2 sodann lesen wir wieder im Römerbrief (12, 9): 2, 6 ferner berührt sich mit I Kor. 5, 10. 11; 3, 1 mit

I Theß. 5, 22; 3, 2 mit Gal. 5, 2: sollte nun all das bloßer Zufall sein? Man könnte hieran vielleicht in dem einen oder anderen Fall denken, aber sicherlich nicht in jedem Fall und noch weniger in allen Fällen zusammen genommen.

Aber nicht bloß aus derartigen Berührungen mit dem N. T., sondern auch noch aus ihrem weiteren Inhalt ist der christliche Charakter der Apostellehre selbst in der angeblichen Grundschrift zu erkennen. 2, 7 lesen wir: du sollst keinen Menschen hassen, sondern die einen zurechtweisen, für die andern beten, noch andere mehr lieben als deine Seele. Ist das wohl jüdisch? Matth. 5, 43 bemerkt Christus den Juden, es sei zu ihnen gesagt worden, sie sollen ihren Nächsten lieben und ihren Feind hassen. Der letztere Teil des Satzes steht nun nirgends im N. T.; aber er entsprach sicherlich der Anschauung der Juden, er war eine Folgerung, die die Juden aus dem Gebote der (bloßen) Nächstenliebe zogen, und die Apostellehre vertritt demgemäß mit dem Gebote, keinen Menschen zu hassen, offenbar eine antijüdische, bezw. christliche Lehre. Und wenn die Apostellehre verlangt, daß man wenigstens einen Teil der Menschen mehr liebe als seine Seele, geht sie dann nicht sogar über das Maß der Nächstenliebe hinaus, das den Christen im N. T. im allgemeinen vorgeschrieben ist? 4, 10 heißt es, Gott komme nicht, um nach Ansehen der Person zu berufen, sondern zu denen, welche der Geist bereitet habe, und das stimmt sicherlich wenig zu dem Glauben des jüdischen Volkes an seine besondere Bevorzugung. Wie mag man bei diesem Sachverhalt von einer jüdischen Grundschrift sprechen? Oder sollten etwa die an-

geführten Argumente für den christlichen Charakter der Schrift alle nichts zu bedeuten haben?

3. Wenn die jüdische Urschrift keinen Grund hat, ist dann nicht vielleicht eine christliche anzunehmen? Die Frage wurde wiederholt bejaht und in unserer Apostellehre bald eine montanistische, bald eine ebionitische oder eine anders gefärbte Bearbeitung erblickt. Der Schluß auf die Grundschrift wurde theils mit den angeblich häretischen Judizien unserer Apostellehre, theils mit den Differenzen begründet, die zwischen D und den anderen Rezensionen der Lehre von den zwei Wegen bestehen. Eine Zusammenfassung der bezüglichen Erörterungen gab Bratke in den Jahrbüchern für protest. Theol. 1886 S. 302—11, und so werde ich mich, indem ich zur Untersuchung der Frage weiter schreite, hauptsächlich an dessen Darlegung halten.

Indem Bratke an die einschlägigen Arbeiten von Holzmann (Jahrb. f. protest. Theol. 1885 S. 154—166), Hilgenfeld (Zeitschr. f. wiss. Th. 1885 S. 73—102), Krawutschky (Th. Qu. Schr. 1884 S. 547—666) und W. Bickell (Gesch. d. N.N. I) anknüpft und auf die in ihnen gelieferten Nachweise sich stützend erwägt, 1) daß C u. K von einander unabhängig sind, 2) daß beide an den meisten Stellen mit D, an mehreren aber gegen D unter sich übereinstimmen, 3) daß B eine gemeinsame Grundlage der Schriften nicht gewesen sein kann, folgert er, daß alle vier Schriften aus einer und derselben Schrift geschöpft haben müssen und daß die gemeinsame Urschrift eine D 1—6 analoge Form gehabt, und vielleicht auch, wie er später hinzufügt, die moralischen Elemente von D 7—16 und einiges aus dem Schluß von D 16 in

sich begriffen habe. Dieser Satz bildet den Ausgangspunkt seiner Untersuchung, und bei der Bedeutung, die er für die Frage hat, ist er sofort zu prüfen, bevor wir zu den weiteren Gründen für die Urschrift übergehen.

Die bekannten Rezensionen der Lehre von den zwei Wegen sollen also alle von einander unabhängig sein; nicht einmal C soll von D abstammen, noch weniger K und B. Läßt sich aber das mit Grund behaupten? Können C u. K, um zunächst bei ihnen stehen zu bleiben, wirklich nicht von D abstammen? Sind die Stellen, in denen sie gegen D unter sich zusammenstimmen, in der That derart, daß sie eine weitere Schrift als Quelle voraussetzen? Bratke hat sie, wenigstens in seiner Abhandlung, nicht näher geprüft, sondern einfach auf die Darlegung von Harnack und Krawuschky verwiesen. Um so mehr wird es unsere Aufgabe sein, sie näher ins Auge zu fassen.

Harnack hob in seiner früheren und größeren Arbeit (I, 210 Anm. 34) drei derartige Punkte hervor. 1) C u. K lassen die Worte *ἀλλὰ μέμεστομένος προάξει* weg die D 2, 5 bietet; 2) sie stellen im Gegensatz zu D 2, 5 beide das *κενός* vor *ψευδής*; 3) während D 4, 4 einfach *οὐ διανοήσεις* hat, stellt K voran und fügt C bei *ἐν προσευχῇ σου*. Und diese Stellen sind zugleich die einzigen, die bisher in der gedachten Richtung zur Sprache kamen. Denn Krawuschky untersuchte (S. 551—73) nicht, wie man nach der Darstellung Bratkes erwarten muß, das Verhältnis von C u. K zu D, sondern er suchte aus K u. D zu beweisen, daß D keine Originalarbeit, sondern die Erweiterung einer älteren Schrift über die

zwei Wege sei. Wir haben es also nur mit jenen drei Stellen zu thun, und wenn wir näher nachsehen, bleiben uns nicht einmal diese. C (4) bietet nämlich die zweite Stelle mit solcher, durch seine paraphrasierende Tendenz begründeten, Abweichung (statt *ψευδής* als Prädikat zu *λόγος* zu belassen, macht er einen eigenen Satz: *οὐ ψεύσῃ*), daß uns das Recht zu der Behauptung abgeht, seine Vorlage habe das *κενός* vor *ψευδής* gehabt. Wir sind somit auf zwei Stellen angewiesen, und von diesen hat die erste, eine Auslassung, sicherlich nichts zu bedeuten. Das Bild, das in D gebraucht ist, war, wie bereits Harnack bemerkte, eben ungewöhnlich, und deswegen lag es hier für den Fall von weiteren Bearbeitungen näher, die Worte zu streichen als beizufügen. Nicht wesentlich anders aber steht es mit der dritten Stelle. Als bloßer erklärender Zusatz konnten die fraglichen Worte zum mindesten ebenso leicht beigefügt als weggelassen werden, und sie sind um so weniger zu betonen, als sie in den beiden Schriften nicht einmal die gleiche Stellung haben. Für C hat daher, wie bisher auch von jedem besonnenen Kritiker angenommen wurde, D unbedingt als Quelle zu gelten.

Aber auch für K liegt keine Notwendigkeit vor, eine andere Quelle anzunehmen. Krawutschky (S. 551 bis 57) vermißt zwar mehrere Sätze in D, welche in K stehen, und wenn er auch bei einigen Stellen die Annahme nicht ganz abweisen will, daß der Text in K erweitert, nicht in D verkürzt ist, so erklärte er doch an einigen anderen den Text von D mit größerer Entschiedenheit für zweifelhaft. Die Worte, mit denen in K (13) die Aufforderung zum gerechten Richten begrün-

det wird: „denn nicht Reichtum gilt bei dem Herrn, denn nicht Würden zieht er vor, auch nützt nicht Schönheit, sondern Gleichheit aller herrscht bei ihm“, diese Worte sollen, weil inhaltlich in den Zusammenhang meistens passend, ursprünglich, vom Verfasser von D aber gestrichen worden sein, wenn ihr Fehlen in D nicht etwa leicht hin auf das Versehen eines Abschreibers zurückgeführt werden wolle. Warum aber sollen sie beseitigt worden sein? Auf diese Frage wird geantwortet: vielleicht wegen des rhythmischen, auf ein Gedicht als Quelle hinweisenden Klangs, der dem Verfasser von D nicht zusagen mochte. Diese Begründung wird aber schwerlich als zureichend gelten können. Dem Verfasser von D wird sicherlich zu viel zugetraut, wenn man ihn eine Stelle aus dem angeführten Grund streichen läßt. Der „rhythmische Klang“ ist andererseits ein ziemlich bestimmter Anhaltspunkt für unser Urtheil; denn in den 15 Parallelstellen, die uns zur Würdigung des fraglichen Abschnittes zu Gebote stehen, treffen wir nichts von Rhythmus und poetischer Ausschmückung an, sondern nur kurze und trockene Prosa. Und wenn wir endlich erwägen, daß der Verfasser von K kurz zuvor, wie auch Kramuzschy zugiebt, eine größere Interpolation sich erlaubte, muß fast jeder Zweifel über den Charakter der Stelle schwinden. Die fraglichen Zusätze in K bilden daher kein Hindernis, diese Schrift von D abzuleiten. Nur ist D nicht als ihre alleinige Quelle zu betrachten. Da einige der Zusätze auch in B sich finden, ist anzunehmen, daß der Verfasser von K auch den Barnabasbrief benützte, ihn wenigstens so weit im Gedächtnis hatte, daß er sich bei Abfassung seiner Kompilation

an einigen Stellen durch ihn bestimmen ließ. Holzmann (S. 158 f.) findet es freilich schwer glaublich, daß der so leichtsinnig arbeitende Kompilator — K 4 gleich B 19, 2 dem Gebot der Gottesliebe die Worte beifügend: *καὶ δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου* — hier sorgsamst beide Formen verglichen und aus der einen nachgetragen haben sollte, was in der anderen fehlte. Um aber diesen und einige ähnliche andere Zusätze zu machen, bedurfte es doch schwerlich einer sorgfältigen Vergleichung der Texte. Es genügte, den Barnabas-Brief in einiger Erinnerung zu haben.

Was endlich diesen selbst anlangt, so soll seine Unabhängigkeit von D oder vielmehr die Notwendigkeit, beide Schriften auf eine gemeinsame Grundschrift zurückzuführen, nach Bratke daraus erhellen, daß er Stellen enthalte, in denen die Ursprünglichkeit seines Textes in die Augen springe, während umgekehrt nach anderen Stellen von seiner Priorität und Selbständigkeit nicht die Rede sein könne, hier vielmehr D den ursprünglichen Text bewahrt habe. Gene Stellen seien a) 19, 5 = D 2, 7; b) 19, 11 = D 2, 7; c) 19, 9. 10 = D 4, 1; d) 19, 12 = D 4, 10. Man sehe aber nur die Stellen an, und man wird sich bald überzeugen, daß an ihnen die Ursprünglichkeit für B keineswegs in die Augen springt. Im letzten Fall berühren sich die Stellen nicht einmal; die eine oder die andere Zahl muß auf einem Versehen beruhen. Im übrigen ist für diesen Punkt auf die Erörterung unter Nr. 1 zurückzuverweisen.

Die Textesdifferenzen der verschiedenen Beschreibungen der zwei Wege bieten somit keinen Grund dar, für diese eine unbekannte Quellschrift anzunehmen. Daß

C von D stammt, ist, wie bereits bemerkt wurde, fast einstimmig anerkannt. K ist zu regel- und planlos und zu reich an unberechenbaren Zusätzen und Auslassungen, um weitergehende Schlüsse zu gestatten. B hält sich zwar mehr an den zutreffenden Stoff. Das Schriftstück leidet aber an einer anderen Unregelmäßigkeit. Während C u. K in der Aufeinanderfolge der Sentenzen mit D übereinstimmen, hat es dieser in bunter Weise durcheinandergeworfen, weshalb es in der Frage nach der Quellschrift ebenfalls mit großer Vorsicht zu gebrauchen ist.

Die unbekannte Grundschrift soll indessen noch andere Indizien für sich haben. 1) Das Zitat aus der „Schrift“, das sich bei Klemens v. A. findet, führt Bratke weiter aus, lasse sich nicht auf unsere Apostellehre beziehen, da es von deren Text mehr abweiche, als bei der genauen Textesreproduktion fremder Schriften seitens des Alexandriners zu erwarten sei. 2) Athanasius könne mit seiner Bemerkung im 39. Festbrief ebenfalls nicht unsere Apostellehre gemeint haben, da er die *Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων* als ein Buch zum Unterricht der Katechumenen bezeichne, was jene nicht sei, da ihr größter Teil Anordnungen über Taufe, Abendmahl, sonntäglichen Gottesdienst und Verfassungsangelegenheiten enthalte. 3) Die Stichenangabe des Nicephorus lasse auf ein um ein Drittel kleineres Volumen schließen, als es unsere Apostellehre habe. 4) Das Fragment der lateinischen Uebersetzung, in der D 1, 3—2, 1 fehle, weise auf einen sehr altertümlichen und ursprünglicheren Text hin, als ihn D biete. 5) Da Rufin die *Doctrina quae dicitur apostolorum* an

einem anderen Orte *Duae viae* nenne, habe die ihm vorliegende Apostellehre nur den moralischen Teil von D umfaßt. 6) Wenn Eusebius und Pseudocyprian von Apostellehren im Plural reden, so rühre das davon her, daß beide zwei Schriften kannten, von denen die ältere den Titel *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, die jüngere den Titel *Δ. κυρίου διὰ τ. δ. ἀ. τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* führte, oder aber, was wahrscheinlicher sei, daß beide das Bewußtsein bewahrt haben, unsere heutige Didache sei die Redaktion aus einer alten Quellschrift und einem späteren Supplement. 7) Ähnlich erklären sich die „zweiten Verordnungen“ im Jrenäusfragment nur dann natürlich, wenn man annehme, daß mit ihnen die zweite Redaktion der Apostellehre gemeint sei, während die „ersten Verordnungen“ von der ursprünglichen Apostellehre zu verstehen seien.

Umfangen gewürdigt führen uns aber auch diese Momente nicht über D hinaus zu einer unbekannten Quellschrift. Was vor allem den ersten Punkt anlangt, so ist es richtig, daß Klemens fremde Schriften im allgemeinen sehr genau reproduziert. Aber immer sind seine Citate keineswegs wörtlich getreu. Man vergleiche z. B. seine Citate aus dem Barnabasbrief 2, 2; 16, 8; 21, 5. 6. Ich verweise ferner auf Strom. II, 5, 20 p. 49 = Gen. 33, 11 u. Strom. II, 19, 97 p. 480 = Num. 15, 30. An der letzten Stelle weicht Klemens vom Texte der hl. Schrift ähnlich ab, wie Strom. I, 20, 100 p. 77 von D 3, 5. Es kann daher nicht leicht einem Zweifel unterliegen, daß er unsere Apostellehre kannte, und die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme dürfte wohl

auch durch die von Bratke in Aussicht gestellte Abhandlung nicht in Frage gestellt werden.

Indem ich auf die folgenden Punkte übergehe, erkenne ich unbedingt an, daß die Stichenbezeichnung des Nicephorus nicht auf unsere ganze Schrift paßt. Wenn dem aber auch so ist, so spricht andererseits alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß die Angabe auf einen Teil unserer Schrift und nicht etwa eine andere Rezension zu beziehen ist. Wenn wir nämlich die Stichenangaben des Nicephorus bei den Briefen des Barnabas und Klemens mit seiner Angabe über die Apostellehre vergleichen, so finden wir, daß diese auf die sechs ersten Kapitel der Schrift sich bezieht. Dieser Teil ist aber gerade derjenige, der im Interesse des Katechumenenunterrichtes und aus anderen Gründen leicht für sich allein abgeschrieben werden konnte, und bei diesem Sachverhalt ist zu schließen, daß Nicephorus eben nur ein Teil der Schrift vorlag. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit den Angaben von Athanasius und Rufin, vorausgesetzt, was aber sehr zweifelhaft ist, daß die *Duae viae* mit der Apostellehre identisch sind.

Was die beiden letzten Punkte anlangt, so ist die Idee der Quellschrift den bezüglichen Autoren doch mehr aufgedrängt als ihren Worten entnommen. Von dem Irenäusfragment braucht gar nicht mehr geredet zu werden, da, von der Deutung Bratkes ganz abgesehen, die Beziehung des Schriftstückes auf die Apostellehre allzu fraglich ist. Die Bezeichnung der Schrift aber durch Eusebius und Pseudocyprian im *Literal* dürfte sich zur Genüge aus ihrem Charakter erklären. Die Apostellehre stellt sich ja in der That ebenso als eine

Reihe von Lehren wie als eine Lehre dar. Eher hätte von Bratke auf den Mangel an genauer Uebereinstimmung zwischen dem Citat bei Pseudocyprian und D hingewiesen werden können. Die Differenz wurde in der That mehrfach von anderen betont. Dabei wurde aber stets übersehen, was zuerst hätte ins Auge gefaßt werden sollen, daß Pseudocyprian auch sonst in seinen Citaten nicht genauer ist. Man vergleiche nur *De aleatoribus* 4 mit den Briefen des Apostels Paulus an Timotheus, u. *De aleat.* 10 mit I. Joh. 5, 18. 20.

In dem Fragment der lateinischen Uebersetzung liegt uns allerdings ein ziemlich abweichender Text vor, und daraus erhellt, daß wenigstens im Abendland eine zweite Rezension der Apostellehre in Umlauf war. Aber als ursprüngliche oder Quellschrift kann dieselbe allem nach nicht in Betracht kommen. Denn daß der lateinische Text kürzer ist als D, daß er insbesondere D 1, 2—2, 1 nicht enthält, beweist noch nichts für seine Priorität. Die Zusätze, die er am Anfang gegen D, C und K und im Einklang mit B hat, weisen im Gegenteil entschieden auf eine spätere Bearbeitung hin. Zudem ist das erhaltene Bruchstück so klein, daß auf dasselbe nicht viel zu bauen ist.

Noch weniger endlich als die Textesdifferenzen und die äußeren Zeugnisse führen uns die inneren Gründe zu einer unbekannten Grundschrift. Bratke spricht von Widersprüchen (1, 3—5 : 1, 6; 1, 3 : 2, 1) und Wiederholungen (1, 3—6 : 4, 5—9; 15, 3. 4). Was er aber in dieser Beziehung vorbringt, wird im nächsten Abschnitte seine Erledigung finden, und somit beschränke ich mich hier auf eine Erwiderung auf den dritten Punkt. Es wird

betont, daß Gründe für Aegypten als Heimat der Schrift sprechen, während andere Elemente diese Herkunft so gut wie ausschließen. Was folgt aber daraus? Räumt man auch ein, daß die Erwähnung von Bergen 9, 4 mit dem Ursprung der Schrift in Aegypten nicht zu vereinbaren ist, ist denn aus dem Umstand, daß die Schrift mehr von Aegyptiern als von anderen Kirchenvätern benützt wurde, sofort auf Abfassung in Aegypten zu schließen? Schließt denn ihr Ursprung an einem andern Ort etwa ihre häufigere Benützung und Erwähnung in Aegypten aus? Haben wir nicht auch für den Gebrauch des Klemensbriefes in Aegypten die ausführlichsten Nachrichten? Und doch wurde er, wie bekannt ist, nicht dort geschrieben.

4) Wenn unsere Apostellehre als Originalschrift und als Quelle der anderen Rezensionen der Lehre von den beiden Wegen gelten kann, so erhebt sich noch weiter die Frage, ob sie auch im wesentlichen unverfehrt auf uns kam, oder ob sie nicht vielleicht erhebliche Interpolationen erfuhr?

Es wurde frühzeitig bemerkt, daß D 1, 3—2, 1 in drei von den vier Dokumenten, in denen außer D die Beschreibung der zwei Wege aus dem Altertum auf uns gelangt ist, fehlt, und man hat daraus theils auf die Ueetheit jenes Abschnittes, theils auf das Vorhandensein verschiedener Rezensionen von D geschlossen. Der Punkt fordert zu ernstlicher Prüfung auf. D und C, welche den Abschnitt haben, stehen B, K und L gegenüber als den Abschnitt nicht kennend. Doch ist schwerlich sofort ein Schluß auf Ueetheit oder Interpolation zu ziehen.

Man mag zwar den Erklärungsversuch Gebhardts

(*Texte und Unters.* II, 1 S. 281 f.) etwas beanstanden, daß an der betreffenden Stelle schon frühe ein Blatt ausgefallen und so eine Anzahl lückenhafter Exemplare in Umlauf gekommen sei. Denn wenn der Ausfall eines Blattes an sich als möglich zu gelten hat, so unterliegt die Annahme doch im vorliegenden Fall einigen Bedenken. Es ist nämlich nicht bloß voranzusehen, daß D mit anderen Schriften zu Einem Bande vereinigt war, eine Voraussetzung, gegen die bei dem geringen Umfang der Schrift nicht viel einzuwenden ist, sondern es muß noch weiter angenommen werden, daß D in dem betreffenden Exemplar auf dem Verso eines Blattes etwa in der Mitte anfang, so daß der Rest dieses Blattes die Anfangssätze, das folgende Blatt aber gerade den fraglichen Abschnitt der Apostellehre umfaßte. Auch das kann natürlich so gewesen sein. Zudem wir aber so eine Möglichkeit zu der anderen hinzunehmen müssen, wird die Sache ziemlich unwahrscheinlich, und die Erklärung mag nicht ganz befriedigen. Aber gänzlich ist die Erklärung doch nicht zu verwerfen. Zudem bietet sich noch eine andere dar.

Die Annahme, daß der Abschnitt von den Verfassern der fraglichen Dokumente einfach ausgelassen wurde, ist nicht so unzulässig, als vielfach behauptet wird. Bei B und K kann das Verfahren nicht besonders befremden. Sie sind auch sonst über beträchtliche Stücke in D hinweggegangen, B über 3, 1—6, K über 4, 9—14, ferner über den ganzen Todesweg, und letzterer verfuhr so, obwohl er im Anfang seiner Schrift von zwei Wegen spricht. Anders steht es allerdings bei L, dessen Arbeit sich als Uebersetzung darstellt und in der somit die Aufnahme des Abschnittes mit Grund sich erwarten läßt. Und doch

dürfte auch er noch nicht imstande sein, eine wirkliche Entscheidung gegen die Echtheit des Abschnittes zu geben. Denn einmal ist L nicht bloß Uebersetzer, sondern zugleich Bearbeiter, wie verschiedene Zusätze (und wahrscheinlich auch die Auslassungen) anzeigen. Sodann ist L uns zu wenig bekannt, wir haben von ihm nur ein Fragment von solcher Kürze, daß ihm in dieser Frage schwerlich eine ausschlaggebende Bedeutung zuzuerkennen ist. Die Echtheit des fraglichen Abschnittes ist somit noch immer nicht ausgeschlossen, und sie ist um so weniger aufzugeben, als der Abschnitt die ältesten Zeugen für sich hat, nicht bloß die apostolischen Konstitutionen, sondern auch wahrscheinlich Klemens von Alexandrien, jedenfalls Hermas, so daß er bis in die erste Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts zurückzuverfolgen ist. In Hinsicht auf die äußere Bezeugung ist der Abschnitt daher aufrecht zu erhalten.

Wie steht es nun mit den inneren Gründen? Sprechen sie, wie Warfield in seiner übrigens sehr gelehrten und beachtenswerten Untersuchung über Text, Sources and Contents of »The Two Ways« or First Section of the Didache (Bibliotheca Sacra 1886, 100—161) behauptet, so entschieden für die Unechtheit, daß wenig oder gar kein Zweifel in der Sache bleibt? Bergegenwärtigen wir uns, bevor wir zur Prüfung derselben schreiten, den Gedankengang des Abschnittes. Nachdem 1, 2 die Gebote der Gottes- und der Nächstenliebe sowie die sog. goldene Regel oder das Gebot angeführt worden, dem Nächsten nicht zu thun, was man sich selbst nicht zugefügt wissen wolle, kommen die Worte: „die Lehre dieser Worte aber ist diese“, und auf diese Ankündigung folgt eine

Reihe von Vollkommenheitsprüchen, zuletzt das Gebot, allen Bittenden zu geben, mit Anführung eines Wortes aus einer unbekannten Schrift, das wieder eine Einschränkung jener unbeschränkten Pflicht des Almosengebens enthält. Dann heißt es 2, 1: *Λευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς*, und an diese Worte reihen sich die Gebote, nicht zu töten, nicht zu ehebrechen, überhaupt die weitere Darstellung des Weges des Lebens.

Es wird hienach zweimal eine Erklärung und Ausführung angekündigt, und da die Ausführung der Ankündigung nicht zu entsprechen scheint, glaubte man die Stelle als eine Interpolation verwerfen zu sollen. Man machte geltend, als das „zweite Gebot der Lehre“ sei zweifellos das Gebot der Nächstenliebe zu fassen. Nach der Ankündigung wäre demgemäß eine Entwicklung dieses Gebotes zu erwarten. Aber nicht alles, was folge, betreffe die Nächstenliebe; mehrere der Sentenzen beziehen sich auf das Verhältnis des Menschen zu Gott und sich selbst. Das sei aber nicht das einzig Auffallende. Sei das „zweite Gebot der Lehre“ von der Nächstenliebe zu verstehen; so müsse die entsprechende frühere Stelle: „die Lehre dieser Worte aber ist diese“, auf das erste Gebot oder die Gottesliebe bezogen werden. Diese Beziehung sei aber nach der Stellung der Worte nicht möglich, und in der That sei nach der Ankündigung nicht, wie man doch erwarten sollte, die Gottesliebe, sondern vielmehr die Nächstenliebe entwickelt. Es liege somit eine unerträgliche Inkongruenz vor, und diese werde auch dadurch nicht gehoben, daß man mit Bryennius 1, 3—6 als Gebot, das Gute zu thun, c. 2—4 aber als Gebot, das Böse zu meiden, fasse, da in dem zweiten Abschnitt nicht bloß

Verbote gegeben, sondern auch sittliche Pflichten positiver Art eingeschränkt werden. Indessen widerstrebe der Abschnitt nicht bloß einer Einreihung in den Gedankengang der Apostellehre, sondern er wiederhole auch einen Gegenstand, der bereits seinen ganz richtigen Platz in der Schrift habe, und er thue dies, nicht ohne in Widerspruch mit sich selbst zu kommen. Die positiven Gebote der Liebe haben einen passenden Platz in 4, 5—8, in der Mitte der Abtheilung, die den positiven Pflichten des Weges des Lebens gewidmet sei, und die von den Pflichten des Menschen gegen sich selbst (3, 7—10), gegen die Kirche (4, 1—4), gegen den Armen (4, 5—8) und gegen die Familie (4, 9—11) handle, während sie 1, 5—8 nicht bloß am unrichtigen Orte stehen, sondern auch weniger gut ausgedrückt seien. Der Abschnitt sei ferner von dem übrigen Theil der Schrift auch stilistisch verschieden, und wenn man endlich erwäge, daß nach seiner Ausscheidung die Ordnung eine strenge, logische und sogar schöne werde, so könne das Urtheil über denselben nicht zweifelhaft sein (Warfield l. c. p. 115—119).

Die Gründe erscheinen auf den ersten Anblick als sehr gewichtig, und ich verhehle nicht, daß sie eine Zeit lang auf mich großen Eindruck machten. In der That, wenn es sich ganz so verhält, als die vorstehenden Argumente besagen, dann ist die Echtheit des Abschnittes schwerlich zu behaupten. Allein diese Voraussetzung trifft eben nicht zu. Die Apostellehre ist nicht notwendig in die angeführten Schablonen zu pressen. Daß die zweite Einteilung: thue das Gute und meide das Böse, nicht notwendig ist, braucht nicht weiter bewiesen zu werden. Aber auch die erste ist nicht notwendig; m. a. W., das

δευτέρα ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς — denn um diesen Punkt dreht sich die Frage — ist nicht notwendig vom Gebot der Nächstenliebe zu verstehen, obwohl es bisher fast allgemein so genommen wurde. Wie schon Bryennius in seiner Ausgabe (S. 10) bemerkte, lassen sich die Worte in dem Sinn auf die analogen früheren beziehen, daß sie eine Fortsetzung der durch sie angekündigten Lehre bedeuten. Demgemäß ist nicht so fast zu übersetzen: „das zweite“, als „ein zweites Gebot der Lehre“. Und daß diese Deutung zulässig ist, zeigt noch weiter ein Blick auf die Quelle unserer Stelle, die freilich bisher von niemand beachtet wurde. Wie schon oben (S. 287) angedeutet wurde, ist hier offenbar auf Matth. 19, 16 ff. Bezug genommen. Dort bezeichnet der Herr als Mittel, in das Leben einzugehen, das Halten der Gebote: οὐ φρονέσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις u. s. w. In der hl. Schrift beginnt also eine Beschreibung des Weges des Lebens ganz mit den gleichen Worten, wie hier, und dieses Zusammentreffen ist nicht bloß entscheidend für den Sinn der fraglichen Worte, sondern es giebt auch einen Grund an, der den Verfasser bestimmen konnte, es nicht bei der einen Ankündigungsformel: τοῦτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη, bewenden zu lassen, sondern noch eine zweite anzubringen, die Erklärung der drei bekannten Gebote m. a. W. nicht in einer ununterbrochenen Reihenfolge zu bringen. Der Gedankengang ist demgemäß folgender. Indem der Verfasser zur Erklärung, zur Auseinandersetzung der διδαχῆ der 1, 2 angeführten drei Hauptgebote schreitet, teilt er in erster Linie einige Sentenzen aus der Bergpredigt mit; in zweiter Linie greift er dann auf den Dekalog,

bezw. auf die Beschreibung des Lebensweges Matth. 19, 16 ff. zurück und teilt er überhaupt alle weiteren Lehren mit, die ihm den Weg des Lebens zu begründen scheinen. Daß die Vollkommenheitssprüche den Geboten des Dekaloges vorangehen, das mag, wie Taylor hervorhob, uns als eine nicht ganz entsprechende Ordnung erscheinen. Die umgekehrte Stellung wäre sachgemäßer, sofern die Befolgung der Gebote des Dekaloges für die Erfüllung der höheren Gebote der Bergpredigt die Voraussetzung bildet. Daß aber jene Ordnung gar nicht befolgt werden konnte, wird sich schwerlich behaupten lassen. Von allem andern abgesehen, würde sonst auch wohl ein Interpolator den Vollkommenheitssprüchen einen andern Platz in der Apostellehre angewiesen haben. Im Gegenteil, da die sog. goldene Regel, wenn auch in etwas veränderter Fassung, einen Bestandteil der Bergpredigt bildet, so legte es sich für einen christlichen Autor ziemlich nahe, diese sofort auch zur Erklärung heranzuziehen.

Ein Grund, aus dem die Ursprünglichkeit von D 1, 3 — 2, 1 sich nicht behaupten lassen solle, ist demnach hinfällig, und zwar der Hauptgrund. Die andern Punkte fallen weniger ins Gewicht. Die doppelte Behandlung der Pflicht des Almosengebens dürfte einer Rechtfertigung doch nicht so gar schwer fähig sein. An dem einen Orte (1, 5) ist die Behandlung unmittelbar durch den Zusammenhang angezeigt. Die Bergpredigt enthält wie die Sprüche 1, 3—4 so auch den Spruch 1, 5, und die Aufnahme des letzteren nach 1, 3—4 kann daher kein besonderes Befremden erregen. Daß aber der Autor sich bei der ersten Erörterung nicht begnügte,

sondern später noch einmal auf die Sache zurückkam, dürfte ebenfalls nicht unerklärlich sein. Sehen wir 1,5 näher an, so finden wir, daß an dieser Stelle im ganzen nur der Satz begründet wird: *πᾶσι τῷ αἰτοῦντι σε δίδου*. Es wird nur gezeigt, daß man, und zwar allen, zu geben habe. Weiteres wird über die Pflicht des Almosengebens zunächst nicht gesagt, und bei diesem Sachverhalt kann es gewiß nicht auffallen, wenn auf den Gegenstand noch einmal zurückgegriffen wird. Es läßt sich nur etwa sagen, der Verfasser hätte den Punkt auf einmal voll und ganz erörtern sollen. Man hat aber auch allen Grund zu erwidern, daß der Punkt 1,5 genau so weit behandelt ist, als es dort durch den ganzen Abschnitt angezeigt war, und daß die weitere Erörterung daher mit Recht für einen anderen Ort vorbehalten wurde.

Was endlich den Widerspruch betrifft, der zwischen 1,5 und 1,6 besteht, indem dort betont wird, daß jedem Bittenden gegeben werden solle, während hier ein sonst unbekanntes Diktum angeführt wird, nach dem man mit dem Geben warten solle, bis man wisse, wem man gebe, so ist er nicht so bedeutend, als daß der Abschnitt um seinetwillen für unecht erklärt werden könnte. Einmal ist er kein ganz ausgesprochener, sofern in der zweiten Stelle nicht ausdrücklich gesagt wird, daß man einigen allenfalls auch nicht geben solle. Sodann liegt er nicht in den eigenen Worten des Autors, sondern er wird durch Anführung der Worte eines Dritten veranlaßt, die mit der Ausführung des Verfassers, bezw. einem von ihm gebrauchten Schriftwort sich nicht ganz decken. Unter diesen Umständen läßt die Inkongruenz

eine leichtere Beurteilung zu, und sie ist um so weniger zu betonen, als sie jedenfalls den Text Eines Autors betrifft, sei nun dieser der Verfasser der Apostellehre oder der Interpolator, nicht aber die Texte von zwei verschiedenen Personen.

Der Stand der Frage ist also kurz folgender. Die inneren Gründe, welche die Interpolation des Abschnittes fast zweifellos machen sollen, lösen sich bei näherer Würdigung in nichts auf. Die großen Schwierigkeiten, welche der überlieferte Text der Erklärung bieten soll, sind in Wahrheit nicht vorhanden. Die äußeren Zeugen sind, wie auch Warfield anerkennt, eher für die Echtheit als Unechtheit der Stelle. Demnach hat der Abschnitt als ursprünglich und nicht als die That eines Interpolators zu gelten.

(Fortsetzung im nächsten Heft.)

Zur Apostellehre und apostolischen Kirchenordnung.

Von Prof. Dr. Junf.

5. Hat Justin die Apostellehre gekannt? Die Frage wurde durch Zahn in der Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte VIII (1885), 66—84 erörtert und auf Grund von Apol. I, 61, bezw. einer hier angebrachten Textesemendation bejahend entschieden. Bei Beschreibung der Taufe führt der Apologete dort nämlich zur Begründung ihrer Notwendigkeit, Wirksamkeit und sittlichen Bedingtheit zunächst das Wort des Herrn Joh. 3, 3—5 und die Worte des Propheten Jesaias 1, 16—20 an. Darauf folgen die Worte: *καὶ λόγον δὲ εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμάθομεν τοῦτον*, und an sie setzte Zahn vor allem das Messer der Kritik an, um dann aus der Stelle die Kenntniss der Apostellehre seitens Justins zu erschließen. Die Stelle, meint er, könne nicht anders verstanden werden, denn als Einführung eines nun folgenden Wortes, sei es nun eines wörtlichen Citates aus einer apostolischen Schrift, oder einer freien Wiedergabe der Gedanken einer solchen, oder einer nur mündlich fortgepflanzten apostolischen Paradosis; es folge aber nicht, was der hierdurch erregten Erwartung entspreche; der

überlieferte Text könne also nicht richtig sein, und gegen eine etwaige Aenderung sei um so weniger einzuwenden, als der Text nur auf Einem Zeugen beruhe und die Eine Handschrift nicht wenige Fehler aufweise, wie denn Otto in dem fraglichen Kapitel allein an zwei Stellen geändert habe; das Schlußwort, das *τοῦτον* sei als unerträglich auszustoßen, und der *λόγος*, den die Christen bezüglich der Taufe nach der nun gereinigten Stelle von den Aposteln erhalten hätten, sei nichts anderes als die Apostellehre; eine mündliche Ueberlieferung sei nicht anzunehmen, da nach den neueren Entdeckungen das geschriebene Wort in der alten Kirche eine viel größere Rolle spielte, als man früher anzunehmen geneigt gewesen sei, da es nachweislich keine mündliche Ueberlieferung des Inhaltes gegeben, daß die Apostel die einzelnen Formen des kirchlichen Taufritus angeordnet haben, und da der von Justin selbst gewählte Ausdruck einer derartigen Annahme nicht günstig sei.

Die Beweisführung zeugt zwar von dem großen Scharffinn, den wir an den Arbeiten Zahn's gewöhnt sind; aber sie unterliegt doch manchen ernststen Bedenken. Was namentlich den letzten Punkt anlangt, so hat man allen Grund zu fragen, ob denn Justin, wenn er unter *λόγος* eine Schrift und nicht eine mündliche Ueberlieferung verstanden wissen wollte, nicht *παρελήφαιμεν* oder etwas Aehnliches eher gesetzt hätte als *ἐμάθομεν*. Doch ich will auf derartige untergeordnete Punkte nicht weiter eingehen, da meines Erachtens die Voraussetzung unrichtig ist, von der Zahn ausgeht. Die bisherige Uebersetzung der fraglichen Worte soll „einfach falsch“ sein. Ich finde das keineswegs. Daß *εἰς* statt *περὶ* oder des

bloßen Genetivus gebraucht ist, darf bei einem Schriftsteller wie Justin doch nicht allzusehr verwundern, um so weniger, als das εἰς τοῦτο überhaupt eine beliebte Phrase bei ihm ist (vgl. Apol. I, 35. 39. 44. 50. 51. 52. 55), und wenn es je so wäre, so würde es sich eben noch weiter fragen, ob die Aenderung nicht an diesem Punkt einzutreten hätte. Auch erscheint das Folgende mit dem Satz keineswegs so ganz unvereinbar, wie Zahn behauptet, wenn man nur nicht von der Voraussetzung ausgeht, daß alles und selbst wörtlich in den Schriften der Apostel zu finden sein müsse, eine Voraussetzung, die überhaupt nicht vorschnell zu machen ist, und die bei Justin um so weniger gerechtfertigt erscheint, wenn man in Betracht zieht, wie frei oder nachlässig er selbst da verfährt, wo er ausdrücklich ein Schriftwort ankündigt. Es sei nur auf Apol. I, 52 verwiesen, wo der Apologete eine Weissagung von Zacharias ankündigt, den Worten dieses Propheten aber auch Worte von Jesaias und eigene beifügt, sowie auf Apol. I, 35. 51, wo er Worte von Sophonias und Jeremias ankündigt, thatsächlich aber solche von Zacharias und Daniel anführt.

Wenn aber der Beweis für die Kenntniß der Apostellehre seitens Justins durch Zahn nicht erbracht wurde, so dürfte Zahn doch in der Sache selbst recht haben. Der Apologete hat in der That die Apostellehre gekannt, wie sich aus Nachstehendem ergibt.

Um die sittliche Ueberlegenheit des Christentums über das Heidentum zu beweisen, führt Justin c. 15—17 eine Reihe von Aussprüchen Christi an, und diese sind so ausgewählt, daß der Abschnitt sich nahe mit dem ersten Kapitel der Apostellehre berührt. Das Zusammen-

treffen ist schwerlich ganz zufällig. Doch dürfte es wohl kaum besonders betont werden, wenn dazu nicht noch ein ganz besonderer Grund vorhanden wäre. Wie die Apostellehre, so bringt auch Justin c. 16 das „erste Gebot“. Die Stellen zeigen zwar im großen und ganzen geringe Uebereinstimmung. Das Citat Justins enthält nicht nur einerseits die biblischen Worte „aus deinem ganzen Herzen und aus deiner ganzen Kraft“, die in der Apostellehre fehlen, sondern es wird die betreffende Schriftstelle mit der analogen Matth. 4, 10 verquickt, bezw. mit dem Worte des Herrn an den Satan: „Du sollst den Herrn deinen Gott anbeten und ihm allein dienen“, so daß das Gebot bei dem Apologeten in einer ganz eigenartigen Fassung erscheint. Aber bei aller Verschiedenheit zeigt sich andererseits eine höchst bedeutsame Uebereinstimmung. Justin schließt das Citat, indem er die Anfangsworte *κύριον τὸν Θεόν* wiederholt, und zwar mit dem Beisatz: *τὸν ποιῶντὰ σε*. Wie ist dieser Beisatz zu erklären? Semisch nennt ihn, wie Otto zu der Stelle bemerkt, einen eingedrungenen unbiblischen Zusatz, der dem Zorneifer Justins über die Behauptung des Gnostizismus seinen Ursprung verdanke, daß der Gott des Christentums ein anderer als der welt schöpferische Judengott sei, wie das *ὁ ποιῶν τὰ πάντα* im nächsten Citat noch weiter andeute. Die Worte waren vormals nicht leicht anders zu erklären. Seitdem aber die Apostellehre bekannt ist, steht die Sache anders, und wie mir scheint, braucht man nur an das *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιῶντὰ σε* in jener Schrift zu erinnern, um in ihnen die Quelle des fraglichen „unbiblischen Zusatzes“ zu finden und eben damit zu erkennen, daß Justin die

Apostellehre gekannt habe. Allerdings finden sich die Worte auch im Barnabasbrief (19, 2). Aber bei Justin stammen sie ohne Zweifel nicht aus diesem. Vor allem sind sie schon deswegen mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf die Apostellehre zurückzuführen, weil diese Schrift bei ihrer Bestimmung für den Katechumenenunterricht und ihrem Gebrauch bei der Taufe weit mehr bekannt sein mußte als der Barnabasbrief. Dazu kommt, daß, wie wir gesehen, Justin in dem fraglichen Abschnitt auch sonst sich einigermaßen mit der Apostellehre berührt. Endlich weist die Stellung der Worte mehr auf diese als die andere Schrift hin, da Barnabas näherhin *τὸν σε ποιῶντα* schrieb.

6. Lag die uns bekannte lateinische Bearbeitung bereits Lactanz vor? Gebhardt führte als Momente, welche für Bejahung der Frage sprechen, an, daß Lactanz Divin. Instit. VI, 3 in Verbindung mit den beiden Wegen von den beiden Führern handelt, und an demselben Ort, wo er dieser gedenkt, die beiden Wege durch Herbeiziehung des Gegensatzes von Licht und Schatten charakterisiert, zwei Punkte, die sich in dem lateinischen Fragment ebenfalls finden. Vgl. Harnack, die Lehre d. zw. Ap. S. 285 f. Er räumte zwar ein, daß das Zusammentreffen Zufall sein könne, glaubt aber, daß es immerhin Beachtung und ernsthafte Erwägung verdiene.

Den Punkten kann noch ein weiterer beigelegt werden. Epit. c. 64 kommt Lactanz auf die Gebote zu sprechen und erwähnt: non occidere, non adulterare, non falsum testimonium dicere, non adulari. Ist das bei dem bekannten Schluß unseres Fragmentes nicht auffallend? Und

wird die Wahrscheinlichkeit, die Gebhardt gewonnen zu haben glaubte, durch den Punkt nicht verstärkt?

Trotzdem wage ich die Kenntniss unseres lateinischen Textes seitens des Lactanz nicht zu bejahen, und in dieser Zurückhaltung bestimmt mich hauptsächlich der Umstand, daß das Zusammentreffen bezüglich der beiden ersten Punkte nicht so stark und nicht so auffallend ist, als Gebhardt meinte. Lactanz wurde nämlich, wie er mit den Worten: *has igitur vias longe aliter inducimus, quam a philosophis induci solent*, selbst deutlich zu verstehen giebt, durch die heidnische Lehre veranlaßt, von den Führern zu reden, und da er als Führer zum Himmel nicht einen Engel, sondern vielmehr Gott bezeichnet, so wird es sehr zweifelhaft, ob er in diesem Punkte von der lateinischen Apostellehre bestimmt wurde. Ähnlich verhält es sich mit der Rede von Licht und Finsternis. Dieselbe wurde veranlaßt durch die Polemik gegen die Alten, welche den Lauf des menschlichen Lebens oder die zwei Wege mit dem Buchstaben Y verglichen, eine Vergleichung, der gegenüber bemerkt wird, die Wege seien vielmehr dem Aufgang und dem Untergang zugekehrt, und wer den einen einschlage, werde ewiges Licht erlangen; wer aber von dem bösen Führer verleitet die Laster den Tugenden vorziehe, werde *ad occasum et tenebras* verstoßen werden. In beiden Fällen bildet also eine nichtchristliche Lehre den Ausgangspunkt zu der Berührung mit der lateinischen Apostellehre; die Berührung ist zudem eine ziemlich oberflächliche, und so wird man sich wohl zu hüten haben, sie auf Kenntniss dieser Schrift zurückzuführen. Der dritte Punkt läßt nun allerdings eine derartige Erklärung nicht zu. Die Ber-

urteilung des *adulari* in dem fraglichen Zusammenhang ist sicherlich sehr auffallend, und sie dürfte unsere Frage entscheiden, wenn es sonst nur einigermaßen wahrscheinlich gemacht werden könnte, daß Lactanz unsern lateinischen Text gekannt habe. Da aber dem nicht so ist, da bei der Beschränkung, die sich Lactanz in Erwähnung der Gebote auferlegt, überhaupt nicht sicher ist, ob er an dem fraglichen Orte die Apostellehre und nicht vielmehr den Dekalog berücksichtigte; da er endlich die beiden ersten Gebote nicht einmal in der Reihenfolge bringt, die sie in dem Fragment einnehmen, von dem verschiedenen Wortausdruck gar nicht zu reden, so wage ich auf den Punkt nicht zu bauen.

7. Kennt Athanasius die Apostellehre auch außerhalb des 39. Festbriefes? Diese Frage ist deswegen zu erörtern, weil neuerdings die stillschweigende Benützung der Apostellehre in Schriften nachgewiesen wurde, die unter dem Namen des Bischofs von Alexandrien in Umlauf kamen, zuletzt durch die Amerikaner Harris und Orris die Benützung im *Syntagma doctrinae* und der *Fides Nicaena* (Migne, P. Gr. t. 28 p. 833. 1638), andererseits der athanasianische Ursprung dieser Schriften Verteidiger fand. Eichhorn glaubte in seiner Dissertation: *Athanasii de vita ascetica testimonia collecta* 1886, sowohl die Schrift *De virginitate* als das *Syntagma Athanasius* zusprechen zu sollen, und Harnack findet sich durch seine Argumente so sehr überzeugt, daß er in der *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 1887 S. 33 ohne weiteres von einer Bearbeitung der *Didache* durch den Bischof v. A. spricht, die für die Echtheit der Schrift *De virginitate* vorgebrachten Gründe für beachtenswert erklärt.

Ich vermag die Ansicht nicht zu teilen. Was vor allem die Schrift *De virginitate* anlangt, so sehe ich nicht, daß Eichhorn (S. 27 f.) Punkte von Bedeutung berührt hätte, die nicht bereits auch von den gelehrten Herausgebern des Athanasius gewürdigt sein konnten und bei ihrer bekannten Gründlichkeit sicherlich auch berücksichtigt wurden. Wohl aber finde ich, daß gegen den athanasianischen Ursprung der Schrift noch andere Punkte sprechen, als von den Benediktinern in ihrer kritischen Vorbemerkung geltend gemacht wurden. Ich will nicht betonen, daß der Autor c. 3 das Wort *θεοτόκος* gebraucht, da dieses Wort bereits auch zur Zeit des Athanasius und sogar noch früher im kirchlichen Sprachgebrauch nachweisbar ist, obwohl es bei der früheren Seltenheit in unserer Frage nicht ganz ohne Bedeutung ist. Aber das Glaubensbekenntnis, das an der Spitze der Schrift steht, ist schwerlich Athanasius zuzusprechen, da in ihm Vater, Sohn und Geist als *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* bezeichnet werden. Athanasius wußte allerdings, wie das Schreiben der Synode von Alexandrien 362 (Harduin 1, 730 ff.) zeigt, diesem Sprachgebrauch einen orthodoxen Sinn abzugewinnen. Daß er aber diese Formel sollte selbst gebraucht haben, ist bei dem Sprachgebrauch, der zur Zeit des Nicänums und noch geraume Zeit nachher herrschte, gegen alle Wahrscheinlichkeit. Will man daher die fragliche Schrift ihm zusprechen, so hat man vor allem jenen Sprachgebrauch bei ihm nachzuweisen.

Bezüglich des *Syntagma* stützt sich Eichhorn (S. 15 f.) auf den Beweis, den Revillout in den *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* III^e série t. IV p. 469 not. 4 für den athanasianischen Ursprung erbracht

haben soll. Dieses Organ steht mir leider nicht zu Gebot, um eine nähere Prüfung der Frage aufstellen zu können. Doch dürfte mich auch die Ausführung im *Journal Asiatique* 7^e série t. 5 p. 14 sq., wo Revillout gleichfalls von der Sache handelt, berechtigen, wenigstens vorläufig mein Urtheil abzugeben. Während man sichere Argumente erwartet, da ein Dokument der Synode von Alexandrien 362 zugewiesen werden soll, in dem nichts auf diesen Ursprung hinweist, das nicht einmal das bekannte Schreiben der Synode an die Antiochener enthält, sieht man sich auf allgemeine und zum Theil sogar unrichtige Behauptungen hingewiesen: das von Sokrates (H. E. 1, 13) erwähnte Synodikum des Athanasius sei identisch mit den Akten des Konzils von Alexandrien 362; es werde auch von Gregor von Nazianz in Epist. I ad Cledon. c. 2 ausdrücklich so bezeichnet, während dieser an dem angezogenen Ort doch ausdrücklich von einer abendländischen, somit römischen Synode redet, nicht von einer alexandrinischen. Vgl. *Bulletin critique* 1881 p. 331. Bei diesem Sachverhalt haben wir allen Grund, die These Revillouts vorerst abzulehnen. Der athanasianische Ursprung des Syntagmas ist demgemäß noch nicht bewiesen; er ist erst noch zu beweisen, und bei dem Urtheil, das bereits die gelehrten Benediktiner-Herausgeber gefällt, indem sie die Schrift nicht etwa unter die dubia, sondern die spuria opera des Bischofs von Alexandrien einreichten, dürfte der Beweis nicht so gar leicht zu erbringen sein. Das Urtheil gründet sich allerdings vorzüglich auf die große sprachliche Verschiedenheit des Syntagmas von den echten Werken des Athanasius und die sprachlichen Anzeichen eines späteren Ursprungs. Aber auch so verdient

es unsere Beachtung. Zudem dürfte auch noch ein anderer Punkt auf eine spätere Zeit hinweisen. Das Syntagma schärft c. 2 das Fasten am Mittwoch und Freitag ein, ausgenommen Krankheit, Pfingsten und Epiphanie. Pfingsten bedeutet natürlich nicht den Festtag, sondern die demselben vorangehende Zeit von 7 Wochen. Ähnlich ist der Ausdruck Epiphanie zu deuten. Er bezeichnet zweifellos die Zeit von Weihnachten bis Epiphanie, und wenn dem so ist, kann das Syntagma nicht von Athanasius herrühren, da Aegypten zu dessen Zeit das Weihnachtsfest noch nicht kannte, die Erinnerung an die Geburt Jesu nach Cassian (Coll. 10, 2) noch am Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts daselbst an Epiphanie gefeiert wurde. Deutlicher drückt sich in dieser Beziehung die Fides Nicaena aus, die in ihrem zweiten oder disziplinären Teil mit dem Syntagma fast wörtlich zusammenstimmt. Statt von Epiphanie redet sie von 12 Festen des Herrn, d. i. offenbar von den 12 Tagen zwischen Weihnachten und Epiphanie (Migne 1640 B). Dieselbe giebt sich auch durch ihre Parteinahme für den Anthropomorphismus (Migne 1639 B) als ein pseudo-athanasianisches oder vielmehr pseudonicänisches Machwerk zu erkennen, da sie sich als Glaube und Lehre der Väter von Nicäa einführt. Diese Schrift ist also zweifellos ein Falsum. Und mit dem Syntagma dürfte es sich kaum anders verhalten, wenn nicht Revillout etwa in den Archives ganz andere Beweise vorbrachte als im Journal Asiatique.

8. Zum Schluß sei die Aufmerksamkeit noch der zweiten Schrift besonders zugewendet, die in der Ueberschrift genannt ist, der apostolischen Kirchenordnung.

Der erste Teil derselben war bei ihrer engen Beziehung zur Apostellehre schon in dem Bisherigen zu berücksichtigen. Auch der zweite Teil wurde in der neuesten Zeit mehrfach zum Gegenstand gelehrter Untersuchung gemacht. Eine Hauptfrage, welche zu lösen ist, betrifft die etwaigen Quellen der Schrift, und dieser Punkt soll im Nachstehenden erörtert werden.

Wie für den ersten, glaubte Krawužky in seiner gelehrten Untersuchung auch für den zweiten Teil der Schrift eine Vorlage annehmen zu müssen, teils auf Grund der allgemeinen Wahrnehmung, daß eine Reihe von Sätzen deutlich das Gepräge hohen kirchlichen Altertums an sich trage, während dazwischen Bemerkungen sich finden, welche ebenso deutlich als spätere und zum Teil recht sonderbare Zuthaten sich erweisen sollen, teils weil einige Stellen eine Wiederholung zu enthalten oder in dem gegenwärtigen Text eine entsprechende Erklärung nur unter der Voraussetzung zu finden scheinen, daß sie auf einer Vorlage beruhen, die nicht immer glücklich geändert wurde, teils weil der in der Einleitung enthaltene Plan und die Ausführung der Schrift nicht ganz übereinstimmen. Vgl. Qu.Schr. 1882 S. 399. 402. 403. 404. 408. 413. Während er aber auf Hervorhebung der in Betracht kommenden Gesichtspunkte sich beschränkte, suchte Harnack die Vorlage oder vielmehr, da ihm die doppelte Rede über die Diakonen (c. 20. 22) die Annahme einer doppelten Quellenschrift zu gebieten schien, die Vorlagen genau zu umschreiben und Altes und Neues in der Schrift sorgfältig zu sondern. Schon in seiner Schrift über die Apostellehre (S. 212—217) bezeichnete er die Kapitel 16—21 und 22—29 als Be-

standteile von zwei älteren Schriften, von denen die eine, aus dem Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts, von der *κατάστασις τοῦ κλήρου*, die andere, aus dem Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts, von der *κατάστασις τῆς ἐκκλησίας* gehandelt habe. Jüngst gab er die betreffenden Stücke in einer besonderen Schrift — Die Quellen der sog. apost. Kirchenordnung nebst einer Untersuchung über den Ursprung des Lektorats und der anderen niederen Weihen 1886; Bd. II Heft 5 der Texte und Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. altchr. Lit. — mit eingehendem Kommentar heraus, und daraus ersieht man näher, daß ihm die fraglichen Kapitel fast ganz, nur wenige Worte ausgenommen, älteren Schriften entnommen zu sein scheinen. Ueber das Alter der beiden Schriften denkt er aber jetzt etwas anders. Er macht bezüglich der Entstehungszeit zwischen ihnen keinen Unterschied mehr, und beide als älter betrachtend als früher die älteste, geht er nunmehr über das Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts zurück, in das Zeitalter Justins und der Pastoralbriefe, an denen sie hinsichtlich der Gemeindeorganisation ihre nächste Parallele haben (S. 55).

Durch die apostolische Kirchenordnung würden uns also Schriftstücke aus der Mitte oder dem dritten Viertel des 2. Jahrhunderts erhalten; unseren Nachrichten über jene Zeit würde damit zwar nicht gerade ein großer, aber bei ihrer Dürftigkeit immerhin höchst beachtenswerter Zuwachs zu teil, und wir hätten demnach allen Grund, uns über die Entdeckung zu freuen. Ich kann indessen in die Freude noch nicht einstimmen. Der Weg, auf dem die neuen Schriftstücke entdeckt wurden, flößt mir eine Reihe von Bedenken ein, und vorerst vermag ich dieselben nicht so hoch zu stellen.

Vor allem ist die Annahme zweier Quellschriften von dem gedachten Umfang nicht stichhaltig. Als ernstlicher Grund kann für sie nur die angebliche Doublette über den Diakon vorgebracht werden. Eine Doublette im eigentlichen Sinn liegt aber hier nicht vor. Davon könnte nur die Rede sein, wenn die beiden Abschnitte auffallende Wiederholungen enthielten. Das ist indessen nicht der Fall. In beiden Stücken wird zwar für die Diakonen die Pflicht geltend gemacht, nicht auf die Person zu sehen und die Reichen zu guten Werken zu ermahnen. Aber die Sentenzen haben nicht nur einen verschiedenen Wortlaut, sie stehen auch in einem etwas verschiedenen Kontext, und der zweite Satz erhält bei seiner Wiederholung, was er an der ersten Stelle nicht hatte, eine biblische Begründung, so daß wir in c. 22 eher eine weitere Ausführung oder eine Ergänzung zu c. 20 als eine Doublette vor uns haben. Allerdings möchte man die weitere Ausführung unmittelbar im Anschluß an c. 20 erwarten. Aber die Trennung darf nicht besonders befremden; sie ist, da c. 21 von den Wittwen-Diakonissen gehandelt wird, mehr scheinbar als wirklich, und Ähnliches kommt auch sonst vor. Man vergleiche z. B. die apostolischen Konstitutionen II, 24. 57; III, 15. 19, und zwar nicht etwa nur im überarbeiteten Text, sondern auch in der Handschrift. Zudem erhebt sich die Frage, was denn den Verfasser bestimmen konnte, für den Diakon noch eine zweite Quellschrift heranzuziehen? Wenn das zweite Stück sich auch als weitere Ausführung gegenüber dem ersten darstellt, so bringt es doch nichts Neues von Bedeutung, und um einen solchen Beisatz zu machen, greift man doch

nicht leicht über eine schon bereit liegende Quelle hinaus zu einer weiteren; ein derartiger Beisatz ist vielmehr auf eine gleiche Vorlage zurückzuführen, und so spricht die weitaus größere Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß mit c. 22 nicht eine neue Quellschrift beginnt, sondern daß die Kapitel 20—22 ursprünglich zusammengehören und daß c. 22 den Abschluß der ganzen Auseinandersetzung über die Diakonen bildet.

In zweiter Linie erregt die Ausdehnung, in der hier die Vorlage einfach abgeschrieben sein soll, mein Bedenken. Sollten denn, wie man uns versichert, die Kapitel 16—29 oder wenigstens 16—28, da Harnack in seiner zweiten Abhandlung c. 29 fallen ließ, wirklich fast voll und wörtlich aus der Vorlage in die neue Schrift herübergenommen sein? So gar einfach nahm der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung seine Aufgabe auch gegenüber der Apostellehre nicht, sondern er machte wiederholt bald größere, bald kleine Zusätze. Sollte er ein ähnliches Verfahren nicht auch im zweiten Teile seiner Arbeit beobachtet haben, und muß dieses nicht um so mehr angenommen werden, als hier der Inhalt weit mehr Anlaß zu Zusätzen bot, indem die kirchlichen Ordines, von denen die Rede ist, sich im Laufe der Zeit beträchtlich vermehrten? So ganz ist daher der zweite Teil nicht bis auf einige wenige Worte von einer Vorlage herzuleiten; manches ist vielmehr nach dem bekannten Verfahren des Verfassers auf dessen Rechnung zu schreiben. Welches diese Thaten des Verfassers sind, ist freilich nicht zu bestimmen, da uns jeder sichere Maßstab dazu fehlt. Die Bestimmung ist aber vorerst überhaupt nicht notwendig. Zunächst genügt die Er-

kenntnis, daß das summarische Verfahren, mit dem Harnack die Kapitel 16—28 der Kirchenordnung in Bauch und Bogen dem Verfasser der Schrift abspricht und für ein Produkt des 2. Jahrhunderts erklärt, keine Berechtigung hat.

Indessen ist nicht bloß die weite Ausdehnung der Quellschrift unbegründet, sondern es sind die für die Quellschrift überhaupt vorgebrachten Gründe mehr oder weniger zweifelhaft.

Ein Hauptgrund, auf den sich die These stützt, liegt in der Anordnung über die Zahl der Presbyter. Die vom Verfasser befürwortete Dreizahl soll mit der folgenden Begründung ebenso in Widerspruch stehen als die zuerst in Vorschlag gebrachte, dann aber verworfene Zweizahl mit ihr übereinstimmen. Und es ist richtig: die Stelle hat, so wie sie vorliegt, für uns nicht wenig Auffallendes. Aber sie bleibt auch in der angeblichen Quellschrift etwas anstößig, und wenn nicht andere Gründe dagegen stünden, wäre gegen den Versuch Hilgenfelds, 24 statt 2 zu setzen, nicht viel einzuwenden. Dabei ist zu erwägen, ob der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung die Zweizahl wohl durch die Dreizahl verdrängt hätte, wenn er jene mit der in Betracht kommenden und, wie man glaubt, allein passenden Begründung vorgefunden hätte. So hoch man auch die Ungeschicklichkeit des Kompilators anschlagen mag, so wird ihm doch ein derartiger Mißgriff nicht vorschnell zuzutrauen sein, der in seine Arbeit einen so unbedingten und eklatanten Widerspruch gebracht hätte. Oder sollte er etwa auf die Dreizahl so sehr erpicht gewesen sein, daß ihn die Vorliebe für dieselbe förmlich blind machte? Das wird

wohl schwerlich anzunehmen sein, und zwar um so weniger, als der Verfasser, wenn er die vorgefundene Zahl nicht etwa stehen lassen wollte, nur um eine Stufe weiter zu gehen brauchte, um die Zahlenharmonie zu bewahren. Die beiden Zahlen sind also keineswegs so leichter Hand auf verschiedene Autoren zurückzuführen. Wir haben vielmehr ernstlichen Grund zu fragen, ob nicht etwa auch die Dreizahl mit der folgenden Begründung sich vereinbaren läßt, und in dieser Beziehung verdient der Vorschlag, den Duchesne (Bulletin crit. 1886 N. 19) zur Lösung der Schwierigkeit machte, alle Beachtung. Da es dem Verfasser anerkanntermaßen nur darauf ankommt, zu beiden Seiten des Bischofs eine gleiche Anzahl von Personen zu haben, und die Zahl verlangt wird mit Rücksicht auf die zweimal zwölf Ältesten der Apokalypse, so läßt sich wohl denken, daß ihm bei der verlangten Dreizahl der Presbyter die später folgende Dreizahl der Diakonen vorschwebte, die ja ebenfalls zur Seite des Bischofs Dienste zu leisten hatten, und die Vermutung ist um so begründeter, als die Ältesten zur Linken mit einer Aufgabe, die sonst die Diakonen zu verrichten hatten, der Aufrechterhaltung der Ruhe und Ordnung, betraut, dagegen von dem über einen Unbotmäßigen abzuhaltenden Gericht ausgeschlossen werden. Daß der Autor auch hier den Ausdruck *πρεσβύτεροι* gebraucht, darf gegen die Lösung nicht eingewendet werden. Der Ausdruck bezeichnet nicht bloß die Presbyter, sondern auch die Ältesten der Apokalypse, und er war nicht zu umgehen, da diese den Vergleichungspunkt bilden.

Weiter wird für die Grundschrift geltend gemacht, daß der Lektor in der Einleitung nach, in der Ausführ-

ung vor dem Diakon behandelt werde. Harnack hat sich durch die eigenthümliche Reihenfolge der kirchlichen Aemter an der zweiten Stelle sogar zu einer besonderen Untersuchung über den Ursprung des Lektorates bestimmen lassen, und er ist dabei zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, der Lektorat habe sich nicht, wie die gewöhnliche Annahme lautet, aus dem Diakonat als seine Abzweigung entwickelt, sondern neben der episkopal-diakonalen Organisation der Gemeinde seine eigene Wurzel gehabt, der Lektor sei ursprünglich zu den charismatischen Personen in der Kirche, zu den Propheten und Lehrern, gerechnet worden, seine Aufgabe sei nicht bloß das Vorlesen, sondern auch das Erklären und Erbauen gewesen, nach und nach sei er aber aus seiner höheren anfänglichen Stellung in seine untergeordnete spätere herabgesunken, und wenn diese These bewiesen wäre, dann bestände wohl Grund zu der Annahme, die Kirchenordnung biete uns an der fraglichen Stelle wirklich ein Stück ältester kirchlicher Verfassung. Da aber der Beweis in Wahrheit nicht erbracht wurde, da bei unbefangener Betrachtung nirgends von einem höheren Rang des Lektors gegenüber dem Diakon etwas wahrzunehmen ist, so haben wir die fragliche Anordnung anders zu erklären. Krawutschky folgert aus ihr einfach einen anderen Autor für die Einleitung und einen anderen für die Rechtsvorschriften. Der Schluß ist indessen nicht zwingend. Plan und Ausführung müssen nicht notwendig strenge übereinstimmen, sie weichen bisweilen sogar erheblich von einander ab, wie der Diognetbrief zeigt. Wir können also auch in unserem Fall Einen Autor annehmen, und wenn wir nach den Gründen fragen, die ihn etwa bestimmten, bei der Ausführung den Lektor dem

Diakon nicht folgen zu lassen, sondern voranzustellen, so dürfte in erster Linie daran zu erinnern sein, daß er in unmittelbarer Verbindung mit dem Diakon von der Wittwe-Diakonisse handeln wollte und daß es ihm als unpassend erscheinen mochte, dem Lektor den Platz hinter letzterer anzuweisen. Vielleicht war hiebei noch ein anderer Gesichtspunkt wirksam, der durch Duchesne (*Bulletin crit.* 1886 p. 367) hervorgehoben wurde. Da der Verfasser von den gottesdienstlichen Funktionen der Diakonen schon im Vorausgehenden sprach, konnte er sich versucht fühlen, nun sofort auch von dem Lektor zu handeln, da derselbe außerhalb der Liturgie keinen Dienst zu verrichten hatte.

Mit mehr Grund ist für das Vorhandensein einer Vorlage anzuführen, daß in der Einleitung etwas mehr angekündigt als nachher ausgeführt wird. In Anbetracht des Verfahrens, das im ersten Teil beobachtet ist, indem anfangs von zwei Wegen gesprochen, später aber nur einer wirklich beschrieben wird, könnte man zwar fragen, ob dem Punkte wirklich eine ernstliche Bedeutung beizumessen sei. Ich will indessen auf dem Einwand nicht bestehen, und dies um so weniger, als ich keineswegs der Ansicht bin, der zweite Teil der Kirchenordnung sei eine durchaus selbständige Komposition, sondern die Arbeit auch hier als Kompilation betrachte und nur bestreite, daß man, abgesehen von den benützten Stellen des Klementenbriefes, gewisse Abschnitte mit Sicherheit als ältere Bestandteile ausscheiden könne. Das Moment soll also gelten. Aber was gewinnen wir mit ihm? Beweist es in Wahrheit, daß die Rechtsvorschriften älter sind als der Verfasser der Kirchenordnung? Nach dem, was sich

uns bereits ergeben hat, ist der Schluß keineswegs notwendig. Es muß vielmehr umgekehrt als möglich gelten, daß der Verfasser in der Einleitung fremdes und älteres Material in seinen Dienst zog. Doch kommen wir auch hier über die bloße Möglichkeit nicht hinaus, und so haben wir mit unserem Wissen über das Maß und die Art der benützten Quellen eben zu bescheiden. Sicher ist nur, wie bereits angedeutet, die Verwertung des Aemensbriefes. Was darüber hinausgeht, fällt mehr oder weniger in den Bereich der Vermutung.

Indessen fehlen uns nicht bloß hinreichende Gründe, die Kirchenordnung zum größeren Teil auf ältere Schriftstücke zurückzuführen; die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht im Gegenteil dafür, daß die Arbeit im großen und ganzen, soweit das bei dem Werk eines Kompilators anzunehmen ist, einen einheitlichen Ursprung habe. Es folgt das aus der überall gleichen Stufe der Entwicklung der kirchlichen Verfassung, eine Uebereinstimmung, die sich mit der Annahme schwer verträgt, daß ihre Verfasser etwa anderthalb Jahrhunderte auseinander lebten. Oder sollte es glaublich sein, daß ein Mann, der um das Jahr 300 kirchliche Rechtsvorschriften aufstellen wollte, sich einfach an den Stand der kirchlichen Verfassung um das Jahr 150 hielt? Sollte er nicht das Bedürfnis empfunden haben, den einen oder anderen der inzwischen aufgetretenen und zur allgemeinen Verbreitung gelangten weiteren niederen Ordines in seiner Gesetzgebung zu berücksichtigen? Wie mir scheint, braucht man die Frage nur zu stellen, um sofort auch die Antwort zu haben, und wenn es je eines Beweises bedürfte, würden ihn schon die apostolischen Konstitutionen in ihrer zweifachen Textesgestalt ergeben.

Verhält es sich aber so, dann ist die Schrift nicht unter das 3. Jahrhundert herabzusetzen. Ein Punkt, die Erwähnung der *ἐπαρχία* in der Einleitung, wurde zwar mehrfach als Zeichen einer späteren Zeit gedeutet. Pitra sprach vom Schluß des 4. Jahrhunderts, da vor dem Konzil von Konstantinopel 381 sich keine Spur von einem kirchlichen Exarchat finde; Krawutschky vom Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts, da schon die Synode von Nicäa c. 6 hinsichtlich der Eparchien und bischöflichen Rangunterschiede eine Entscheidung zu treffen veranlaßt war. Wenn man aber erwägt, daß die Synode von Nicäa die Eparchien nicht erst einrichtete, sondern bereits vorfand und mit Rücksicht auf sie sogar von alter Sitte spricht, so hindert nichts, über das 4. Jahrhundert hinauszugehen; und wenn man weiter in Betracht zieht, daß nach dem Brief Phirmilians von Cäsarea an Cyprian die Metropolitanverfassung wenigstens im Orient schon um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts ziemlich ausgebildet war, so läßt sich die Kirchenordnung sogar der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts oder der Zeit zuweisen, für die auch die sonstigen chronologischen Anzeichen sprechen.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

AND THE

SIBYLLINE BOOKS.

BY

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Εἶπε δὲ Ἰσαὰκ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εἶπες, ὦ τέκνον;
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ὁ παρέδωκε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐναντίον μου.

GEN. XXVII. 20.

CAMBRIDGE:

H. W. WALLIS.

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THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES AND THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS.

IN the following pages there are collected a number of hitherto unnoticed coincidences between the language and thought of the Teaching of the Apostles and the so-called Sibylline Oracles, from a consideration of which it seems likely that important consequences will follow in the interpretation of the books which are subjected to the comparison, in the more accurate determination of their places and times of production, and above all in the view which is thus acquired of the genesis of the faith, practice and discipline of the Christian Church.

Bryennios' little tract is increasing in recognized importance, almost from day to day. It is no longer a question of mere identification between a lost book and a found book by means of the number of lines in a MS. and the record of a stichometric table of the middle ages: *non numerandi sed ponderandi sunt versus*; and being weighed, they require for a counterpoise the largest stones which the Ecclesiastical Historian can find in his bag. In fact the *Διδαχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων* is the key-stone of Church history, whether we include under that term the New Testament records or those of the first four centuries of the Faith; and, if we widen our conception of Church history so as to include the Semitic origins of Christianity, it is the bridge that spans the gulf between the Church and the Synagogue from which it was so early divided.

It is surprising that so small a book should have so much to say. We can understand that a book of primitive doctrine and discipline should have been a small one: for as the writer

of the so-called Phocylidea (to which we shall presently allude) points out,

οὐ χωρεῖ μεγάλην διδαχὴν ἀδίδακτος ἀκουή.
οὐ γὰρ δὴ νοέουσ' οἱ μηδέποτ' ἐσθλὰ μαθόντες¹.

But we can hardly explain the wide diffusion of so small a book both geographically and chronologically unless it indeed were closely connected with the origins of Christianity and had met with an almost universal acceptance; and its importance is not diminished when we consider that we are a long way yet from the place where we can assert that the last word has been said either on the text or its interpretation.

The parallelisms to which I have drawn attention are probably a part of a larger future phenomenon: if, in the providence of God, we should recover any further portions of primitive Christian literature, there would be a harvest of explanations of obscurities both in the New Testament and in the sub-Apostolic writings which are at present insoluble. In particular the *Doctrina Petri* which forms a companion volume to the recovered Teaching seems to have had analogous relations with the Sibylline books, if we may judge from its few remaining sentences, and may even have a nexus internal and external with the Teaching of the Apostles.

But until we know more about the Teaching or Preaching of Peter we must confine ourselves to the elucidation of the Teaching of the Apostles by means of the study of those early documents which are accessible to us, such as the earlier parts of the Talmudic literature and those Greek books, the Sibyllines to wit, in which we find a collocation or a fusion of Hebrew, Greek and Christian ethics. With regard to the Talmud, I am too ignorant to say more than that I believe there are passages in the Teaching of the Apostles which only the Mishna can explain; what the Sibyllines have to say will appear in the following remarks.

Now in dealing with quotations from or by the Pseudo-Sibyllines we have to remember that there are peculiar difficulties in

¹ Ps. Phocylides 89. Perhaps referring to a written Teaching.

the determination of the periods to which the separate books and portions of books contained in the collection are to be assigned. The majority of them are generally admitted to be Christian in origin and sentiment and of various centuries, from the first onward; but there are other parts which are as distinctly Jewish or heathen, and to some of these we are obliged to assign a date much earlier than the Christian era. It appears therefore that the fashion of writing religious history and teaching religious truth in hexameter verse under the assumed authority of an inspired Sibyl, must have been common to all classes of believers at certain times in the world's history; and in the early Christian Church, in particular, few writers are so authoritatively appealed to as those who concocted the Sibylline verses. This is especially true of authors in the second and third centuries, such as Justin, Theophilus, Athenagoras and Clement of Alexandria, in discussions with Greek or Jewish opponents.

Some idea of the extent of Pseudo-Sibylline literary activity may be gathered from the following table given in Alexandre's *Excursus ad Sibyllina*¹. According to this learned writer, we must divide the third and eighth books of the Sibyllines into four parts respectively and remove the portion of the second book which is known by the name of the *ποίημα νουθητικόν* of Phocylides (which the writer of the second book has worked up, perhaps with some additions, from an earlier source), and then we may arrange the existing Sibylline books in the following order:

Book iii. §§ 2 and 4 of Jewish origin, written in Egypt, under Ptolemy Philometor, about 165 B.C.

Book iv. the oldest of the Christian Sibyls, written in Asia, in the first century, under Titus or Domitian.

The Proœmium to the collection and the second section of the eighth book were written by a Christian author in Egypt, under Trajan or Hadrian.

The first section of the eighth book is also Christian, and was written in Egypt in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

The third section of the third book and the fifth book are to

¹ P. 439.

be referred to the same time and place, but Alexandre thinks them more Jewish than Christian.

The sixth and seventh books were written in Asia by a Christian hand about A.D. 234.

The third and fourth parts of the eighth book are to be referred to the middle of the third century.

The first two books and the third book, § 1, are of Christian origin, written in Asia in the middle of the third century, but subsequently rehandled.

The other books, xi. xii. xiii. xiv., were written in Egypt about A.D. 267, by a Jew rather than a Christian, according to Alexandre's judgment.

The foregoing table gives also a notion of the extent to which critical methods have been applied to the collection of Sibylline books; and (it need not be said) the conclusions arrived at are not perfectly coincident with those found in other writers on the subject. We shall presently return to the questions of authorship and date, so far as they come under the scope of our enquiry: but for us it is a necessary preliminary to present first the parallelisms between the Sibyllines and the Teaching of the Apostles, for these form an important part of the evidence by which the dates are decided. The following are the chief coincidences to which our attention should be directed. The references are respectively to the Bryennios edition of the Teaching and to Friedlieb's edition of the Oracles. In cases where a citation is made from Pseudo-Phocylides the reference is to the edition of Jacob Bernays.

a. Teaching i. Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. ὁδοὶ δ'ὲν εἰς κτέ.

Orac. Sib. vi. 9

δείξει δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὁδός, δείξει δὲ κελεύθους
οὐρανίους· πάντας δὲ σοφοῖς μύθοισι διδάξει.

β. Teaching i. ὁδοὶ δ'ὲν εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου.

Orac. Sib. viii. 399

αὐτὸς ὁδὸς προέθηκα δ'ὲν, ζωῆς θανάτου τε,
καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζῶν προέλεσθαι.

Cf. *Orac. Sib.* viii. 487

εὐσεβίης τε καὶ ἀτρεκίης βαίνοντες ἀταρπούς.

γ. *Teaching* i. πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Orac. Sib. viii. 481

ἐν κραδίῃ τε ταπεινοφροεῖν, πικρὰ τέρματα μισεῖν
καὶ πάντως ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον ὥσπερ ἑαυτόν·
καὶ θεὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς φιλέειν, αὐτῷ δὲ λατρεύειν.
τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' ἡμεῖς, ὁσέης χριστοῦ γενέθλης
οὐρανίης πεφυῶτες, ἐπικλεόμεσθα σύναιμοι,
μνηστὴρ εὐφροσύνης ἐπὶ θρησκείῃσιν ἔχοντες,
εὐσεβίης τε καὶ ἀτρεκίης βαίνοντες ἀταρπούς.

The expression of the last line, *βαίνοντες ἀταρπούς*, renders it likely that the first three lines have a reference to the Teaching concerning the Two Ways. To the foregoing we may add the following, which belongs really to the Phocylidea.

Orac. Sib. ii. 60 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 8

πρῶτα θεὸν τίμα, μετέπειτα δὲ σείῳ γονῆας.

δ. *Teaching* i. παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει·
πάσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατήρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.

Orac. Sib. ii. 88 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 29

πλούτου ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὀρεξον·
ὧν τοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρήζουσι παράσχου.

The sentiment will also be found in the Preaching of Peter with close parallelism to the *Διδαχή*. Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Prædicatio Petri*, p. 57.

ε. *Teaching* i. ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.

Orac. Sib. ii. 77, cf. *Ps. Phocyl.* 23

πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ δίδου μητ' αὔριον ἐλθέμεν εἴπης·
ἰδῶσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρήζοντι παράσχου·
ὅς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν.

The passage quoted from the Teaching is one of the most difficult in the whole tract, and numerous unsatisfactory emendations have been proposed for the peculiar *ἰδρωτάτω* of

the MS. which we retain in preference to the slightly modified *ιδρωσάτω* of Bryennios. [The suggestion that we have here a peculiar form *ιδρωτάω* is, I believe, due to Dr Hort. Dr Hort also proposes to prefix a negative *μὴ* in order to maintain the continuity of the passage with what has gone before. It may be doubted whether this is necessary in order to make the passage intelligible.]

The passage taken from the Sibyllist shews a curious parallelism with the Teaching in the conjunction of *ιδρώς* and *ἐλεημοσύνη*. But it is unfortunate that the second line is as it stands unintelligible¹, and the three unconnected datives get in one another's way. Some primitive difficulty in the passage must have existed, since the parallel in the common Phocylidean text writes for these two lines

πληρώσας σέο χεῖρ' ἔλεον χρήζοντι παράσχου

in which the first word looks like a curious misreading or correction of *ιδρώς*. The lines, however, become quite intelligible if we make a very slight modification and read

ιδρώσι στάζων χεῖρα χρήζοντι παράσχου.

Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 10 *κάρα*

στάζων ιδρώτι καὶ χέρας ξιφοκτόνους,

and when this correction is made, the parallelism with the language of the Teaching shews that in the latter the main idea is the connexion between personal charity and one's earnings.

ς. *Teaching* ii.

οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.

Ps. Phocyl. 3

μήτε γαμοκλοπέειν, μήτ' ἄρσενα κύπριν ὀρίνειν

μήτε δόλους ῥάπτειν μηθ' αἵματι χεῖρα μαιίνειν.

Similar conjunctions are found in the Sibyllines, *passim*.

ζ. *Teaching* ii. *οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις.*

Ps. Phocyl. 149

φάρμακα μὴ τεύχειν· μαγικῶν βίβλων ἀπέχεσθαι.

¹ Friedlieb translates courageously,

Von der Erndte Ertrag mittheile dem Armen freigebig.

This passage is found in the part of the Phocylidea beyond that appropriated by the Sibyllist.

η. *Teaching* ii. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γέννη-
θὲν ἀποκτενεῖς.

Orac. Sib. iii. 762

μοιχείαν πεφύλαξο καὶ ἄκριτον ἄρσενος εὐνήν·
τὴν δ' ἰδίαν γένναν παίδων τρέφε μὴδὲ φονεύσῃς.

Orac. Sib. ii. 280

ὅσσαι δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι φόρτους
ἐκτρώσκουσιν, ὅσοι τοκετοὺς ῥίπτουσιν ἀθέσμους,
φαρμακοὶ ἦ καὶ φαρμακίδες.

Ps. Phocyl. 184

μηδὲ γυνὴ φθείροι βρέφος ἔμβρυον ἔνδοθι γαστρός,
μηδὲ τεκοῦσα κυσὶν ῥίψῃ, καὶ γυνὴν ἔλωρα.

The coincidence of the last sentence with the Teaching is very striking.

θ. *Teaching* ii. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον.

Orac. Sib. ii. 57 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 6

ἀρκεῖσθαι παρῑοῦσι καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι.

The interest in the last quotation lies in the fact that it is in verbal agreement with Heb. xiii. 5, where the injunction against covetousness follows upon that which regards marriage-sanctity, the order of thought being the same as in the Teaching.

ι. *Teaching* ii. οὐκ ἐπιорκῆσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.

Orac. Sib. ii. 68 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 16

μηδὲ ἐπιорκῆσῃς, μήτ' ἀγνώως μήτ' εἰκαῖος.

Orac. Sib. ii. 64 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 12

μαρτυρίην ψευδῇ φεύγειν, τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν.

ια. *Teaching* ii. οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία· οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής...οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος.

Orac. Sib. iii. 37, 38, 40

ἀνθρώπων ψευδῶν διγλώσσων καὶ κακοηθῶν,
λεκτροκλόπων, εἰδωλολατρῶν, δόλια φρονούντων,

· · · · ·
αὐτοῖς ἀρπάζοντες, ἀναίδεα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.

Orac. Sib. ii. 58 = Ps. Phocyl. 7

ψεύδεα μὴ βάζειν τὰ δ' ἐτήτυμα πάντ' ἀγορεύειν.

This is perhaps the best place to draw attention to the beautiful emendation made by Bernays in the 13th line of the Phocylidea, = *Orac. Sib. ii. 65*, where the MSS. and texts read,

παρθενίην τηρεῖν, πίστιν δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι φυλάσσειν.

If we put *παρθεσίην* for *παρθενίην*, we not only restore the broken continuity of thought in the passage, and get rid of the discordance between the sentiment involved in the ordinary reading and that of the 175th line of the Phocylidea,

μὴ μείνης ἄγαμος μὴ πῶς νῶνυμνος ὄλῃαι,

but we also throw some light on the ethical engagements of the early Christians. For in the celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan we find that the covenant entered into by the members of the new fraternity (which, by the by, is almost certain to be based upon some written book of doctrine) was to the following effect: *sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent*. The last clause is exactly versified in the Phocylidea, as emended (cf. also *Sib. ii. 278*); and while I do not think there is anything closely corresponding to it in the Teaching, it seems likely to have formed a part of some early oral or written *Διδασκαλία*.

ιβ. *Teaching ii.* οὐ λήψῃ βουλήν πονηράν κατὰ τὸν πλησίον σου.

Ps. Phocyl. 4 μήτε δόλους ῥάπτειν.

ιγ. *Teaching iii.* τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντός ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

Orac. Sib. ii. 145 = Ps. Phocyl. 76

σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν, αἰσχροῦν δ' ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι,
μὴ μιμοῦ κακότητα.

ιδ. *Teaching iii.* μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον.

Orac. Sib. ii. 126 = Ps. Phocyl. 57

μὴ προπετής ἐς χεῖρα· χαλίνου δ' ἄγριον ὀργήν.
πολλάκις γὰρ πλήξας, ἄέκων θάνατον ἐξετέλεσσε.

I think we may remark in each of the immediately preceding instances, that the Teaching has been directly versified by the Sibyllist or Ps. Phocylides. (This conclusion will be of the highest importance.) For instance we see that the Teaching of the Apostles has a number of similar progressions from one sin to another, an idea which underlies the whole of the third chapter, and could hardly have been arrived at by the mere translation into prose of two lines of Phocylides. We may be sure, too, that prose ethics have preceded verse ethics, and that in the present case it is not sufficient to remark the use of the ethical portions of the Pentateuch in order to explain the coincidences of language between the Teaching and the Phocylidea.

ιε. *Teaching* iii. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος...μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικός μηδὲ θυμικός.

Orac. Sib. ii. 135 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 63

θυμός ὑπερχόμενος μανίην ὀλοόφρονα τεύχει.
ὀργὴ δ' ἐστὶν ὕρεξις, ὑπερβαίνουσα δὲ μῆνις.
ζῆλος γὰρ ἐσθλῶν ἀγαθός, φαύλων δ' αἰδήλος.

Orac. Sib. ii. 147 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 78

παίθω μὲν γὰρ ὄνειαρ, ἔρις δ' ἔριν ἀντιφυτεύει.

I do not think it will be maintained that this coincidence in the description of ὀργή, θυμός, ζῆλος, ἔρις is a mere accident.

ις. *Teaching* iii. τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπαιδός μηδὲ μαθηματικός.

Orac. Sib. iii. 225

οὐ μάντεϊς, οὐ φαρμακοὺς¹, οὐ μὴν ἐπαιδοίς,
οὐ μύθων μωρῶν ἀπάτας ἐγγαστριμύθων,
οὐδὲ τὰ χαλδαίων τὰ προμάντια ἀστρολογοῦσιν
οὐδὲ μὲν ἀστρονομοῦσι.....

234 τοῦ πεπλανῆσθαι ὁδοῦς τ' ἀγασθᾶς...

Both these passages follow Leviticus xx. 26, 31, but the last line seems to have a consciousness of the Two Ways.

¹ *Lege φαρμακίας.*

ιζ. *Teaching* iv. κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.

Teaching v. πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί.

Orac. Sib. ii. 61 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 9

πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μηδὲ κρίσιν ἐς χάριν ἔλκε
μὴ ῥίψῃς πενήν ἄδίκως, μὴ κρίνε πρόσωπον.

ιη. *Teaching* iv. ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις
λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

Orac. Sib. ii. 81

ῥύεται ἐκ θανάτου ἔλεος, κρίσις ὁππότ' ἂν ἔλθῃ;

Ps. Phocyl. 23

πληρώσας σέο χεῖρ' ἔλεον χρήζοντι παράσχου.

The parallel passages lead us to infer that the text of the *Teaching* would be better punctuated if the comma were removed and placed after σου.

ιβ. *Teaching* iv. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδούς γογγύσεις, γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδοτής.

Orac. Sib. ii. 78 = *Ps. Phocyl.* 22 πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ διδου.

Orac. Sib. ii. 91

μήποτε ἄνδρα πέννητα ἰδὼν σκώψῃς ἐπέεσσι.

Orac. Sib. ii. 274

ὁπόσοι δ' ἰδίων ἀπὸ μόχθων

δόντες ὀνειδίζουσιν.

Orac. Sib. ii. 80

ὅς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν¹.

κ. *Teaching* iv. συγκαινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι.

¹ The coincidence between 'knowing who is one's rewarder' and 'knowing that one lends to the Lord' is striking. The following passage, from an early anonymous writer (or collection of writers), containing references to the *Teaching*, is in the same direction: τινές φασιν ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀνεξέταστον παρέχειν ἐλεημοσύνην ἀλλ' ἐρωτᾶν μετὰ ἀκριβείας εἰ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐνδεής ἐστὶν ὁ ἡμῖν προσερχόμενος. Λέγει γάρ, φήσιν,

ὁ Σολομών ὅτι ἐὰν ποιῇς ἀγαθόν, βλέπε τίني ποιεῖς. Οὕτω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς οἱ κακῶς νοοῦντες διαστρέφουσιν· οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ πτωχοῦ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Σολομών· ἀλλὰ βλέπε τίني ποιεῖς, τοῦτεστιν ὅτι τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖς· εἰ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνακρίνειν τοὺς αἰτοῦντας τοῦτο φησι, πῶς ὁ κύριος λέγει, παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου;

Quest. in Antiochum,
Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 649.

Orac. Sib. ii. 90, Ps. Phocyl. 30

κοινὸς πᾶς ὁ βίος μερόπων· ἄνισος δὲ τέτυκται·
ἔστω κοινὸς ἅπας ὁ βίος καὶ ὁμόφρονα πάντα.

And here it will be remembered that the Sibyllines are full of communistic sentiments of the most pronounced kind, and of lamentations over human inequalities, which undoubtedly preserve early Essene and Christian teaching.

κα. Teaching vi. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστα-
σον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε.

Orac. Sib. ii. 96 = Ps. Phocyl. [32]

αἷμα δὲ μὴ φαγέειν, εἰδωλοθύτων δ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

κβ. Teaching vi. λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

Orac. Sib. viii. 46 καὶ πάντων ὧν ἐσεβάσθης
δαίμονας ἀψύχους νεκρῶν εἶδωλα καμώντων.

Orac. Sib. viii. 393

ταῦτα γὰρ ἐς μνήμην βασιλῶν ἡδὲ τυράννων
δαίμοσι ποιήσουσι νεκροῖς ὡς οὐρανόισι.

With this striking instance we conclude the cases which we have noted of coincidence between the first part of the Teaching of the Apostles (the Doctrine of the Two Ways) and the Sibyllines (including Pseudo-Phocylides). The next step is to point out a few illustrations of the liturgical sections of the Teaching, and then to pass on to the remarkable parallelisms which occur in the Sibylline doctrine of the Second Advent, as compared with the closing section of the Teaching of the Apostles; and first of all with regard to the custom of immersion in running water:

κγ. Teaching vii. βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς
καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.

Orac. Sib. iv. 165

ἐν ποταμοῖς λοῦσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀενάοις,
χεῖρας τ' ἐκτανύσαντες ἐς αἰθέρα, τῶν πάρος ἔργων
συγγνώμην αἰτεῖσθε καὶ εὐσεβίαις ἀσεβείαν
πικρὰν ἰάσασθε.

And the connected idea of baptism in the water of a fountain is preserved in the symbolical language,

Orac. Sib. viii. 247

ὑδασι φωτίζων κλητοὺς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς,

where the reference is to the ministry of the twelve Apostles. To the foregoing we may add :

Orac. Sib. viii. 315

ἀθανάτου πηγῆς ἀπολουσάμενοι ὑδάτεσσι
τὰς πρότερον κακίας ἵνα γεννηθέντες ἄνωθεν
μηκέτι δουλεύωσιν ἄθεσμοις ἤθεσι κόσμου,

a passage which recalls also the language of the fourth gospel.

κδ. *Teaching vii.* εἰδὲν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

Orac. Sib. vii. 87

οὐδὲ θύρην κλείσεις ὅτε τις σοι ἐπήλυτος ἄλλος
ἤξει δυνόμενος, πενίης ἀπερυκέναι λιμόν,
ἀλλὰ λαβὼν κεφαλὴν τοῦδ' ἀνέρος, ὕδατι ράνας,
εὗξαι τρεῖς.

The passage quoted is somewhat obscure: if we could understand ἐπήλυτος in the sense of a proselyte, it would be more intelligible; but it seems rather to refer to the visit of a needy stranger who has to receive some kind of baptism before he can sit at the table. But in any case we have an allusion to trine aspersion and accompanying prayer.

κε. *Teaching xi.* καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν κτέ.

Orac. Sib. v. 266

καὶ γλώσσαις ἁγλαῖς ἐπιστήσονται τράπεζαν.

The reference is to some festival to be celebrated in the future days of Jerusalem's prosperity. It may be interesting to note here that the somewhat similar expression ὀρίζων βάπτισμα is found several times in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena*.

κε. *Teaching xi.* οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς [πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς], where the words in brackets are inserted conjecturally, in

order to harmonize the sentence with what precedes (ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου κτέ), and to conform it to Josephus' description of an Essene meal (*Bell. Jud.* II. viii. 5), προκατεύχεται δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς τροφῆς καὶ γεύσασθαι τινα πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀθέμιτον. Cf. also *Pirqe aboth* iii. 3: "Three that have eaten at one table, and have said over it words of Thorah, are as if they had eaten of the table of Maqom" (i.e. God). The following sentence from the Parallels of John Damascene and cited variously as ex patre (p. 453 Lequien), ex sancto sene (Cod. Rup.), and e libro sanctorum senium (Cod. Reg. 923), contains the same sentiment; Τράπεζα μὴ ἔχουσα μνήμην θεοῦ, φάτνης ἀλόγων οὐδὲν διενήνοχεν.

Orac. Sib. iv. 25

ἔσσοι δὴ στέρξουσι θεὸν μέγαν εὐλογέοντες
πρὶν φαγέειν· πινέειν τε.

To the foregoing suggestions and illustrations with regard to the Baptism and Agape, we subjoin one on the necessity of personal labour.

κζ. *Teaching* xiii. τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὔκ ἔχει τέχνην κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός.

Ps. Phocyl. 154

πᾶς γὰρ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ζῶει κλοπίμων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.
τέχνη τοι τρέφει ἄνδρας, ἀεργὸν δ' ἔφατο λιμός.
εἰ δέ τις οὐκ δεδάηκε τέχνην, σκάπτειτο δικέλλῃ.

It is interesting to observe that Phocylides has settled the difficulty with regard to occupation in the same way that presented itself to the Unjust Steward in the Gospel, when the prospect of losing his place was before him (οὐκ ἰσχύει σκάπτειν¹).

¹ This alternative of digging (for the man without a craft) comes out more clearly in an interesting tract attached to the works of Athanasius, called *Syntagma Doctrinæ*, which has preserved a great many of the sayings of the Διαχῆ. The writer of the tract

is extremely opposed to trade as a means of living, and regards it as only permissible in cases where a man has no craft and the land around him is not in cultivation.

Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. col. 840.
καὶ ὅλως μὴ πραγματεύον· πολλὰι χώραι

We come now to the doctrine of the Last Things.

κη. *Teaching* xvi. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς.

Orac. Sib. ii. 165

ἡ δὲ συναίρεσις ἐγγὺς ὅταν τινὲς ἀντὶ προφητῶν
ψευδαπάται πελάσωσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φημίζοντες.

κθ. *Teaching* xvi. καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνορ ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα.....καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας.

Orac. Sib. ii. 167

καὶ Βελιὰρ δ' ἥξει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει.

Orac. Sib. iii. 52

ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελιὰρ μετόπισθεν

.

καὶ νέκυας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει

εἰσι μὴ σπειρεῖσαι καὶ οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἐὰν τέχνας μὴ ἔχωσιν ἀναγκάζονται πραγματεῦν.

And the writer expresses himself to the same effect in col. 841: πρὸ παντὸς δὲ τέχνην ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐργάζου ἵνα μὴ ἐσθίης ἄρτον ἀργόν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἔχε πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαύειν ἀδελφούς καὶ ξένους καὶ, εἰ δυνατόν, χήρας καὶ ὀρφανούς καὶ μετρίους.

I think we may conclude from this that the only interpretation which the Church put upon the language of the Teaching was that the alternative for a craft was agriculture. Nor is it to be neglected that in the preceding we find the expression ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἔχε of the person who is in a position to help others just as in the Διδαχὴ we have ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου.

As remarked above, this tract is certainly modelled on the Teaching: the following coincidences may be noted:

Col. 836. Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης

τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν· Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις κτέ· cf. Διδ. i. ii. Col. 837. φυλάττεσθαι τε μὴ εἶναι δίλογον μὴ δίγλωσσον μὴ ψεύστην μὴ κατάλαλον.

Cf. Διδ. ii. οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος...οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής.

Col. 837. μὴ μαγεύειν, μὴ φαρμακεύειν...μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπασιδὸν μήτε φυλακτήριον ἐαυτῷ περιτίθεναι μηδὲ περικαθαίρειν.

Cf. Διδ. ii. iii.

Col. 840. γίνου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος, τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου.

Cf. Διδ. iii. γίνου...ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντὸς οὓς ἤκουσας.

Col. 844. εἰ δέ τις ἀντιλέγει τοῖς προεξηγημένοις θεῷ ἐστὶν ἀντιλέγων. Cf. Διδ. vi.

Col. 841. δικαίως συνάγων καρποὺς καὶ μὴ ἔχων τι ἀδικίας πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρόσφερε.

Cf. Διδ. c. xiii.

ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τελεσφόρα ἔσσειτ' ἐν αὐτῷ
ἀλλὰ πλάνη κτέ.

Belial or Beliar, as is well known, is the common name for Antichrist, who is to precede Messiah (at his second advent, according to Christian belief). Alexandre observes that he is said to come from Rome, the city of the Augusti. Ewald however thinks that we are here to understand Samaria, in which case Simon Magus presents himself, the ignis fatuus of early Church history¹.

Λ. *Teaching* xvi. τότε ἦξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας.

Orac. Sib. iii. 86 καὶ κτίσιν αὐτὴν
εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

Orac. Sib. viii. 412
χωνεύσω γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξω.

Orac. Sib. ii. 217 ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντα
εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

In these quotations the Sibyllists of the second and third books seem to have imitated the earlier Sibyllist of the eighth, who himself presents a text very like a versification of the Teaching. Friedlieb, however, believes the portion of the third book from which the quotation is made, vv. 46—96, to be præ-Christian! (Die Verse 46—96 gehören einem Verfasser

¹ A very interesting discussion as to the place where Antichrist will appear is found in the *Questiones ad Antiochum*, bound up with the Works of Athanasius (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii.). In this treatise, which has many suggestive analogies with the Teaching, it is argued that Antichrist is distinguished from Christ at his second Advent, by the fact that he appears in one special place, whereas the Son of Man appears as the lightning from East to West. It is agreed that he will raise the dead (cf. the *νέκρας στήσει* of the third Sibylline); and his place

of appearing is Galilee, or more exactly Scythopolis, because it is written, 'Dan is a lion's whelp, he shall leap from Bashan.' Here we have another early belief, namely that the Antichrist comes of the tribe of Dan, because this tribe is not mentioned in the sealing of the 144,000 in the Apocalypse (cf. Irenæus, v. xxx. 1). It is worth notice that, although most of these beliefs are early, the Teaching does not contain them, and confines itself to a much more simple statement.

an, der nicht viel früher als 31 v. Chr. gelebt haben kann. p. xxxvii.)

λα. *Teaching* xvi. οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

Orac. Sib. ii. 253

καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες δι' αἰθομένου ποταμοῦ
καὶ φλογὸς ἀσβέστου διελεύσονθ', οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
πάντες σωθήσονται.

Here it will be observed that the Sibyllist regards all the human race as involved in the fiery destruction of the world, but the righteous as able to find deliverance. This may perhaps confirm us in the belief that the difficult passage in the Teaching is to be translated: "But they that have been stedfast in their faith shall be saved *from under the curse itself*," i.e. the common curse of the destruction of the old order by fire of which the writer of the Teaching has been speaking in the early part of the sentence: in which case we escape the idea that τὸ κατάθεμα is here a veiled allusion to Christ.

λβ. *Teaching* xvi. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας, πρῶτον, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

Orac. Sib. ii. 187

καὶ τόθ' ὁ θεοβίτης γε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄρμα τιταίνων
οὐράνιον, γαίῃ δ' ἐπιβὰς τότε σήματα τριπλά
κόσμφ' ὅλφ' δείξει.

The belief in the appearance of Elias before the Advent (coming first to restore all things) is common both to Jews and Christians. What is curious in the foregoing is that the triple signs of the Teaching are exactly imitated in the Sibyllines; though it is not easy to tell from the context what were the special signs that the writer had in mind.

λγ. *Teaching* xvi. ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. τότε ὕψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Orac. Sib. ii. 242

ἤξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς τ' ἄφθιτον ἄφθιτος αὐτὸς
ἐν δόξῃ Χριστὸς σὺν ἀμύμοσιν ἀγγελτῆρσι.

These passages shew conclusively, as it seems to me, that there must have been amongst some of the Sibyllists a very close acquaintance with the Teaching of the Apostles. A few of the coincidences noted may be imaginary, and no doubt there are others not here noted which present various traces of parallelism; but the majority of the quoted cases cannot be accidental. Let us analyse them and see in what parts of the Sibylline books they are most frequent.

If we arrange the books in the chronological order suggested by Alexandre we have the following result :

	Number of allusions.	Period assigned by Alexandre.
Book iii. § 2 (97—294)	1	165 B.C.
Book iii. § 4 (489—fin.)	1	165 B.C.
Book iv.	2	Titus
Proœm.	0	Trajan
Book viii. § 1 (1—216)	4	Trajan
Book viii. § 2 (217—429)	1	Antoninus Pius
Book iii. § 3 (295—488)	0	Antoninus Pius
Book v.	1	Antoninus Pius
Book vi.	1	234 A.D.
Book vii.	1	234 A.D.
Book viii. § 3 (430—480)	0	250? A.D.
Book viii. § 4 (481—fin.)	1	250? A.D.
Book i.	0	250 A.D.
Book ii.	30	250 A.D. (except Ps. Phocyl.)
Book iii. § 1 (1—96)	3	250 A.D.
Book xi.	0	267 A.D.
Book xii.	0	267 A.D.
Book xiii.	0	267 A.D.
Book xiv.	0	267 A.D.

It will be observed in the foregoing that there are considerable difficulties connected with the determination of the quoter and quoted in the successive coincidences. Nor are these difficulties diminished if we adopt the conclusions of other critics. For instance the following are the conclusions arrived at by Ewald (*Entstehung, Inhalt und Werth der Sibyllinischen*

Bücher, Göttingen, 1858). There are eight separate compositions in the collection : viz.:

	DATE.
i. Book iii. 97—828	c. 124 B.C.
ii. Book iv.	c. 80 A.D.
iii. Book v. 52—530	c. 80 A.D.
iv. Books vi. vii. and v. (1—51)	138 A.D.
v. Book viii. 1—360	c. 211 A.D.
vi. Book viii. 361—500 (non-Sibylline)	Second cent.
vii. Books i. ii. iii. (1—96)	c. 300 A.D.
viii. Books xi.—xiv.	Seventh cent.

Friedlieb however (*Oracula Sibyllina*, Lipsiæ, 1852) arrives at the following conclusions :

Proœm.	}	160 B.C.
Book iii. 97—807		
Book iii. 46—96		Just before Actium = 31 B.C.
Book iii. 1—45		?
Book iv.		80 A.D.
Book xi.		115—118 A.D.
Book v.		Hadrian
Book viii. 1—216, 337—429		Marcus Aurelius
Book vii.		Last half of second cent.
Books i. ii.		c. 200 A.D.
Book viii. 217—336, 430—501		c. 200 A.D.
Book vi.		?
Book xii.		Middle of third cent.
Book xiii.		After 260 A.D.
Book xiv.		Third cent.

It will be observed that all these critics place a part of the Third Book (which we have credited with two quotations from the $\Delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\eta'$ or conversely) in the second century before Christ. One of these (η') may perhaps be a fragment of the commonly received ethics of the time, upon which the Teaching undoubtedly builds. The other ($\iota\varsigma'$), however, is a more striking reference to the Teaching, and I do not see how to reconcile it with the date assigned to this part of the book, except by assuming that the Sibyllist has been re-handled by some early Christian or that both the Sibyllist and the writer of the Teaching are working up the same passages in Leviticus. The parallels from the Fourth Book present no difficulty. The passages need not even be regarded as Christian : probably

they express Essene characteristics which this book has absorbed in common with the Teaching. The Baptism, &c. to which allusion is made would thus be the initiatory (or repeated) rites of the most enlightened of the Jewish sects.

No other difficulty presents itself in the existence of quotations from the Teaching, except in so far as relates to the Second Book from which more than 60 per cent. of our illustrations are derived. If these quotations were only found in the text of the Second Book and not in the poem of Phocylides, a large part of which has been inserted in the text, all would be clear. There is nothing strange in the versification of the sentiments of the Teaching by a writer of the second or third century. Pseudo-Phocylides has however been commonly reckoned as an Alexandrian Jew of a period perhaps as early as the second century before Christ: and it would be strange indeed if an ethical poem written at such a time should present very close imitations of the Teaching. No such supposition, however, is necessary; and we are surprised that the belief in the antiquity of the so-called Pseudo-Phocylides should ever have been so widely diffused. For instance we find Ewald placing it at a date equal to and perhaps earlier than the earliest portions of the Third Book of the Oracles¹.

Not that this early date is by any means universally agreed upon. One of the things that has further surprised me in the writing of the present tract is the fact that my friend Paul Sabatier, who has written such an excellent pamphlet upon the Jewish colouring of the Teaching of the Apostles, assigned the poem of Pseudo-Phocylides to the middle of the first century and indicated its relation to the Teaching but seems to have missed the coincidences which are here pointed out. For instance he remarks on p. 51 of his

¹ P. 41. "Vorzüglich haben sich noch die etwa 230 Zeilen gnomischer Dichtung unter Phokylides' Namen erhalten, welche im Grunde einen ähnlichen Zweck verfolgen und die in griechischer Sprachfarbe und dichterischer Kunst eine so grosse Ähnlichkeit

mit unserm Gedichte haben, dass man leicht vermuthen könnte, sie seien von demselben Dichter, wenn nicht andre Gründe zeigten dass sie doch vielmehr von einem andern und von einem etwas ältern Dichter abstammten."

pamphlet, "L'auteur de la Didaché eût été, sans doute, plus explicite s'il avait voulu parler des Montanistes. Les conclusions auxquelles il arrive *sont très voisines de celles du Pseudo-Phocylide, qui écrivit vers le milieu du premier siècle* un manuel de morale juive *simplifiée pour les païens.*" And again on p. 78, "Nous voyons dans l'auteur de notre document un des représentants de cette école assez nombreuse au premier siècle qui voulait faire du judaïsme et plus tard du christianisme une religion déiste pour tous les peuples. Un homme qui, vers le milieu du siècle, écrivit, sous le nom usurpé du célèbre moraliste grec Phocylide, un petit cours de morale naturelle juive, simplifié à l'usage des nons-Juifs, *s'arrêtait à des solutions analogues.* Cet honnête faussaire n'essaye nullement de convertir son lecteur au judaïsme, il cherche seulement à lui inculquer les préceptes noachiques et quelques règles juives, bien adoucies sur les viandes et sur le mariage." I regard these sentences as containing some of the most important things yet said with regard to the Teaching; and it will probably be before long an accepted conclusion that M. Sabatier and the authorities whom he has followed, have assigned the date of Phocylides more nearly than has been usually given, if it is not also agreed that Phocylides is an actual simplification of an earlier ethical treatise.

It is largely upon the investigations of Jacob Bernays that this view of the early date of the Phocylidea has been established. Now Bernays goes to work to determine the inferior and superior limits of time within which the *ποίημα νουθητικόν* from which the Sibyllist borrowed must be confined, and he concludes that the circulation of the LXX. translation of the Scriptures is a superior limit, while the absence of all traces of the New Testament and of Christianity furnishes us with an inferior limit somewhere in the time of Nero. (Verbietet also zunächst das Fehlen jeder neutestamentlichen Spur über 150 n. Chr. hinabzusteigen, so zwingt dann ferner das deutliche Absehen auf Besserung der Heiden hinter 70 n. Chr. zurück. Mithin bilden die zwei Jahrhunderte von der Regierung des Philometor bis auf die des Nero der Bereich welcher für die Abfassung des Gedichts mit Wahrscheinlichkeit

sich abstecken lässt¹.) Beyond this point Bernays does not go except to make a guess that the writer of the poem was either a contemporary or a successor of the Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus.

The fact is that Bernays was carried too far in his opposition to Scaliger's theory that the poem was more likely to have had a Christian origin. He maintained that there was not only no trace of the New Testament but also that *one would look in vain for any traces of the early Christian Διδασκαλία*. (In dem ganzen Gedicht findet sich keine einzige, die Prüfung aushaltende Beziehung auf das Neue Testament; nirgends ist eigenthümlich christliche Redeweise zu entdecken: vergebens wird man nach christlichen Einflüssen auf die Moral forschen: und ebenso *vergeblich ist das Suchen nach Spuren irgend eines der concreten christologischen Lehrstücke* wie sie in den Zeiten vor Fixirung der christlichen Urkunden weit mehr noch als die Moral von Freund und Feind gepredigt oder angegriffen wurden².) The examination of our quotations will, I believe, enable us to meet this statement with a strong negative. Not only does it appear that the Teaching of the Apostles has been directly versified, but a little further investigation will shew that the Sibyllist knew that the book he was appropriating was a versification of the Teaching. For he concludes his extract with the words

οὗτος ἀγών, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀέθλια, ταῦτα βραβεῖα,
τοῦτο πύλη ζωῆς καὶ εἰσοδος θάνατος.

And these remind one at a glance of the Doctrine of the Two Ways. (Compare the ending of the Fourth Chapter of the Teaching.) Not only does he quote Phocylides where Phocylides quotes the Teaching but he quotes or has analogies with the Teaching in places where no parallel is found in Phocylides, just as Phocylides has one or two passages which remind one of the Teaching in the part of the book which the Sibyllist did not appropriate, and even seems to refer to it in a passage quoted at the beginning of the present paper. Both writers, therefore, should be held to be subsequent to the Διδαχή: and

¹ *Das Phocylidische Gedicht*, p. 14.

² l. c. p. 14.

it is no longer necessary, with Bernays, to omit certain lines from the Phocylidean text on account of an assumed Christian flavour: such a line as (32) which Bernays rejects,

αἷμα δὲ μὴ φαγέειν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπέχεσθαι,

may very well be a part of the original Phocylidea. And now what will be the effect of these remarks upon our verdict with regard to the date of the *Διδαχή*? When we regard the traces of its use in the various early Sibyllists, allow time for its diffusion and its subsequent translation into poetical language, and again for the diffusion of the versified form so that it might come into the hands of a Sibylline writer of (let us say) the middle of the third century, I think we must admit that the hypothesis that the *Διδαχή* is a document of the second century is no longer tenable and must be abandoned.

But then the question arises as to whether the writer who thus presents his ethics under the attractive pseudonym of Phocylides¹ has fairly handled the book of doctrine which we have assumed him to versify? Why has he omitted all references to the Gospels which are found in the Teaching, and why is his morality so often inferior, as in such a case as line 31 where it is hard to believe that the writer has reached the point where he is prepared to turn the cheek to the smiter?

τὸ ξίφος ἀμφιβαλοῦ μὴ πρὸς φόνον ἀλλ' ἐς ἄμυναν.

It is only in a modern sense, since the lambs have been more or less turned into wolves, that we can regard this sentiment as

¹ We are assuming the antiquity of the pseudonym on the faith of the mss. which add it to their margin. There is not sufficient evidence for the use of this name by the author, and it may only have been attached from the aphoristic character of the writing and the incorporation of the sentiments and maxims of the real Phocylides into the text: e.g. in the fragments of Phocylides as edited by Bergk, we find:

οὐδένα θωπεύω πρὸς ὑπόκρισιν· οὓς δ' ἄρα τιμῶ,

τούτους ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους ἀγαπῶ:
which is like the following in Ps. Phoc. 218:

στέργε φίλους ἄχρις θανάτου, πίστις γὰρ ἀμείνων.

The 87th line of Ps. Phocylides (which Bernays rejects),

μηδὲ δικὴν δικάσης πρὶν ἄμφω μῦθον ἀκουσῆς,

is also edited among the fragments of Phocylides.

Christian. It expresses, however, with perfect accuracy the Essene morality. (*Bell. Jud.* II. viii. 4.) Nor are there wanting other traces of Essenism. Josephus tells us of the Essenes, τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἤκουσιν αἵρετισταῖς ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἴδια κτέ, and we find what looks like a versification of it in Ps. Phocylides¹ 39 ἔστωσαν δ' ὁμότιμοι ἐπ' ἡλύδες ἐν πολλήταις, and the Essene sentiment as I think we may take it to be which is found in 1 Tim. vi. 10 is in exact correspondence with Ps. Phocylides 40 ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἀπάσης.

It seems to me, therefore, that we must either assume that the Phocylidist of the First Century has produced a morality to be described in M. Sabatier's way, as "simplifiée pour les païens," or we must fall back upon the existence of an earlier and more rudimentary Teaching, ethically more continuous with the Jewish Schools and perhaps somewhat earlier than the Christian era. There is no reason in the nature of things against the existence of a Jewish or Essene Διδαχή when we consider how actively proselytism was being carried on about the time of the Christian Era and reflect that our own Apostolic Teaching must have been called into existence by somewhat similar circumstances. I see that M. Massebieau has made a similar suggestion (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* x. 2, p. 158), "Dans ces prescriptions qui sanctionnent un certain nombre de coutumes juives j'ai cru pouvoir distinguer les traces d'un enseignement destiné aux prosélytes juifs avant d'être utilisé pour les catéchumènes chrétiens." I think we may be confirmed in this view by a study of the ethics of the works of Philo.

For example, it is interesting to observe that Philo in his treatise *De Specialibus Legibus* includes under the discussion of the Law against Murder the case of those who use poisons and magic arts, and of persons who destroy unborn children or expose those that have been born. (Ed. Mangey ii. 314 εἰσὶ

¹ It makes little difference whether the origin of such hospitalities be found in the Pentateuch: for we have still

to explain the agreement of the separate writers in emphasizing the same Levitical precepts.

δὲ ἕτεροι πονηρότατοι, χερσὶ καὶ γνώμαις ἐναγεῖς, οἱ μάγοι καὶ φαρμακευταί. id. ii. 318 εἰ γὰρ τοῦ μηδέπω ταῖς ὀρισμέναις τῶν καιρῶν περιόδοις ἀποκνηθέντος προνοητέον, ὥς μὴ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τι δεινὸν πάθοι, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ τελειογονηθέντος ;)

In the case last mentioned he refers to carnivorous birds and beasts that may prey upon exposed infants just as does the Phocylidist.

Or let us compare the rules given for the distribution of the firstfruits in Philo's treatise *de Præmiis Sacerdotum* with the similar passage in the Teaching. Philo describes the firstfruits as being the priest's dues in dough and wine and oil and every other form of property. (Mangey ii. 233 κελεύει γὰρ τοὺς σιτοποιοῦντας ἀπὸ παντὸς στέατός τε καὶ φυράματος ἄρτου ἀφαιρεῖν ἀπαρχὴν εἰς ἱερέων χρῆσιν.....Δεύτερον δὲ προστάττει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης κτήσεως ἀπάρχεσθαι, καθ' ἐκάστην μὲν ληνὸν οἶνον, καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἄλωνα σῖτον τε καὶ κριθήν, ὁμοίως δὲ ἐξ ἐλαιῶν ἔλαιον.....ὥς γοῦν ἡγεμόσι φόρους ἀπὸ παντὸς μέρους κτήσεως δίδοσθαι κελεύει.)

The parallelism is close between the way in which Philo describes the Mosaic rights of the priesthood and the language of the Teaching. Is there anything at all unlikely that the Teaching has incorporated the sentences as to firstfruits from a current book of discipline for the Jewish proselytes of the day, who could not be supposed to extract for themselves from the Scriptures the precepts which were especially binding upon them?

Perhaps it will be said that if this supposition be correct, there is no need to dispute Bernays' date for the Phocylidea, to which we can give any date we please by pushing back the assumed book of discipline to a sufficiently early period. The answer to this is that Ps. Phocylides can only by extremely rough criticism be divested of sentiments which are either Christian or differ very slightly therefrom; and that the whole tenor of the writing is exactly what can be illustrated by the first century. Take for example the following parallels with the language of one of the earliest Christian books, the epistle of James, and one can feel the period to which the book belongs:

- Ps. Phoc. 19. μισθὸν μοχθήσαντι δίδον· μὴ θλίβε πένητα.
 144. ἐξ ὀλίγου σπινθήρος ἀθέσφατος αἴθεται ὕλη.
 116. οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τί μεταύριον ἢ τί μεθ' ὥραν.

The question which arises as to the portions of our present Teaching to which a somewhat earlier date should be assigned is more difficult and must be left to better heads than mine. It is probable that some one will see his way to make the necessary analysis. On the other hand it is scarcely to be doubted that exceptions will be taken by some to the conclusions drawn in the foregoing pages and it may be denied that Ps. Phocylides has versified either our *Διδαχή* or an earlier form. Let the matter be referred to those who are in seats of judgment. In any case I do not think it will be longer contended that the two writings in question which shew such similarity of thought, are to be referred, one to the second century before Christ, and the other to the second century of the Christian era.

APPENDIX.

I. *On the Tract De Virginitate ascribed to Athanasius.*

Mr De Romestin has given in his book on the Teaching, an extract from the above treatise, which he quotes from a review in the *Church Quarterly* for July 1884. The quotation shews that when the early prayer of the Church gave way to more theological forms, it was preserved for use at the daily meal of communities of virgins, which we may thus regard as survivals of the early Christian Agape. But this is not all, for the little tract in which the prayer is found contains other traces of the Teaching, such as a positive reference to the Doctrine of the Two Ways, a second prayer with much in common with the last prayer of the Thankmeal, and it concludes with injunctions to vigilance, and the trimming of the lamp of the spiritual life and service, just as the Teaching does.

The tract in question may be some time later than Athanasius; the quotations in it will be valuable as coming from all parts of the Teaching. The passages referred to are subjoined; the references being to Volume XXVIII. of Migne's *Patrologia Græca*.

Col. 265. καὶ ὅταν καθεσθῇς ἐπὶ τὴν τραπέζην καὶ ἔρχῃ κλᾶσαι τὸν ἄρτον, σφραγίσασα αὐτὸν τρίτον¹ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ οὕτως εὐχαριστοῦσα λέγε. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεώς σου· διὰ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν αὐτήν. καὶ καθὼς ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διεσκορπισμένος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἐπάνω ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτως ἐπισυναχθήτω ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐχὴν ἐν τῷ κλᾶν τὸν ἄρτον καὶ θέλειν ἐσθίειν, ὀφείλεις λέγειν.

¹ Query *trīs*.

Col. 268. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δοξολογίαν πάλιν τὴν εὐχὴν πλήρως λέγουσα οὕτως. ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ αἰνοῦμέν σε ὅτι κατηξίωσας ἡμῖν μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν σῶν, τῶν σαρκικῶν τροφῶν. δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, Κύριε, ἵνα καὶ τὰς ἐπουρανίους τροφὰς ἡμῖν δωρήσῃ. καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τρέμειν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ φρικτὸν καὶ ἔντιμον ὄνομά σου, καὶ μὴ παρακούειν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου. τὸν νόμον σου¹ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐγκατάθου ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν. ἀγίασον δὲ ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν κτέ.

Col. 273. τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε; Ἰδοὺ δύο ὁδοὶ παρετέθηκαν ἐνώπιόν σου, ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος· ὅπου ἐὰν θέλῃς πορεύου.

Col. 279. πάσῃ ὥρᾳ μὴ λειψάτω ἔλαιον τῇ λαμπάδι σου, μὴ πότε ἔλθῃ ὁ νύμφιος καὶ εἴρῃ αὐτὴν σβεσθεῖσαν.

It is easy to see the influence of the Teaching in these passages, when we are sure, as from the first quotation, that the writer had that book in his head or hand.

II. *Some traces of the Teaching in early apocryphal writings.*

Precisely in the same way as we find the sentiments of the early Jewish parties in their apocryphal writings, and the survival of primitive Christian manners and communism in monastic organisations, we may notice some traces of early Christian ways in the legendary accounts of the lives of its early teachers. Nowhere else shall we find, for instance, such clear statements of the simplicity and the independence of the apostolic life. And the Teaching of the Apostles may often be directly illustrated from these apocryphal itineraries. For example, in the so-called Acts of John, which we possess in two forms, attributed to his disciples Prochorus and Leucius respectively, we almost always find that the Apostle goes through the process of initiation with his converts in the following order; he teaches them, he baptizes them, he eats with them, and frequently accepts their hospitality for a day or two. In no case have I noted more than a three days' stay, which it will be

¹ Perhaps for τὸ ὄνομό σου.

remembered is just over the superior limit set by the *Διδαχή* to keep the Apostle from turning into a false prophet.

The following passages, with references to Zahn's edition, may be found acceptable.

p. 32. μετὰ οὖν τὸ διδαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου τὸν Διοσκορίδην...ἔπεισεν Διοσκορίδης εἰς τοὺς πόδας Ἰωάννου λέγων αὐτῷ, ἀνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, βάπτισον καὶ ἐμέ...καὶ λαβὼν ἡμᾶς πάλιν Διοσκορίδης ἀπήγαγεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν τράπεζαν καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντος τῷ θεῷ μετελάβομεν τροφῆς καὶ ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσπέραν.

p. 35. καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐβάπτισεν...καὶ παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν τράπεζαν.

p. 112. καὶ κατήχησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐβάπτισεν εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

p. 127. καὶ ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ πατρὸς υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτοὺς καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς καὶ ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

And so *passim*.

III. *On χάρις as a name of the Messiah.*

In the tenth chapter of the Teaching, among the ejaculatory utterances at the close of the final prayer of the Thankmeal, we have ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὡσαννά τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ...Μαρναθά. In his tract upon the Teaching, M. Bonet-Maury made the following remark upon this passage, "Que la grâce, c'est à dire, le Christ, paraisse;" upon which I remarked, as follows, in the *American Journal of Philology* (Vol. VI. I. 103), "the thought suggests itself to us, may not the word χάρις be an actual misreading of the abbreviated $\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$?" It will be seen from this that I accepted M. Bonet-Maury's view, that the reference to grace has nothing to do with the benediction at the close of the meeting, but that it is chiliastic. It seems to me that this view is supported by the reference

which immediately follows to the "Son of David" and by the Maranatha. It may, however, be doubted whether there is any need to emend the text, as suggested by me; for *χάρις* may perhaps be an actual early title of the Messiah. Thus, in the Acts of John already quoted, we have on p. 220 a scrap of a Christian hymn, containing

δόξα σοι λόγε. δόξα σοι χάρις,

and on p. 223 we have a list of titles of our Lord beginning with *σταυρὸς* (readers of the Sibylline books will remember the acrostic, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σταυρὸς) and ending with *χάρις*.

ὁ σταυρὸς ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς ποτὲ μὲν λόγος καλεῖται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ δὲ νόος, ποτὲ δὲ χριστός, ποτὲ θύρα, ποτὲ ὁδός, ποτὲ ἄρτος, ποτὲ σπόρος, ποτὲ ἀνάστασις, ποτὲ Ἰησοῦς, ποτὲ πατήρ, ποτὲ πνεῦμα, ποτὲ ζωή, ποτὲ ἀληθεία, ποτὲ πιστὴς, ποτὲ χάρις.

It has been pointed out to me that the Talmud (Sanhedrin, 98 b) on Jer. xvi. 13 ("I will not give you *הַנִּינָה*") makes Chanina to be one of the names of the Messiah; now this word is only a modification of *יָן* = *χάρις*¹.

IV. *On the Maranatha Cry in the early Christian Assemblies.*

The following additional remarks may be made upon this subject beyond the explanations and references given elsewhere. First there seems to have been a correct tradition among early Christian writers as to its meaning. The following passages have come under my notice. Ps. Athanasius, *Quest. in ep. Pauli* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 760), τὴν λέγει· εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἥτω ἀνάθεμα. Μαράν ἀθά. Τούτεστι· χωρίσατε αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν πιστῶν

¹ Cf. Philo, *Quod deus immutabilis*, 2. Τούτου γίνεταί μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος Ἄννα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δώρημα σοφίας· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ χάρις αὐτῆς. It is conceivable that this interpretation which was certainly common at an early date

in the Church (cf. Jerome *de Nom. Heb.* Anna, gratia ejus, and *Lex. Gr. Nom.* Ἀννά χάρις αὐτῆς) may be the reason for the division *ὡς ἀννά* which we find in Greek mss. and in early printed Greek Testaments.

καὶ ἔστω κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὁ μὴ πιστεύων· Ὁ γὰρ κύριος ἦλθε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύει τὸ Μαράν ἀθά.

John Damascene: (Migne xciv. 706) ἐπειδὴ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ὁ τύφος αἴτιος ἦν καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸν τύφον ἡ ἔξωθεν σοφία ἐποίει καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν τῶν κακῶν, καταστέλλων αὐτὴν οὐδὲ Ἑλλάδι κέχρηται φωνῇ ἀλλὰ τῇ Ἑβραϊδί, δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐ μόνον καταισχύνεται τὴν ιδιωτείαν ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς θερμότητος ἀσπάζεται. Τί δέ ἐστίν τὸ Μαριναθά; ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἦλθεν.

More interesting is the remark (if it should turn out to be correct) that this cry was known to the mob in Alexandria as early as the year 38. We are informed by Philo in his treatise against Flaccus (ed. Mangey ii. 522) that the rabble in Alexandria amused themselves by mocking at a half-witted creature, of the name of Carabas, whom they adorned with a paper crown and rush sceptre and saluted with cries of Μάριν. εἰτ' ἐκ περιστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος, Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων· οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις· ᾗδισαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν καὶ γένει Σύρον κτέ.

We observe in this account that Philo does not profess any acquaintance with Aramaic but takes his interpretation from the crowd: and the question arises as to how the mob knew more Aramaic than Philo. Further the assumption made by Philo that in thus mocking the madman as a Syrian king, the people were intent on insulting King Agrippa, is probably or at least partly gratuitous; for the details of the sport of the boys shew traces of an imitation of facts recorded in the Gospels. Is it unreasonable to suppose that we have here the earliest trace of the circulation of oral accounts describing the fate of the founder of Christianity and the manner of worship of his followers¹?

¹ Of course if the popular Syrian word which the Alexandrians shouted is *Μαράν*, there is no room for a conjecture that we should divide the words *Μαράν ἀθά* differently. Such a suggestion is made by Dr Halévy on the faith of a form *מֶרְאָנָה* = *κύριος ἡμῶν* in a Nabathean inscription, so that he

would read *מֶרְאָנָה* = our Lord, come. See Neubauer in the recently issued *Oxford Studia Biblica*, p. 73. Also remark that our interpretation of the story is (to my no small satisfaction) substantially the same as that of Prof. Mayor in the recent number of the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. xlv. no. 27.

V. *On the Christ-monger of the Teaching.*

In the fragments of Athanasius we find the following comment on the passage in Matt. vii. with regard to the discrimination of false prophets from the true :

πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀφείλεις δοκιμάζειν τοὺς χριστεμπόρους.

The sentence is headed *περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν* and may be found in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxvi. 1253 and xxvii. 1381 ; and I think when we contrast the language with the *Διδαχή* c. xi. ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης, and again πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, and remark the existence of the curious word *χριστεμπορος*, we must admit that we have here a trace of the Teaching. The remark is not without importance : it shews that Athanasius referred the injunctions against idleness and on the necessity of a craft, not to the mere private Christian on his wanderings, but to the prophet travelling on spiritual service.

VI. *On the Signs of the Truth.*

The true signs, according to the Teaching, are i. *ἐκπέτασις* in heaven, ii. the sound of the trumpet, iii. the resurrection of the dead. The only difficulty lies in the first of these : it has been variously interpreted, but generally so as to mean an opening or unfurling in heaven. That the early Christians attached a different meaning to it, and understood by it the appearing of the cross in the heavens, will be clear from the following considerations : *ἐκπέτασις* is the proper term for the crucifixion, or rather for the attitude of the crucified. In the epistle of Barnabas c. x. the writer makes, out of Moses praying in the battle with Amalek, a type of Christ crucified, ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ οὕτως πάλιν ἐνίκα ὁ Ἰσραήλ· εἶτα, ὁπόταν πάλιν καθεῖλε, πάλιν ἐθανατοῦντο· πρὸς τί; ἵνα γινώσιν ὅτι οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσωσι· καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· "Ὁλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὁδῷ δικαίᾳ μου. And

the very same language is employed in the Sibylline books viii. 302 in reference to the crucifixion,

ἐκπέτασει δὲ χέρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει·
εἰς δὲ τὸ βρῶμα χολήν καὶ πίνειν ὄξος ἔδωκαν.

Cf. also *Sib.* viii. 251

ὃν Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὠλένας ἀγνάς,
and *Sib.* i. 372

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐκπετάσῃ χεῖρας καὶ πάντα μετρήσῃ.

The ἐκπέτασις in heaven is then the sign of the Son of Man of Matt. xxiv. 30. The following additional references will shew how common was the belief that the Cross is the sign spoken of, and that the figure of the Crucified is the ἐκπέτασις.

Justin *Dial.* 90. Μωϋσῆς γὰρ πρῶτος ἐξέφανε αὐτοῦ ταύτην τὴν δοκοῦσαν κατάραν δι' ᾧν ἐποίησε σημείων· τίνων τούτων, ἔφη, λέγεις; ὅτι ὁ λαός, φημί, ἐπολέμει τῷ Ἀμαλήκ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱός, ὁ ἐπονομασθεὶς τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι, τῆς μάχης ἦρχεν, αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς ἠΰχετο τῷ θεῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκατέρως ἐκπετάσας... ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὄντος, αὐτὸς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐποίει.

Dial. 91. διὰ τε τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Μωϋσέως.

Cf. *Dial.* 97. καὶ διὰ Ἑσαίου ὁμοίως εἴρητο περὶ τούτου, δι' οὗ τρόπου ἀποθνήσκειν ἐμελλεν, οὕτως· ἐξεπέτασά μου τὰς χεῖρας κτέ.

Dial. 111. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας ἐπὶ τοῦ βουνοῦ μέχρις ἐσπέρας ἔμενεν, ὑποβασταζομένων τῶν χειρῶν, ὃ οὐδενὸς ἄλλον τύπον δείκνυσιν ἢ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὃ δὲ κτέ.

Dial. 112. οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνοίσομεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ τὸ σημεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωϋσῆς διὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν κτέ.

1 *Apol.* 55. τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον σχῆμα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων διαφέρει, ἢ τῷ ὀρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν...καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο δείκνυσιν ἢ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

Irenæus *Adv. Hær.* v. 17. ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλον ἀπεβάλομεν αὐτόν, διὰ ξύλον πάλιν φανερόν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο, ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ μῆκος καὶ ὕψος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὡς ἔφη

τις τῶν προβεβηκότων, διὰ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς εἰς ἓνα θεὸν συνάγων κτέ.

Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii. 18. Iam vero Moyses, quid utique tunc tantum, cum Jesus adversus Amalech præliabatur, *expansis manibus* orabat residens,...nisi quia illic ubi nomen Domini Iesu dimicabat, dimicaturi quandoque adversus diabolum, crucis quoque erit habitus necessarius, per quam Iesus victoriam esset relaturus?

Cf. *De Idololatria* xii. Corpus solum, *quod in modum crucis est.*

I. *Ad Nationes* xii. Crucis qualitas, signum est de ligno; etiam de materia colitis penes vos cum effigie; quanquam sicut vestrum humana figura est, ita et nostrum propria...quoniam *ipsi quoque corpori nostro tacita et secreta linea crucis situs est...* *Si statueris hominem manibus expansis imaginem crucis feceris.*

Cyprian *Testim.* ii. 20. Quod cruci illum fixuri essent Judæi, apud Esaiam: Expandi manus meas tota die, etc.

Cyprian *Testim.* ii. 21. Hoc signo crucis et Amalech victus est ab Jesu per Moysen, etc.

De Exhort. Mart. 8. Moyses ad superandum Amalech qui figuram portabat diaboli in signo et sacramento crucis allevabat supinas manus etc.

The author of the *Opus Imperfectum* in Matt. comments as follows: "Quidam putant crucem Christi ostendendum esse in cælo; verius autem est ipsum Christum in corpore suo habentem testimonia passionis." Jerome comments much in the same strain: "Signum hic aut crucis intelligemus ut videant Judæi quem compunxerunt: aut vexillum victoriæ triumphantis." And Chrysostom, *Homil.* LXXVII. in Matt., *τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· τούτεστιν ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἡλίου φαιδρότερος ὢν.*

Ps. Hippolytus, *de Consummatione Mundi*¹, gives the order

¹ This book, which seems to have played an important part in mediæval theological discussions, is interesting in its parallels with the Teaching.

In c. 3 (col. 906, 7 of Migne) the writer proposes to bring forward faithful witnesses with regard to the doctrine of the end of the age; καὶ μετέπειτα

of signs as in Matthew (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* x. 940), τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν ἀνατελεῖ ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ μηνύσει τοῦ κριτοῦ τὴν ἔλευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐμφανείαν, τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ... τότε γὰρ ὁ σάλπιγξ ἡχήσει καὶ ἐξυπνήσει τοὺς κεκοιμημένους κτέ. Numerous other references might be given to Cyril of Jerusalem, Augustine, Bede, Theophylact, &c. Finally the sentiment has crept into the *Imitatio Christi* (I suppose from the Catholic service-book), so that we read (Bk. ii. c. 12), "atque hoc erit signum Crucis in cælo quum Dominus ad judicandum veniet!"

καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν διδαχὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ προφητείαν, πῶς πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης σαλπίζουσι τῆς συντελείας τὴν ἡμέραν. Among these signs are the following: ἐγεροῦνται ψευδοπροφῆται...οἱ ποιμένες ὡς λύκοι γενήσονται. He follows closely Hippolytus de *Christo et Antichristo* in the explanation that the Antichrist comes of the tribe of Dan, and shews him to be a continual misrepresentation of Christ (ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ).

(Col. 921). κατὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐξομιοῦσθαι βούλεται ὁ πλάνος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ· Λέων ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ λέων ὁ ἀντίχριστος. Βασιλεὺς ὁ Χριστὸς τῶν οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ βασιλεὺς γενήσεται ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ Ἀντίχριστος. Ἐδείχθη ὁ Σωτὴρ ὡς ἄρνιον καὶ αὐτὸς φανήσεται ὡς ἄρνιον, λύκος ὦν ἐνδοθεν κτέ. He is especially favourable to the Jews.

(Col. 925). μετὰ δὲ τούτων ὑπάντων σημεῖα ἐπιτελέσει καὶ θαύματα φοβερὰ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἀλλ' ἐν πλάνῃ; a description which recalls again the language of the Teaching.

¹ Since writing the foregoing explanation it has been pointed out to me that Dr John Wordsworth had already given the same in one of his Articles in the *Guardian*. An enquiry elicited the following courteous and valuable

reply, from which I have derived several of the passages referred to:

"ROCHESTER, Aug. 8, 1885.

"...The explanation you refer to was suggested to me first by Archdeacon Edwin Palmer, and referred to in a note which I wrote to the *Guardian* (printed, March 26th, 1884). The early expositions of Exod. xvii. 12, and Is. lxxv. 2 (= Rom. x. 21), in Barnabas 12, Justin *Dial.* 90, Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii. 18, have no doubt occurred to you with many others, e.g. Cyprian, *Testimon.* 2. 21, *de exhort. Martyrii*, 8 &c.

"But the most important I have come across is the Ethiopic liturgy translated by Rudolphus; in the opening prayer of which we read a sort of paraphrase of the creed, in which 'et filius tuus manifestatus fuit a Spiritu Sancto, ut impleret voluntatem tuam et populum tibi efficeret expandendo manus suas,' &c. is an equivalent of 'crucifixus est.' This liturgy is given in Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, Vol. ii. p. 108, London, 1854.

"I could easily add to these references but doubt not that you have all that I have, though perhaps this liturgical one may be new to you."

DIE APOSTELLEHRE

UND DIE

JÜDISCHEN BEIDEN WEGE

VON

✓
DR. ADOLF HARNACK

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ERWEITERTER ABDRUCK AUS DER REALENCYKLOPÄDIE
FÜR PROTESTANTISCHE THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE
NEBST TEXTEN.



LEIPZIG

J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG

1886.

In der Handschrift (vom Jahre 1056, geschrieben von einem Notar Namens Leon), welche Bryennios im Jerusalemer Kloster zu Konstantinopel entdeckt und aus der er im Jahre 1875 die vollständigen Clemensbriefe edirt hat, befindet sich an 5. Stelle eine an Umfang ungefähr dem Galaterbrief gleichkommende Schrift mit dem Titel: *Μιδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* (Fol. 76a—80, zwischen den Clemens- und Ignatiusbriefen). Diese Schrift hat der Entdecker am Schluss des Jahres 1883 in einer vortrefflichen Ausgabe publizirt (*Μιδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*) und dabei den Beweis angetreten, dass dieselbe aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts stammt und mit der „Apostellehre“ identisch ist, welche Clemens Alex., Eusebius, Athanasius u. A. gekannt haben. Diese Publikation erregte sofort in beiden Welttheilen das höchste Aufsehen, so dass jetzt, nachdem nicht viel mehr als zwei Jahre verstrichen sind, eine eigene Literatur über sie entstanden ist, welche an Ausgaben, Abhandlungen und längeren oder kürzeren Mittheilungen etwa 200 Nummern betragen mag. In der That ist aber auch der neue Fund von höchster Bedeutung für die älteste Kirchengeschichte; er greift in die wichtigsten Probleme derselben ein und bietet nach Inhalt und Form, Adresse und Anlage, Verhältniss zu den biblischen Schriften und zur urchristlichen Literatur überhaupt, nach seinen Beziehungen zur späteren kirchenrechtlichen Literatur, sowie endlich in dogmen-, sitten- und verfassungsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht so ausserordentlich Wichtiges, dass das Aufsehen, welches er erregt hat, wohlbegründet ist. Für die Beantwortung der meisten Fragen aber, welche die neue Schrift anregt, ist die Gesamtbetrachtung der ältesten Kirchengeschichte massgebend. Daher ist sie bereits ein Denkmal historischer Kunst und Noth geworden, zumal da sich Mancher an ihrer Erklärung betheiligt hat, der zu einer solchen nicht

hinreichend vorbereitet war, und da die verschiedenen Kirchenparteien und Richtungen sich selbst in dieser alten Kirchenordnung wiederzufinden wünschten. Unter solchen Umständen ist es nahezu unmöglich, aber auch nicht wünschenswerth, alles das genau zu inventarisiren, was über die „Apostellehre“ geschrieben ist. Im Folgenden sollen am Faden einer kritischen Beschreibung die wichtigsten Kontroverspunkte genannt und kurz dargelegt werden. Ausdrücklich sei bemerkt, dass zwar Sinn, Zweck, Bedeutung und literarhistorische Stellung des Büchleins in den Hauptpunkten sicher angegeben werden können, dass aber im einzelnen noch manche Räthsel der Lösung harren und vielleicht überhaupt nicht sicher zu lösen sind.

1) Inhalt und Disposition der Schrift. Die Schrift zerfällt in zwei, resp. drei Theile. Der erste enthält die Gebote der christlichen Sittlichkeit und kurze Anweisungen über die entscheidenden kirchlichen Handlungen, welche den christlichen Charakter der Gemeinden konstituiren (c. 1—10), der zweite enthält Bestimmungen über den Gemeindeverkehr und das Gemeindegelieben (c. 11—15). Cap. 16 mit der Ermahnung, auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn vorbereitet zu sein, bildet den Beschluss. Der erste Theil ist so disponirt, dass (1) c. 1—6 in der Form der Schilderung „der beiden Wege“ die Gebote der christlichen Sittlichkeit dargelegt werden, sodann (2) von der Taufe (c. 7), von dem Fasten und dem täglichen Gebet (c. 8), von den eucharistischen Gebeten (c. 9. 10) gehandelt wird. Die Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden Abschnitten ist deshalb eine sehr enge, weil die Ausführungen c. 1—6 ausdrücklich c. 7, 1 als solche bezeichnet werden, die jedem Täufling unmittelbar vor der heil. Handlung wörtlich mitgetheilt werden sollen (s. Bielenstein in den Mittheil. u. Nachrichten f. d. ev. K. in Russland, 1885 Febr. und März). Man hat sie also im Sinne des Verfassers als eine Taufrede zu betrachten (*ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσσατε*, heisst es c. 7, 1). Aber auch die Verbindung zwischen den beiden Haupttheilen ist eine enge, sofern c. 11 mit den Worten beginnt: *ὁς ἂν ὅν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν. κτλ.* d. h. die in c. 1—10 gegebenen Ausführungen gelten als die Grundlage des christlichen Bruderbundes: man soll nur mit solchen Christen in Verbindung treten — diesen aber auch alle Freundschaft und Brüderlichkeit be-

währen —, welche das lehren und befolgen, was in c. 1—10 gesagt ist. Auch im einzelnen ist eine gute Disposition fast durchweg zu erkennen. „Die beiden Wege“ sind also beschrieben: Als der Weg des Lebens wird die Gottes- und Nächstenliebe bezeichnet (c. 1, 2). Die Gottesliebe wird — das scheint mir wenigstens die nächstliegende Auffassung der betreffenden Verse in ihrer gegenwärtigen Form zu sein (über die ältere Form s. unten) — dargelegt als sich entfaltend in der Feindesliebe und in der Weltentsagung, die sich in dem Verzicht aufs Recht und in der Entäusserung der irdischen Güter zeigt (c. 1, 3—6), die Nächstenliebe wird entwickelt, erstlich in dem Verhältniss zu allen Menschen, als Vermeidung aller groben und feinen Sünden (c. 2 u. 3), zweitens in dem Verhältniss zu den christlichen Brüdern (c. 4). Hierauf folgt eine summarische Darlegung des Todesweges (c. 5) und sodann ein Anhang (c. 6), in welchem von dem vollkommenen christlichen Leben und von den Konzessionen gehandelt ist. Nun folgt die Anordnung über die Taufe, in welcher der Verfasser allen Nachdruck auf den Gebrauch der Taufformel legt und ausdrücklich die Besprengung neben der Untertauchung in Nothfällen zulässt. Der Taufe soll aber ein Fasten vorausgehen, und diese Bestimmung veranlasst den Verfasser das christliche Fasten gegen das der „Heuchler“, d. h. der Juden, abzugrenzen; aber diese Abgrenzung erfolgt lediglich in Rücksicht auf die verschiedenen Fasttage; dagegen in Bezug auf das Gebet wird eingeschärft, dass man nicht die Gebete der Heuchler beten soll, sondern — und zwar dreimal des Tages — das Vater-Unser. Dieses wird in extenso (samt einer Doxologie) nach Matthäus mitgetheilt. Was die heilige Mahlzeit betrifft, so hat der Verfasser die Gebete vorgeschrieben, die bei derselben (vorher und nachher: s. c. 10, 1: *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*, also eine wirkliche Mahlzeit) gesprochen werden sollen. Ausserdem hat er nur zwei Bestimmungen gegeben, nämlich (1), dass nur Getaufte an der Eucharistie Antheil nehmen sollen, (2) dass die „Propheten“ nicht an den gegebenen Wortlaut der Gebete gebunden sind, sondern ihnen gestattet werden soll „Dank zu sagen, so viel sie wollen“. — Die Bestimmungen über den Gemeindeverkehr und das Gemeindeleben wie sie der zweite Theil bringt, sind also gegliedert: 1) sind Bestimmungen gegeben über das Verhalten in Bezug auf die zureisenden Lehrer des gött-

lichen Worts und die wandernden Brüder sowie über die Pflichten gegen die Gemeindepriester und -Lehrer (c. 11—13), 2) über Ordnungen innerhalb der Einzelgemeinde (c. 14 und 15). Jene sind wie folgt disponirt: (a) Anordnung über die Apostel — sie sind zu rastloser Wanderung und Missionspredigt verpflichtet; sie dürfen daher höchstens zwei Tage an demselben Ort bei christlichen Brüdern bleiben und dürfen nur den nothwendigsten Lebensunterhalt annehmen, s. c. 11, 4—6, (b) Anordnung über die Priester — sie dürfen nicht versucht, d. h. kritisirt werden, wenn sie als rechte Priester erwiesen sind; der rechte Priester erweist sich als solcher durch sein dem Lebenswandel des Herrn ähnliches Betragen; es folgt eine Darlegung, welche Handlungen dem rechten Priester zustehen und welche nicht, s. c. 11, 7—12, (c) Anordnung über die reisenden Brüder — sie sind zwei bis drei Tage lang von der Gemeinde zu verpflegen, dann sollen sie ihr Handwerk ausüben, oder es soll für sie von der Gemeinde sonst eine Beschäftigung, die sie ernährt, ermittelt werden; wollen sie aber nicht arbeiten, so hat man sich von ihnen zu entfernen. Dagegen können die „Priester“, die sich in der Gemeinde niederlassen wollen, und die „Lehrer“ auf Unterhalt seitens der Gemeinde vollen Anspruch erheben; ihnen sind die Erstlinge von Allem zu bringen; denn die Priester sind die „Hohenpriester“. Nur in dem Falle, dass die Gemeinde jener geistlichen Virtuosen entbehrt, sind die Erstlinge den Armen zu übergeben; s. c. 12 und 13. Die Bestimmungen über die Ordnung innerhalb der Einzelgemeinde gruppiren sich um die sonntägliche Opferfeier. Alle sollen am Sonntag zusammenkommen und das schon vom Priester verheissene Opfer feiern. Die Hauptsache ist, dass dieses Opfer rein sei. Rein aber ist es nur, wenn ihm das Sündenbekenntniss und die Beilegung aller Streitigkeiten vorangegangen ist. Zum Opfer gehören ferner Vollzugsbeamte (auf die Bedeutung des *οὐρ* c. 15, 1 hat mich Hatch brieflich aufmerksam gemacht); solche soll sich die Gemeinde wählen, nämlich Bischöfe und Diakonen (*ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κυρίου, ἑρμῆς πραιεὶς καὶ ἀφίλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεὶς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους*). Der Verf. bemerkt, dass auch sie der Gemeinde den Dienst der Priester und Lehrer leisten, dass sie deshalb nicht zu verachten, sondern vielmehr als die „Geehrten“ wie die Priester und Lehrer hoch zu schätzen (d. h. auch zu unterhalten, s. Zahn, Forschungen

III, S. 302) sind. Mit allgemeinen Mahnungen zur Friedfertigkeit, brüderlicher Zurechtweisung, strenger Zucht und einer Lebensführung, die sich in Allem nach dem Evangelium richtet, schliesst dieser Abschnitt. — Die hier gegebene Disposition ist von einigen Gelehrten beanstandet: sie finden die Schrift schlecht oder doch nur theilweise gut disponirt; Andere leugnen die Einheit geradezu; beanstandet ist auch, dass in c. 1 die Gottesliebe dargelegt werde sowie die Ursprünglichkeit der Verse 1, 3—6, resp. die Ursprünglichkeit von Theilen derselben; ferner sind verschiedene Ansichten über das 6. Kapitel in seinem Verhältniss zu c. 1—5 und c. 7 ff. aufgetaucht u. s. w.

2) Titel, Adresse und Zweck der Schrift. In der Handschrift hat das Büchlein zwei Titel, nämlich (1) in der Überschrift: *διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, (2) in der ersten Zeile (s. das Facsimile in der Ausgabe von Schaff S. 4): *διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Über diese Titel im allgemeinen, über ihr Verhältniss zu den verschiedenen Aufschriften, welche eine Apostellehre bei den Kirchenvätern getragen hat, über die Frage, ob der 2. Titel sich etwa nur auf die ersten 5 oder 6 Kapitel bezieht, endlich über das Verständniss der Adresse „*τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*“ sind die Meinungen weit auseinandergegangen. Sieht man von den Aufschriften bei den Kirchenvätern ab, so findet man keinen Grund, die zweite Überschrift im Manuskript zu beanstanden. Die besondere Erwähnung der Zwölfzahl bei den Aposteln ist nicht nur nicht auffällig, sondern war einem Verfasser fast geboten, der auch andere Apostel als die Zwölfe — und zwar noch eben wirkende — gekannt hat. In der Schrift ist ferner das Evangelium durchweg (auch für c. 7—16) die Grundlage und die Generalinstanz; sie enthält also in Wahrheit eine „Herrnlehre“, während die Apostel als Lehrende nirgends hervortreten und der Verfasser keinesfalls an sie als an die wirklichen Autoren dieser seiner evangelischen Kompilationen gedacht hat; mithin ist der Titel *διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τ. ἀποστόλων* völlig zutreffend. Die Apostel haben im Sinne des Verfassers nichts zu der Lehre hinzugethan, sondern lediglich dieselbe übermittelt. Sehr verständlich aber ist es, dass man in der Folgezeit die Worte „*κυρίου διὰ*“ weggelassen hat, zumal wenn man erwägt, dass die späteren Generationen geneigt sein mussten, die Schrift wirklich als von den Aposteln

verfasst zu betrachten und mit einer „*διδασχὴ κυρίου*“ bei gelehrter Reflexion über den Titel nichts anzufangen wussten. Endlich aber ist auch die Adresse „*τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*“ nicht auffallend. Gemeint sind natürlich Christen aus den Heiden, wie der, welcher dem Hebräerbrief die Adresse „*πρὸς Ἑβραίους*“ gegeben hat, an Christen aus den Juden gedacht hat, wie *ἐθνῇ* nicht selten in der christlichen Urliteratur die Christen aus den Heiden bezeichnet (vgl. den Ausdruck *συναγωγὴ τῶν ἔθνων*, Testam. Beniam. 11), und wie die Ausdrücke *εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Ἑβραίους, κατ' Ἀγνοπίους* (vgl. auch Act. 6, 1: *Ἐλλήνισται . . . Ἑβραῖοι*) und ähnliche zu deuten sind. Unsere Schrift richtet sich also an alle Heidenchristen, mithin an ein ideal-reales Publikum, ähnlich wie der Jakobusbrief und andere sog. katholische Briefe und Schriftstücke (s. meine grosse Ausgabe der Didache S. 104—109). Dieses Publikum fasst sie nicht als Katechumenen ins Auge -- denn eine Schrift, welche in das Christenthum einführt, ist die „Apostellehre“ keineswegs —, sondern als bereits gewonnene Christen, die in ihr einen Leitfaden besitzen sollen, wie sie ihr Leben auf Grund des Evangeliums einzurichten und was sie den neu zu gewinnenden Brüdern einzuschärfen haben. Alles ist darauf angelegt, in übersichtlicher, leichtfasslicher und leicht behaltlicher Form die wichtigsten Regeln für das christliche Leben, die *διδάγματα τοῦ κυρίου*, zusammenzustellen. In dem, was die Schrift enthält und was sie nicht enthält, ferner in der Art, wie sie das Ethische und das Dogmatische behandelt, ist sie ein kostbarer Kommentar zu den ältesten Zeugnissen, die wir für das Leben, den Interessenkreis und die Ordnungen der christlichen Gemeinden in vorkatholischer Zeit besitzen (vgl. besonders den Pliniusbrief, den Jakobusbrief, den Hirten des Hermas und die auf die christlichen *μαθήματα* bezüglichen Abschnitte in der Apologie des Justin).

3) Die Überlieferung der Schrift in der Handschrift und die Integrität. So wie die Schrift in der Konstantinopolitanen Handschrift vorliegt, bietet sie fast durchweg einen lesbaren Text und ist von verhältnissmässig wenigen Fehlern entstellt. Den grössten Theil derselben hat bereits Bryennios bemerkt und zu korrigiren versucht, Einiges ist von den späteren Herausgebern und anderen Gelehrten nachträglich verbessert worden. Würden wir aus sonstiger Überlieferung von

der Schrift nichts wissen, keine späteren Bearbeitungen von ihr kennen und ihre Quellen nicht zu ermitteln in der Lage sein, so würden wir uns, vielleicht von einigen Stellen des ersten Kapitels abgesehen, die allerdings den Verdacht späterer Zusätze erregen, bei der Annahme der Integrität der Schrift zu beruhigen haben. In der That kann von c. 2 ab bis zum Schluss kein Passus nachgewiesen werden, der sich nicht in den Zusammenhang fügte; auch scheint nichts ausgefallen zu sein, und der Argwohn einer bedeutenden und unheilbaren Entstellung des Textes findet nur an drei Stellen einigen Grund, nämlich c. 1, 6 (*ἰδοῦτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη*), c. 11, 11 (*ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμοῦν ἐκζησίαν*) und c. 16, 5 (*ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος*). Dagegen erhebt sich eine Reihe von Fragen in Bezug auf die Integrität der Schrift und die Originalität des uns vorliegenden Textes, sobald man die Testimonia der Kirchenväter für die Apostellehre, die späteren Bearbeitungen sowie die Quellen der Schrift in's Auge fasst. Dieselben beziehen sich vor allem auf die sechs ersten Kapitel, aber auch auf die Zusammengehörigkeit der c. 7—16 mit diesen Kapiteln (s. z. B. die Untersuchungen von Hilgenfeld), und sind sehr verschieden beantwortet worden. Die wichtigsten sollen in den folgenden Abschnitten gehörigen Orts Erwähnung finden. Bemerkt sei hier nur noch, dass wahrscheinlich die Formen einiger Worte nach einer späteren Orthographie hie und da verändert worden sind.

4) Die Sprache und der Wortvorrath der Schrift. Die Sprache ist das hellenistische Idiom, genauer das Idiom der Septuaginta in den poetischen Büchern und das der sog. alttestamentlichen Apokryphen, an welche namentlich die ersten Kapitel stark erinnern. Diese sind von zahlreichen Hebraismen durchsetzt; doch ist das Griechische viel besser als das des Hermas. Der Stil ist einfach, populär und knapp. Die Schrift enthält 2190 Wörter (c. 10,700 Buchstaben) und 552 verschiedene Worte. Von diesen kommen 504 auch im N. T. vor; 38 von den restirenden 45 begegnen in der LXX, bei Barnabas oder bei anderen älteren griechischen Schriftstellern. Die Worte, die sich in unserer Schrift allein oder zum erstenmale finden, sind *ἀσχολόγοις*, *γόγγυσος*, *ἐκπέτασις*, *κοσμοπλάνος*, *κυριακή* (für Sonntag, s. Ignat. ad Magn. 9, 1), *πονηρόφρων*, *προσεξομολογέω*, *σιτία*, *ὑψηλόφθαλμος*, *χρωτέμπορος* s. die Ausgabe von Schaff

S. 95—113 und Potwin in der Biblioth. Sacr. 1884, Octob. p. 800 sq.).

5) Die Quellen der Schrift. In Bezug auf die Quellen gehen die Ansichten weit auseinander. Es giebt z. B. solche Gelehrte (s. die Arbeit von Sabatier), welche kein neutestamentliches Buch in der Apostellehre benutzt finden, und es giebt solche, welche in ihr Zeugnisse für nahezu alle neutestamentlichen Schriften entdeckt haben. Ferner fehlt es selbst nicht an Gelehrten, welche, indem sie unsere Schrift bis ins 4. Jahrhundert und noch tiefer herabdrücken, die apostolischen Konstitutionen u. s. w. zu den Quellen derselben rechnen. Beide Extreme sind gleich willkürlich und verwerflich. Zunächst im allgemeinen: es giebt unter den uns bekannten urchristlichen Schriften keine zweite, die, bei hoher Originalität in der Disposition und Form, überall in dem Grade abhängig ist von älteren Schriften wie die *Λιδαχή*. Allein diese Abhängigkeit ist in dem Zweck begründet, den der Verfasser sich gesetzt hat. Er wollte die *Λιδαχή κυρίου δια τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* zusammenfassen und zur Darstellung bringen; daher hat er alle eigenen Gedanken zurückgestellt, die Überlieferung aber geordnet und in knappster Form zusammengefasst. Seine Schrift will sein und ist ein kräftiger Niederschlag der ältesten, mündlich und schriftlich überlieferten Lehren, wie dieselben christliche Gemeinden im römischen Reiche begründet haben. Ausdrückliche Citate, resp. ausdrückliche Verweisungen, finden sich acht in der Schrift. Zwei von ihnen (14, 3; 16, 7) beziehen sich auf das A. T., eingeführt durch die Formel: *αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ὁηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου*, resp. *ὡς ἐρρέθη* (s. Maleachi 1, 11. 14; Sachar. 14, 5), fünf auf das Evangelium (8, 2; 9, 5; 11, 3; 15, 3; 15, 4), eingeführt durch: *ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ — περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος — κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου — ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*, eine auf eine uns unbekannte, heilige Schrift (1, 6). Das A. T. ist ausserdem in den ersten fünf Kapiteln reichlich benutzt, und zwar sowohl der Dekalog als die alttestamentliche Spruchliteratur (Proverbien, Sirach, auch Tobit u. s. w.). Von aller gnostischen Kritik des A. T. war der Verf. weit entfernt; er beurtheilte das A. T. wie die apostolischen Väter es beurtheilt haben. David ist ihm *παῖς θεοῦ* wie Christus (9, 2), die Maleachi-Stelle ist als ein Herrnwort eingeführt — also

nahm er wohl an, dass Christus im A. T. geredet hat —, und die ganze Schrift schliesst mit einem alttestamentlichen Citat. Das Gebot der Erstlinge (c. 13) ist dem mosaischen Gesetze nachgebildet. Augenscheinlich ist ihm das A. T. „die h. Schrift“ gewesen; denn von einem neutestamentlichen Kanon findet sich keine Spur. Dagegen appellirt er nicht nur in den oben bezeichneten fünf Stellen an das schriftlich fixirte Evangelium, sondern die ganze Schrift ist durchzogen von Anspielungen und längeren oder kürzeren Citaten — ich zähle 23 — aus „dem Evangelium“, welches als den Gemeinden bekannt vorausgesetzt wird (s. die Tabelle in meiner Ausgabe S. 70—76). Siebzehn von diesen 23 Stücken müssen einfach auf das Matth.-Evangelium zurückgeführt werden; unter diesen 17 sind nur wenige, welche einen andern Text des Matth.-Ev., als wir jetzt lesen, vermuthen lassen; ja es liegt bis auf einen Fall die Annahme näher, dass der Verf. den Text frei reproduziert resp. absichtlich geändert hat (er schreibt 10, 6 *ὁσαυτὰ τῷ θεῷ λαβὼν*, gibt c. 16 die eschatologische Rede Matth. 24 frei und sehr verkürzt wieder; nur der Zusatz *τὸν ποιῶσάντᾳ σε* Matth. 22, 37 [c. 1, 2] ist keine selbständige Veränderung, sondern stammt aus Sirach und findet sich auch bei Justin). Indessen ist — die Integrität der Schrift vorausgesetzt — die Annahme nicht durchweg zu halten, dass „das Evangelium“ in der Apostellehre einfach das Matth.-Ev. ist: denn 1) der Spruch Matth. 7, 12 findet sich in der *Act.* (c. 1, 2) in anderer Fassung — dies Argument ist jedoch nicht schwerwiegend, da er überhaupt nicht aus einem Evangelium entnommen zu sein braucht —, 2) die umfangreichen evangelischen Citate c. 1, 3—5 zeigen einen aus Matthäus und Lukas gemischten Text, der ausserdem Sätze enthält, die sich weder bei Matthäus noch bei Lukas finden, 3) der Kelch steht c. 9, 2 dem Brote voran wie bei Lukas — auch das ist nicht von durchschlagender Wichtigkeit —, 4) c. 16, 1 ist wiederum eine Textmischung aus Matthäus und Lukas zu konstatiren. Die Textmischungen aus diesen Evangelien stimmen aber in frappanter Weise mit Tatian's Diatessaron zusammen. Wie diese Thatsache zu erklären ist, muss leider im Dunklen bleiben. So weit das Material Schlüsse zulässt, ist das Urtheil zu fällen: entweder hat der Verf. einfach unsern Matthäus und sekundär den Lukas benutzt oder er hat unter „dem Evangelium“ ein aus dem Lukas-

Ev. bereichertes Matth.-Ev. vorausgesetzt und zur Hand gehabt. Durch nichts aber ist die Annahme empfohlen, dass unser Verf. den evangelischen Stoff in einer älteren Rezension — etwa in der der berühmten „Logia“ — gekannt hat, als er in unseren Synoptikern vorliegt. An das Hebräerevangelium darf jedenfalls nicht gedacht werden (gegen Krawutzcky u. A.): denn abgesehen von der Verwandtschaft einiger Citate mit Lukas, verbietet die Beobachtung, dass der Text der meisten Citate wörtlich mit dem Matthäus-Ev. stimmt, jene Annahme. Unser Matthäus und das Hebräerevangelium sind nicht so nahe verwandt gewesen. — Von dem Johannes-Ev. findet sich in den Citaten des Verfassers keine Spur. Dagegen enthalten die vom Verfasser mitgetheilten, aber jedenfalls ihm selbst schon überlieferten eucharistischen Gebete zahlreiche Begriffe und Sätze, die auf das frappanteste an die Abschiedsreden Jesu bei Johannes, vor allem an c. 17, erinnern (s. meine Ausgabe S. 79 ff.). Was aber noch mehr besagen will als alle einzelnen Übereinstimmungen: die ganze Auffassung vom Abendmahl, wie sie in den Gebeten zu Tage tritt, ist — von der eschatologischen Spitze jener Gebete abgesehen — dieselbe, wie die, welche Joh. 6 vorliegt. Es fehlt die Rücksichtnahme auf die Sündenvergebung und den Tod Christi dort und hier; dagegen tritt die Mahlzeit unter den Gesichtspunkt einer „geistlichen Speise“, die da zum ewigen Leben führt. Dass nun Joh. 6 und 17 wirklich den Gebeten zu Grunde liegt, kann nicht mit erheblicher Wahrscheinlichkeit behauptet werden; vielmehr hat man sich mit der Einsicht, dass es derselbe Geist ist, der hier und dort gewaltet hat, zu begnügen. — Paulinische Briefe sind in der Apostellehre nicht citirt; auch gibt es keine einzige Stelle, an welcher die Benutzung jener Briefe evident zu nennen wäre. Doch fehlen beachtenswerthe Spuren einer Kenntniss derselben nicht (c. 6, 3: *ἰδωλόθυτον*, c. 11, 5. 6 = 1 Kor. 11, 26; c. 10, 6: *μαρὰν ἁθὰ*; c. 11, 3 f. über die Propheten; c. 11, 11: *μυστήριον ἐκκλησίας*; c. 12, 3: *ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω*; c. 13, 1 f.: *προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι*; c. 16, 4—8 Ausführungen über den Antichrist u. A.); nimmt man eine solche an — und sie ist für 1 Kor. (s. auch Röm. u. 2 Thess.) am wahrscheinlichsten —, so muss man zugleich behaupten, dass der Verf. den Paulus korrigirt hat (er schreibt 11, 7: *πάντα προφήτην οὐ πειράσσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε*, anders Paulus 1 Kor. 12, 10; 14,

29). Von einer bindenden Autorität der Paulusbriefe war also noch nicht die Rede. Angebliche Spuren einer Kenntniss der Apostelgeschichte, der Johannesapok., des 1. Petrusbriefs sind nichtig; bedeutender sind gewisse Verwandtschaften mit dem Judasbrief (demgemäss auch mit 2 Petr.); Spuren einer Kenntniss der Pastoralbriefe fehlen ganz. — Die umstrittenste Frage ist aber die nach dem Verhältniss der Apostellehre zu dem Barnabasbrief (resp. auch zum Hirten des Hermas). Während sich Bryennios, Krawutzcky, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Gooszen, Gordon, Meyboom, Bonet-Maury, der Verfasser u. A. für die Priorität des Barnabasbriefes ausgesprochen haben, hat die grosse Mehrzahl der Forscher (z. B. Zahn, Schaff, Funk, Arnold, Sabatier, Lechler, Langen, sowie fast alle englischen und amerikanischen Gelehrten, z. B. Ligthfoot, Warfield, Farrar, Venables, Potwin) vielmehr der Apostellehre die Priorität zuerkannt. In diese Frage schlägt die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Buches, vor allem ein Fund, den wir von Gebhardt verdanken, bedeutungsvoll ein. Daher kann sie hier nur so weit erörtert werden, als dies ohne Rücksicht auf die Vorgeschichte und die Überlieferungsgeschichte möglich ist. Geht man von der meines Erachtens nicht zu beanstandenden Integrität des Barnabasbriefes aus, vergleicht man mit diesem Briefe die Apostellehre, so wie sie uns vorliegt, und lässt man die Möglichkeit einer gemeinsamen Quelle noch bei Seite, so kann die Annahme der Priorität jenes Briefes zur höchsten Wahrscheinlichkeit erhoben werden. Der Thatbestand ist in Kürze folgender: C. 1, 1. 2; 2, 2 — 7; 3, 7—6, 2 der Apostellehre (s. meine Ausgabe S. 66 f. 81 ff.) decken sich wesentlich, wenn auch nicht überall ganz wörtlich, mit Barn. 18—20, aber die Reihenfolge der Stücke ist eine ganz verschiedene, und zwar bei Barnabas eine ganz ungeordnete, in der Apostellehre eine trefflich disponirte. Im Rahmen der Schilderung der beiden Wege bietet aber die Apostellehre ferner (1) eine Reihe von evangelischen Sprüchen, s. c. 1, 2—5, (2) ein nicht zu belegendes Stück aus einer älteren Schrift, s. 1, 6, (3) einen Abschnitt, der der alttestamentlichen Spruchliteratur nachgebildet ist, s. 3, 1—6, (4) eine Reihe von grösseren und kleineren Zusätzen zu den mit Barnabas gemeinsamen Abschnitten, so in 2, 2; 2, 3; 2, 5; 2, 6; 3, 8; 4, 2; 4, 5; 4, 14. Barnabas

dagegen bietet über die Apostellehre hinaus in den zur Frage stehenden Capiteln sehr Weniges, nämlich ein paar Sätzchen mehr in c. 19, 2. 3. 8, einen unverständlichen Satz c. 19, 4 und einige Worte mehr in c. 19, 10. In diesen Fällen lässt sich ein Grund für das Fehlen in der Apostellehre nahezu überall leicht nachweisen. Auch die Verschiedenheit der Textgestalt in den parallelen Abschnitten fällt mindestens nicht zum Nachtheil des Barnabas aus (s. meine Ausgabe S. 84 ff.); allein absichtlich will ich hier von dieser absehen, da man auf solche subtile Beobachtungen sichere Schlüsse nicht bauen kann. Wir halten uns an den oben gegebenen Thatbestand. Wenn von zwei Schriftstellern A einen Stoff m, C aber den Stoff $m + n$ bringt, so ist natürlich a priori nicht zu entscheiden, wer der Gewährsmann des Anderen gewesen ist; denn Verkürzungen sind ebensowohl möglich als Erweiterungen. Wenn aber C selbst ausdrücklich sein Elaborat als eine Kompilation bezeichnet — *διδαχὴ συντόμω διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων* —, wenn ferner jenes n offenkundig lauter von anders woher genommenen, nicht originalen Stoff umfasst, so ist es schlechterdings unmöglich, die Arbeit von A für ein Exzerpt aus C zu halten. So aber steht es in diesem Fall. Wäre Barnabas der Ausschreiber, so hätte er mit Sorgfalt alle evangelischen Sprüche aus der Apostellehre weggelassen (!); er hätte 3, 1—6 weggelassen; er hätte endlich die gute Reihenfolge in der Apostellehre in ein Chaos verwandelt. Das glaube, wer mag! Dazu kommt noch ein anderes. Das 16. Capitel der Apostellehre ist in v. 1 und in v. 3—8 zugestandenermassen eine blosse Compilation aus evangelischen Stellen, Sach. 14, 5 und einer Überlieferung über den Antichrist. Dazwischen steht ein Vers (v. 2), der von dorthier nicht zu belegen ist, aber an Barn. 4, 10. 9 eine fast wörtlich genaue Parallele hat (s. meine Ausgabe S. 287 f.). Wäre Barnabas der spätere, so hätte er gerade den einzigen Vers, der das geistige Eigenthum des Verfassers der Apostellehre ist, sich angeeignet. Ist das glaublich, oder ist nicht vielmehr der umgekehrte Fall allein wahrscheinlich, dass, da alle übrigen Verse des 16. Capitels entlehnt sind, auch *Αἰθ.* 16, 2 entlehnt ist? Ferner aber — und das scheint mir noch entscheidender — der Verf. des Barnabasbriefes ist der Überzeugung, dass die Endzeit bereits angebrochen ist (s. c. 4, 3: *τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἡγγικεν*) und dass „die letzten Tage“

bereits da sind. Er schreibt daher 4, 9: *διὸ προσέχομεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλοις ἀντιστῶμεν*. Der Verf. der Apostellehre dagegen zeigt sich von der sicheren Überzeugung, dass das Ende jetzt eintreten werde, nicht mehr durchdrungen. Daher fehlt bei ihm das „νῦν“, und er beschreibt einfach, wie es in den letzten Tagen zugehen werde, ohne die Gewissheit auszudrücken, dass dieselben bevorstehen: *οὐ γὰρ ὀφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε*. *Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται κτλ.* Dies ist ohne Zweifel eine mattere Formulirung. Hiernach ist das Urtheil unumgänglich: die Apostellehre, wie sie uns in der Konstantinopolitaner Handschrift vorliegt, ist dem Barnabasbriefe gegenüber sekundär (vgl. auch *Αιδ.* 10, 6: *τῷ θεῷ Ιαβὶδ*, mit *Barn.* 12, 10. 11, der es als einen Irrthum der Sünder bezeichnet, Jesus Davidssohn zu nennen; um dieser Stelle willen wird man den obigen Ausdruck in der Apostellehre nicht mit einigen Forschern für eine Bezeichnung Gottes des Vaters halten dürfen, wovon auch das vorangestellte *ὁσαννά* abräth), und sie ist entweder von ihm selbst oder von Stoffen, die er benutzt hat, abhängig (resp. von beiden); ausgeschlossen ist die Möglichkeit, dass Barnabas die Apostellehre, wie sie uns in der Handschrift vorliegt, abgeschrieben hat. — Unsicherer ist es, wie sich die Apostellehre zum Hirten des Hermas verhält. Die Beziehungen sind selten; sie finden sich deutlich nur *Αιδ.* 1, 5 zu *Mand.* II, 4—6 und — sehr zweifelhaft — *Αιδ.* 5 zu *Mand.* VIII, 3—5. Da diese Stoffe, wie sich später zeigen wird, in verschiedenen Rezensionen umliefen, so lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, dass die Apostellehre den Hirten zur Grundlage hat. Ausgeschlossen ist aber wiederum, wie die erste Parallele lehrt, das umgekehrte Verhältniss. Das gibt auch Zahn zu, der die Abhängigkeit der Apostellehre vom Hirten übrigens mit Recht für wahrscheinlich hält. In der letzten Zeit sind aber in Bezug auf die c. 1—5, namentlich von amerikanischen, englischen und französischen Gelehrten, noch zahlreiche Parallelen aus *Philo*, *Pseudophokylides* (*Usener*), den *Sibyllen*, ferner auch — dies ist besonders werthvoll — aus *Talmud* und *Midrasch* nachgewiesen

worden. Scheidet man aus den ersten 5 Kapiteln c. 1. 3—6 aus — und diese Ausscheidung wird unten gerechtfertigt werden —, so bleibt fast nichts spezifisch Christliches nach und das Wenige lässt sich mit Hülfe anderer Urkunden auch noch als Zusatz entfernen. Somit liegt die Vermuthung ausserordentlich nahe, dass „die beiden Wege“ ein jüdisches Produkt sind, für Proselyten bestimmt, auf dem Dekalog und einer Verfeinerung seiner Gebote beruhend, welches mit dem A. T. in die ältesten Christengemeinden herübergekommen ist (s. meine Dogmengeschichte Bd. I, S. 105).

6) Der Standpunkt des Verfassers der Schrift. Hier sind leider die grössten Verschiedenheiten in den Ansichten der Gelehrten zu verzeichnen. Die Apostellehre ist gehalten worden für judenchristlich, aber vorpaulinisch (Sabatier), für judenchristlich, aber nicht ebionitisch (Schaff und eine grosse Anzahl von Schriftstellern, auch Bestmann), für antipaulinisch und sadducäisch, für häretisch und antichristlich (Churton), für ebionitisch, für semiebionitisch, dabei aber antiebionitisch (s. Krawutzcky, Kathol. Kirchenlex., 2. Aufl., III, S. 1869 ff.), für hellenistisch-christlich d. i. vulgär heidenchristlich, für antimontanistisch und antignostisch (Bryennios), für montanistisch (Hilgenfeld und Bonet-Maury), für theodotianisch (Krawutzcky), für katholisch resp. für eine Fälschung aus byzantinischer Zeit (Cotterill u. A.). Gegen die Annahme, dass die Haltung des Verfassers katholisch, montanistisch, gnostisch, sadducäisch und antichristlich u. s. w. sei, braucht man die Schrift nicht erst zu schützen. Ebensowenig ist es nothwendig, auf die Unterschiebung antignostischer, antimontanistischer und monarchianischer oder der „Heilsgeschichte“ feindlicher Tendenzen einzugehen. Wohl aber bedarf es einer Ablehnung der sehr verbreiteten Ansicht, dass der Verfasser der Schrift ein Judenchrist und seine Tendenzen judenchristliche gewesen seien. Soll bei dem Ersteren lediglich an einen geborenen Juden gedacht werden, so mag die These als nicht weiter diskutirbar passiren — auch Paulus, Barnabas und Apollo waren geborene Juden, und Hermas schrieb judengriechisch —, nur wäre schwerlich an einen palästinensischen Juden zu denken. Soll bei dem Letzteren nur verstanden werden, dass der Verfasser nicht von Paulus

gelernt hat, so ist nichts einzuwenden. Soll das Buch lediglich deshalb als judenchristlich gelten, weil es nicht nur jüdische Ideen, sondern sogar einen jüdischen Aufsatz in sich birgt, so mag — nur ist vor dem missverständlichen Gebrauch des Wortes „judenchristlich“ zu warnen — die Behauptung passiren. Allein man versteht hier unter judenchristlich fast ausnahmslos die Zugehörigkeit des Verfassers zu einem Kreise, der sich von den heidenchristlichen Gemeinden im Reiche spezifisch unterschieden hat und noch in irgend welchem Masse mit dem Judenthum als Nation zusammenhing. In diesem Sinne aber ist die Annahme falsch und irreführend. Sie hängt mit eingewurzelten Irrthümern betreffs der ältesten Geschichte des Christenthums überhaupt zusammen — Irrthümern, die als Residuum der Baur'schen Geschichtsbetrachtung in den Köpfen seiner Gegner hängen geblieben sind — und wird daher schwer auszurotten sein. Der Thatbestand ist in Kürze folgender: (1) der Verfasser schweigt über die Beschneidung und sonstige jüdische Riten vollständig, (2) er nennt die Juden an den beiden Stellen, wo er sie erwähnt, einfach „Heuchler“ (c. 8) und warnt davor, auch nur an denselben Tagen wie sie zu fasten, (3) von der Beobachtung des mosaischen Gesetzes ist nirgendwo die Rede, ebensowenig von einem Vorzug irgend einer Nation in der Christenheit, (4) in dem grossen eschatologischen Abschnitt (c. 16), der aus Matth. genommen ist, fehlen alle die Stellen, die sich auf Jerusalem oder auf das jüdische Volk, den Tempel u. s. w. beziehen, und von einem Herrlichkeitsreich in Palästina ist nicht die Rede, obgleich der Verfasser ein sichtbares Reich Christi auf Erden vorausgesetzt hat, wie der Glaube an eine doppelte Auferstehung beweist (s. Lechler, Ap. und nachapost. Zeitalter, 3. Aufl., S. 592), (5) nicht das Hebräerev., sondern Matth. und Luk., resp. eine Bearbeitung derselben, ist benutzt, vielleicht auch — s. oben — paulinische Briefe. (6) Jesus heisst nicht der Sohn, sondern der Gott Davids, (7) das Buch ist in den Gebrauch der katholischen Kirchen übergegangen. Diese Beobachtungen sind ausschlaggebend, um den Verf. von allem Ebionitismus, dem groben und dem konzilianteren, zu entlasten. Wo das Judenthum als Nation in der Religion keine Rolle mehr spielt, da gibt es schlechterdings kein Judenchristenthum mehr. Eine Betrachtung der Dinge, die bis zur Zeit Hadrians in der Christenheit ausser Ju-

denchristenthum und Paulinismus nichts wahrzunehmen vermag, geräth hier allerdings in Verlegenheit — denn ein Paulusschüler war der Verfasser der Apostellehre nicht —; aber die Tage dieser kümmerlichen Auffassung sind bereits gezählt. Es werden jedoch bestimmte Wahrnehmungen geltend gemacht, welche die judenchristliche, dabei aber nicht antipaulinische Haltung des Verfassers erweisen sollen. Schaff hat sie (S. 125 ff. seiner Ausgabe) zusammengestellt; mit einigen anderen, die aus anderen Autoren geschöpft sind — die ganz nichtigen habe ich weggelassen —, sind es folgende: (1) Nur die Zwölfe, nicht der Apostel Paulus, sind in der Apostellehre erwähnt — aber in diesem Stücke unterscheidet sich der Verf. nicht von sehr vielen unzweifelhaft vulgär-christlichen Schriftstellern, aus der Zeit vor der Schöpfung des neutestamentl. Kanons, 2) der Stil und die Phraseologie sind hebraisirend — aber die christliche Religion ist aus dem Judenthum entsprungen, hat sich aus dem A. Test. erbaut und ihre ersten Bekenner unter solchen Heiden gezählt, die schon vom Judenthum berührt waren, also ist es nur natürlich, dass die religiöse Sprache stets von der LXX und durch das Medium derselben vom Hebräischen bestimmt gewesen ist, (3) der Verf. nennt die Propheten Hohepriester — diese Art der Ausbeutung des A. T.'s war in den heidenchristlichen Gemeinden nicht die Ausnahme, sondern die Regel, (4) der Verfasser fordert die Erstlinge für die Propheten — diese zweite Art der Verwerthung des N. T.'s fehlt selbst bei Paulus nicht ganz; sie ist in der ältesten Zeit in den heidenchristlichen Gemeinden allerdings mit grosser Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung geübt worden; aber ganz gefehlt hat sie nie, und bald nach der Zeit Justins hat sie bedeutende Fortschritte gemacht, (5) der Verf. warnt, dass man nicht mit den Juden am Montag und Donnerstag fasten soll; er befiehlt das Fasten am Mittwoch und Freitag und nennt den Freitag *παρασκευή* — aber selbst wenn der Verf. das Fasten an den jüdischen Fasttagen unbeanstandet gelassen hätte, wäre dies so wenig ein Zeichen von Judenchristenthum, als die Praxis der Quartadecimaner an sich ein solches ist. Die Beibehaltung gewisser jüdischer Formen bei Christianisirung des Inhalts ist ein wesentliches Charakteristikum der christlichen Religion überhaupt. Die Polemik unseres Verf.'s zeigt mithin, dass er ein sehr entschiedener Antijudaist (im na-

tionalen Sinn) gewesen ist; andererseits zeigt sie aber nicht einmal das sicher, dass er wirklich Christen im Auge gehabt hat, welche zu einem national-beschränkten Christenthum hinneigten. Dass er die Tage nach jüdischer Art benannt hat, ist nicht auffallend; denn die Woche kommt hier im religiösen Sinne in Betracht. Man besass aber in den christlichen Gemeinden nur für den Sonntag einen spezifisch-christlichen Namen, den auch unser Verfasser kennt (14, 1: *κυριακή κυρίου*); in der Bezeichnung der übrigen Wochentage schloss man sich einfach der jüdischen Benennung an, die durch die Leidenswoche Christi gleichsam geheiligt war. Über den Sabbath schweigt unser Verfasser ganz; er ist ihm eben nicht wie der Sonntag oder wie der Mittwoch und Freitag ein irgendwie ausgezeichnete Tag, (6) der Verfasser befiehlt, dreimal des Tages das Vater-Unser zu beten in offenbarem Anschluss an die jüdische Sitte — aber erstlich gilt hierüber, was sub 5 bemerkt worden ist, zweitens wissen wir nicht sicher, welche Tagesstunden der Verfasser im Sinne gehabt hat, drittens hat sich nachweisbar die Beobachtung dreier Gebetszeiten in den heidenchristlichen Gemeinden des 2. Jahrhunderts eingebürgert, ist also nichts spezifisch Judenchristliches, (7) der Verf. fasst das Christenthum wesentlich als die höchste Moral, er ist ein Moralist im besseren Sinne des Worts, „wie Jakobus und Matthäus“; er ist überhaupt dem Apostel Jakobus geistig sehr verwandt und er hat von dem Erlösungstod Christi und den Mysterien des Glaubens fast ganz abgesehen, also kann er nur ein Judenchrist gewesen sein — um dieses Argument zu widerlegen, müsste man weit ausholen; dass es nichtig ist, kann hier nicht erwiesen werden, ebensowenig dass „Jakobus“, d. h. der Briefschreiber, kein Judenchrist gewesen ist; s. im Allgemeinen meine Dogmengeschichte Bd. I, S. 61 ff. 100 ff. 215 ff. In Wahrheit ist das Argument umzukehren, d. h. für die vulgär-christliche Haltung des Verfassers zu verwenden; (8) der Verf. greift die jüdische Religion nirgends an und unterscheidet sich dadurch streng von Barnabas — aber der Verf. greift überhaupt nicht an; die Juden sind ihm übrigens, wie dem Barnabas, ein Volk von Heuchlern; das Argument ist ausserdem ein ganz verworrenes; denn die jüdische Religion hat, streng genommen, ausser Paulus, Johannes und dem Verfasser des Hebräerbriefs, nur der Gnostizismus angegriffen; die Vorväter der

katholischen Kirche haben diese Religion vielmehr für ihre eigene erklärt und dem heuchlerischen und verführten Volk der Juden den Besitz und das Verständniss derselben abzusprechen versucht. — Alle diese Beobachtungen beweisen also nicht, was sie beweisen sollen; sie erhärten zum Theil vielmehr das Entgegengesetzte. Es ist aber schliesslich noch ein Argument hier zu nennen, welches als das kräftigste zum Erweise des Judenchristenthums des Verfassers angeführt wird: er soll (c. 6) nicht nur das (judenchristliche) Verbot des Götzenopferfleisches eingeschärft, sondern auch die Beobachtung der jüdischen Speisegebote als den Gipfel der christlichen Vollkommenheit angesehen, sie jedoch nicht mehr für unumgänglich gehalten haben. Was erstlich das Verbot des Götzenopferfleisch-Essens betrifft, so hat dasselbe nachweisbar seit dem Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts in den Gemeinden im Reiche, soweit wir sie kennen, gegolten (vgl. Keim, Aus dem Urchristenth. S. 88 f.; Schmidt, De apost. decreti sententia p. 58 sq.); also folgt aus demselben nichts für den judenchristlichen Ursprung der Apostellehre. Den zweiten Punkt aber anlangend, so hätte doch an der beliebten Erklärung die Erwägung stutzig machen sollen, dass eine Ansicht, nach welcher die Beobachtung der jüdischen Speisegesetze den Gipfel der christlichen Vollkommenheit darstellen soll, schlechterdings unerhört ist. Judenchristen haben gewiss, wie ihre Brüder, die Juden, ihrer Gemeinschaft beitretenen Heiden die Beobachtung der Speisegesetze unter Umständen bis zu einem gewissen Grade erleichtert; aber jene Betrachtungsweise hat desshalb noch keinen Raum. Und wie sollte unser Verfasser von der Beschneidung, dem Sabbathsgebot, dem jüdischen Volksthum vollkommen schweigen, dagegen lediglich die Speisen erwähnen und auf diese jenes Gewicht legen? Wie sollte er c. 1—5 lediglich sittliche Anforderungen stellen, um dann in dem nachgebrachten 6. Capitel die Beobachtung der jüdischen Speisegesetze als den Gipfel der Vollkommenheit zu erklären? Also kann in dem Satze: *περὶ τῆς βρώσεως ὃ δύνασαι βάσταςον ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου μίαν πρόσχε*, unter *βρώσις* nicht die jüdische Speisenordnung gemeint sein, sondern eine asketische Beschränkung in den Speisen, vor allem in Bezug auf den Fleischgenuss, an welchen man wegen *εἰδωλόθυτον* besonders zu denken hat. Diese Annahme, welche auch von dem besten Kenner der jü-

dischen Ordnungen, Schürer, für die einzig mögliche erachtet wird, passt ferner allein in den Context. Dieser gebietet das 6. Capitel — die Worte: *εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ τοῦτο ποίει* — so zu fassen, dass es einen Nachtrag enthält zu den zwei Wegen, in welchem die Unterscheidung einer geringeren und einer höheren, d. h. streng asketischen, enkratitischen Sittlichkeit nachgebracht wird. Dieser Nachtrag ist für die Haltung und somit auch für die Zeit des Verfassers von hoher Bedeutung, aber für das angebliche jüdische Christenthum des Verfassers beweist er schlechterdings nichts. Hat aber das 6. Capitel in dieser oder einer ähnlichen Gestalt schon zu den vorauszusetzenden jüdischen „beiden Wegen“ (s. oben) gehört, dann wäre vielleicht bei *βρωσις* an die jüdischen Speisegesetze zu denken, dann wäre aber zugleich anzunehmen, dass der Christ, welcher diese „beiden Wege“ als christliche in Anspruch genommen hat, unter *βρωσις* enkratitische Speisegesetze verstanden wissen wollte — solche Umdeutungen jüdischer Gebote in der christlichen Gemeinde waren ja etwas ganz Gewöhnliches.

Der Standpunkt des Verfassers der Apostellehre ist der des vulgären Heidenchristenthums der älteren Zeit, wie dasselbe aus dem jüdischen Hellenismus durch Hinzutritt des Glaubens an Jesus Christus und einiger evangelischer Sprüche und Anordnungen entstanden ist, und zwar ist der Verfasser ein klassischer Zeuge für jenen Standpunkt, weil er ihm fast nichts Individuelles beigemischt hat. In dieser Hinsicht steht er dem Verfasser des sog. 2. Clemensbriefes am nächsten. Abstrahirt man ferner bei den sog. apostolischen Vätern von dem, was jedem eigenthümlich ist, und stellt das Gemeinsame zusammen, zieht man aus Justin Schlüsse auf das Christenthum der Gemeinden, die er kannte, so kommen die Ergebnisse dem sehr nahe, was wir der Apostellehre entnehmen können. Ihr Verfasser ist kein Judenchrist und kein Pauliner, auch gebührt ihm, trotzdem er vor falschen Lehrern im allgemeinen warnt, kein mit *ἀντί* zusammengesetztes Prädikat — höchstens antijüdisch, d. h. das jüdische Volk verdammend, wäre er zu nennen. Er ist Universalist und weiss nichts von einem Unterschied der Nationen; er sieht in der *διδασχὴ κυρίου* vor allem eine sittlich-soziale Ordnung; er setzt selbstverständlich voraus, dass die Christen die Kraft be-

sitzen, diese Ordnung durchzuführen; er will, dass in den Gebeten wie im ganzen Leben die Hoffnung auf den Eintritt des Endes, auf die Sammlung der zerstreuten Kirche in das Gottesreich und auf die Auferstehung zum Ausdruck komme; er will, dass die Christenheit, die von Gott geheiligte Kirche, auch heilig sei. Er bekennt sich in den Gebeten zu Gott, dem allmächtigen Herrn, der alle Dinge um seines Namens willen geschaffen hat, der den Menschen Speise und Trank giebt, welcher der heilige Vater ist, der seinem Namen in den Herzen der Gläubigen Wohnung gemacht hat. Er bekennt sich ferner zum Sohn, zu Jesus, dem *παῖς θεοῦ*, der uns vom Vater den Glauben und die Erkenntniss und das unsterbliche Leben geoffenbart hat; er sieht in ihm den Gott Davids, den heiligen Weinstock Davids und den Herrn, der durch die Propheten geredet hat; er verehrt in ihm die persönliche Gnade Gottes, welche zu besitzen mehr werth ist als die Welt (*ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος*), und wartet auf die Wiederkunft Christi. Er bekennt sich neben Vater und Sohn auch zum Geiste, welcher die bereitet hat, welche von Gott berufen sind. Endlich er fusst auf dem A. T., der höchsten jüdischen Ethik und dem Evangelium; er sieht in den zwölf Aposteln die Mittelglieder in der Überlieferung zwischen dem Herrn und den Gemeinden, und er bezeugt die Taufe und das Abendmahl als die wichtigsten Handlungen: man wird Christ durch die Taufe und man bleibt es durch den Antheil an der eucharistischen Feier. Das ist in Kürze der „Standpunkt“, d. h. das Christenthum, des Verfassers.

7) Zeit und Ort der Abfassung der Schrift. In Bezug auf die Zeit der Abfassung der Apostellehre haben die verschiedenen Ausleger alle Decennien von dem J. 50 bis 190 mit Beschlag belegt, und ausserdem fehlen selbst solche nicht, welche die Schrift in das 4. Jahrhundert (gleichzeitig mit den apostolischen Constitutionen oder nach denselben, so Long in dem „Baptist Quarterly“ 1884, Juli bis Sept.), oder noch später (nach der pseudoathanasianischen Schrift de virginitate, so Cotterill) versetzen. Aber die Zahl derjenigen, welche eine Zeit empfehlen, die früher oder später liegt als 70—165, ist sehr gering. Noch vor die grosse Missionsthätigkeit des Paulus setzt Sabatier die Schrift, während Hilgenfeld und Bonet-Maury sie geraume Zeit nach der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts verfasst denken, da sie

in ihrer zweiten, späteren Hälfte Montanistisches enthalte, und Krawutzcky den Monarchianer Theodotus ins Auge fasst, den er fälschlich mit dem Montanisten gleichen Namens identifizirt, ihn nicht minder irrthümlich für einen ebionitischen Sektenstifter erklärt und daher bis gegen 180 heruntergeht. Sieht man von diesen unhaltbaren Extremen ab, so stehen die drei Menschenalter von 70—100, 100—130, 130—165 zur Frage, von denen die beiden ersten sich des Beifalls der grossen Menge der Gelehrten erfreuen. (Einige Daten: Bestmann 70—79; Zahn 80—120; Schaff 90—100; de Romestin, Massebieau, Funk, Langen, Potwin, Sadler, Lightfoot, Spence u. v. A. 80—100; Farrar um 100; Hitchcock 100—120; Bryennios 120—160). Abzulehnen sind zunächst alle, den Dilettanten stets so nahe liegenden Versuche, die Apostellehre in eine uns bekannte, bestimmte geschichtliche Situation zu versetzen oder auf einen bekannten Verfasser zurückzuführen; denn sie bietet dazu nicht den geringsten Anlass. Solche Phantasien sind bereits zahlreich ans Licht getreten. Hierher gehört der Versuch Sabatiers, aus der Apostellehre die Verhältnisse vor dem Apostelkonzil festzustellen; ferner das Unternehmen Bestmanns (Geschichte der christl. Sitte, II, S. 136 ff.), in der Apostellehre das Manifest der judenchristlichen (petrinischen) Partei in Antiochien zu erkennen, welches von ihr gleich nach der Zerstörung Jerusalems an die Heidenchristen erlassen, von diesen aber im Barnabasbrief beantwortet, resp. abgelehnt worden sei (!); ferner der Einfall Spences, den Bischof Simeon von Jerusalem, den Sohn des Kleopas, für den Verfasser zu halten; weiter die Behauptung Volkmars und Arnolds, das 16. Cap. zeige deutlich die Zeit des Barkochba; ferner die Phantasie Krawutzcky's, der Verfasser sei der Monarchianer Theodotus u. s. w.

Die Zeit der Abfassung der Apostellehre aus inneren Gründen zu bestimmen, ist deshalb ein so schwieriges Unternehmen, weil die Schrift durchweg eine Compilation aus älteren Stoffen ist, und man sich daher hüten muss, sich nicht auf Elemente zu berufen, die dem Verfasser selbst überliefert gewesen sind. So sind höchst wahrscheinlich z. B. die Abendmahlsgebete ebenso wenig für das geistige Eigenthum des Verfassers zu halten, wie das Vater-Unser oder wie „die beiden Wege“, die er nur bearbeitet hat. Von ihnen aus darf man daher nicht argumentiren.

Die äusseren Gründe (s. den folgenden Abschnitt 8) führen aber nicht weiter als bis zu der Erkenntniss, das unsere Schrift als heilige Schrift dem Clemens Alexandrinus bekannt gewesen ist. Daher ist sie keinesfalls nach c. 165 anzusetzen. Dass man dieses Datum nicht zu überschreiten hat, ergibt sich aber auch aus inneren Erwägungen. Im Folgenden ist eine Reihe negativer Merkmale angeführt; es ist aber nicht die Meinung, das jedes einzelne für sich die Zeit vor c. 165 empfiehlt, vielmehr nur in ihrem Zusammenstehen gewinnen sie diese Bedeutung: (1) Es fehlt in der Apostellehre jede Spur eines neutestamentl. Kanons und der Autorität der Paulusbriefe, (2) jede Spur eines Symbols, einer regula fidei und einer geregelten dogmatischen Unterweisung; (3) noch nicht vorhanden war der monarchische Episkopat; es gab nur Episkopen und Diakonen; aber nicht sie, sondern die Propheten und Lehrer spielten die erste Rolle in den Gemeinden; (4) es scheint eine geregelte Gottesdienstordnung, wie Justin eine solche unter der Leitung des Vorstehers bereits vorausgesetzt hat, zu fehlen; (5) ebenso fehlt jede Bestimmung über einen „Vorsteher“ bei der Taufe, während den Episkopen und Diakonen allerdings eine Beziehung auf die Opferhandlung gegeben ist; die Schrift richtet sich in allem an alle Mitglieder der Gemeinde, befiehlt, dass sie sich Episkopen und Diakonen einsetzen mögen u. s. w.; (6) es fehlt die Erwähnung von symbolischen, die Taufe begleitenden Handlungen, ferner (7) des Jahresosterfestes, (8) des Verbotes des Genusses von Blut und Ersticktem, (9) der Zehntenordnung, (10) der Exkommunikation; es fehlt endlich (11. 12) jede Spur einer Existenz der montanistischen Bewegung und jede Charakterisirung von Irrlehrern; selbst bei Hermas ist hier mehr zu finden. (Erwähnt sei endlich — doch ist das nicht massgebend —, dass auf die Lage der Gemeinden inmitten einer heidnischen, ihnen feindlichen Welt, abgesehen von der Stelle c. 1, 4 fin., keine Rücksicht genommen ist). In dem Kreise, aus welchem unsere Schrift stammt, waren also die katholischen Massstäbe noch unbekannt, ja sie lassen sich kaum als im Anzug befindlich erkennen. Fast lediglich die aus der Überschrift zu erschiessende Bedeutung der Zwölfapostel fällt hier ins Gewicht; aber gerade sie ist in den Gemeinden uralte gewesen. Die Gemeinden haben sich unzweifelhaft der Kirche Marcions noch nicht gegenüber befunden; sie

lebten noch sozusagen in einer Art von Urzustand oder sie sollten doch nach dem Willen des Verfassers in demselben leben. Dass dieser Zustand irgendwo in der Christenheit noch nach der Zeit um 160 so beschaffen gewesen ist, wie wir ihn aus der Apostellehre erkennen, ist weder zu erweisen noch zu muthmassen.

Aber ist die Schrift nicht viel älter? Nun — unzweifelhaft zeigt sie eine Reihe von Merkmalen, die nach unserer bisherigen Kenntniss der Dinge sich besser in die Zeit zwischen 80—120, als zwischen 120—160 fügen. Was sie z. B. über Apostel, Propheten und Lehrer sagt, ist gemessen an Clemens, Polykarp, Hermas, Justin — von Ignatius zu schweigen —, viel alterthümlicher und hat seine Stelle nahe bei der paulinischen Zeit zu erhalten. Auch manches Andere ist hier zu erwähnen, was an das höchste Alterthum zu denken empfiehlt. Aber — und hier ist ein Kanon aufzustellen, der selten respektirt wird — wo uns nicht sichere Zahlen an die Hand gegeben sind, da haben wir uns davor zu hüten, in der Geschichte des Urchristenthums die relative Zeitbestimmung mit einer ziffermässigen zu vertauschen; denn wir kennen die Stufen der Entwicklung des alten Christenthums im Reich zum katholischen Christenthum für die meisten Provinzen gar nicht, für keine einzige als stetige Reihe; wir haben aber andererseits Grund zu der Annahme, dass in manchen Provinzen sich sehr Alterthümliches lange erhalten und dann nahezu mit einem Schlage verwandelt hat. Unsere Schrift kann also zeitlich später fallen als der erste Clemensbrief, Hermas, ja selbst als die Ignatiusbriefe, während man ihr trotzdem ohne Zweifel eine frühere Stufe anzuweisen hat, wenn man die Entstehungsgeschichte des Katholizismus aus dem ursprünglichen Zustande zu schildern unternimmt. Hat man sich einmal davon überzeugt, dass die Apostellehre zwischen 70 und 165 fällt, so ist die nächste Frage die, ob sie Merkmale aufweist, welche zeigen, dass hinter ihr bereits einige christliche Generationen liegen. Diese Frage scheint mir aber mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit bejaht werden zu müssen. Auf die „Zwölfapostel“ will ich mich nicht berufen; aber die Schrift zeigt (1), dass im Stande der Apostel und Propheten eine Corruption ausgebrochen ist, die strenge Schutzmassregeln nöthig macht; sie zeigt (2) das Ansehen der Propheten im Wanken; der Verf. muss es durch exorbitante Zumuthungen an die Gemeinde und durch

heftige Drohungen schützen; er beruft sich dabei (3) wider das Misstrauen auf eine Generation „alter Propheten“, die bereits dahingegangen ist — unter diesen können nicht (s. meine Ausgabe S. 44 ff.) die alttestamentlichen Propheten verstanden sein, sondern nur ältere christliche Propheten; (4) der vorliegende Text zeigt in „den beiden Wegen“ c. 1 gewisse Abschwächungen der evangelischen Forderungen, und hat namentlich in dem Anhang zu denselben c. 6 die Unterscheidung einer höheren und einer niederen christlichen Sittlichkeit zum Ausdruck gebracht; 5) die Einschärfung des Erstlingsgebots, der festen Gebets- und Fastenordnung ist auf heidenchristlichem Gebiet das Zeichen einer späteren Zeit und der Anfang einer Entwicklung, die später grössere Dimensionen annehmen sollte; (6) auch das, was der Verfasser über die Episkopen und Diakonen bemerkt, dass sie nämlich den Gemeinden *τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων* leisten und zusammen mit diesen zu ehren seien, kann nicht das ursprüngliche Verhältniss beschreiben; (7) die Bestimmungen über das Fasten vor der Taufe und die Zulassung der Besprengungstaufe fallen ins Gewicht; (8) der eschatologische Schlussabschnitt zeigt nicht die Gluth, welche die dem Verfasser überlieferten Gebete aufweisen, und es fehlt die Schilderung des Herrlichkeitsreiches Christi auf Erden. Diese Beobachtungen, welche es nicht rathsam erscheinen lassen, das Buch in die beiden ersten Generationen der Heidenchristen zu verweisen, werden aber sehr verstärkt durch die Wahrnehmung, dass der Verf. unser Matth.-Ev. (selbst c. 28, 19) und vielleicht auch unser Lukas-Evangelium vorausgesetzt hat und überhaupt in seinen evangelischen Citaten nicht eine alterthümliche, sondern eine verhältnissmässig späte Haltung aufweist (keine neuen ev. Stoffe); sie werden ferner verstärkt durch den Zusammenhang der *Διδ.* mit dem Barnabasbrief, der freilich selbst nicht genauer als auf c. 96 bis 125 datirt werden kann. Somit ist zu urtheilen, dass die Annahme der Abfassung der Apostellehre vor dem Jahr 120 unsicher, vor dem Jahr 100 sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass man die ganze Zeit zwischen 120 und 165 offen zu halten hat, dass aber innerhalb dieses Zeitraums die älteren Daten in den meisten Fällen weniger Schwierigkeiten machen, als die jüngeren.

Was den Ort der Abfassung betrifft — die Schrift trägt

keine ausgesprochene Lokalfarbe —, so hat man im Rathen das Höchste geleistet. Die grosse Mehrzahl der Gelehrten hat sich allerdings für Ägypten (Alexandrien, Oberägypten) ausgesprochen; daneben aber sind genannt worden Syrien und Palästina (Caspari, Krawutzcky, Langen und viele Amerikaner), und zwar Antiochien (Bestmann, Schaff: „In Antioch, as well as in Jerusalem, all the conditions [except the community of goods] were given for such a Jewish-Christian Irenicum as the Didache“) und Jerusalem (Spence), ferner Kleinasien (Hilgenfeld), Macedonien (Thessalonich), Griechenland (Wordsworth), Rom (Massebieau) und selbst Konstantinopel (wenn die Schrift eine späte Fälschung ist). Die äusseren Zeugnisse und die Quelle (der Barnabasbrief resp. eine mit diesem gemeinsame Quelle) legen allein Ägypten nahe. Die Berufung dagegen auf c. 9, 4, dass das Brot „auf den Hügeln“ verstreut war — ein sehr beliebtes Argument für Syrien —, verschlägt schon deshalb nicht, weil die Phrase in einem Gebet vorkommt, welches dem Verf. wie das Vater-Unser höchst wahrscheinlich überliefert war. Dass die Apostellehre auch in den apostolischen Constitutionen Verwendung gefunden hat, fällt für Syrien ebenfalls nicht ins Gewicht; denn der syrische Fälscher hatte die Bibliothek des Eusebius zur Verfügung. Auch mehrere subtile Beobachtungen können für Ägypten geltend gemacht werden (s. meine Ausgabe S. 159 f. 167 f.), z. B. das Fehlen der βασιλεία in der Doxologie des Vater-Unders; sie fehlt nämlich in der sahidischen Version des Matthäus (allerdings auch bei Gregor von Nyssa). Gegen das Zeugniß der Geschichte des Buches, welches allein für Ägypten als Ursprungsort spricht, kann nichts aus der Schrift selbst angeführt werden, sobald man von der Grossstadt Alexandrien absieht. Man darf es daher für wahrscheinlich, keineswegs für sicher halten, dass die Apostellehre aus der ägyptischen Christenheit stammt.

8) Geschichte der Schrift in der Kirche, Bearbeitungen. Die Geschichte der Schrift in der Kirche, die überhaupt nur in Trümmern uns vorliegt, kann nicht erörtert werden, bevor nicht von den Bearbeitungen gehandelt ist. Diese stellen es nämlich, wie sich gleich zeigen wird, sicher, dass unserer Schrift eine ältere Rezension „der beiden Wege“ zugrunde liegt. Ist dies aber erwiesen, so würde, falls gezeigt werden

kann, dass auch jene ältere Schrift den Namen „Apostellehre“ getragen hat, in jedem einzelnen Fall erst zu untersuchen sein, ob sich die Testimonien wirklich auf die uns in der konstantinopolitanen Handschrift vorliegende Schrift beziehen oder nicht.

Schon vor der Publizirung der Handschrift (im folgenden M genannt) hat Krawutzcky (Theol. Quartalschr. 1882, S. 359—445) ein altkirchliches Unterrichtsbuch „die beiden Wege“ aus dem Barnabasbrief (B), dem 7. Buch der apostolischen Constitutionen c. 1—21 (A) und der sog. „apostolischen Kirchenordnung“ c. 1—14 (K) wiederhergestellt. Seine Restitution wurde glänzend durch die neue Handschrift bestätigt; denn sie deckte sich fast vollständig mit den ersten sechs Capiteln derselben. Bryennios und der Verfasser nahmen nun an, dass Barnabas die Quelle sei, dass ihm die *Αἰδοαχί* folge, und dass aus der *Αἰδοαχί* die Redaktionen A und K geflossen seien, von welchen sich A eng an M angeschlossen, K dagegen manches ausgelassen habe. Vor Aufstellung dieser Hypothese hätte die Einsicht bewahren sollen, dass der höchst charakteristische Passus 1, 3—6; 2, 1 der Didache sowohl bei B als in K fehlt. Allein da man annahm, dass K ausser M auch B selbst benutzt habe, so war jene Hypothese zur Noth erträglich. Sie wurde jedoch vollends umgestossen durch die Entdeckung eines Bruchstücks einer lateinischen Schrift: „doctrina Apostolorum“, welches aufzufinden dem Spürsinn von Gebhardt's gelang (s. meine Ausgabe S. 275 ff.: „Ein übersehenes Fragment der *Αἰδοαχί* in alter lat. Übersetzung mitgetheilt von O. von Gebhardt“). Dieses Stück (L) deckt sich mit M 1, 1—3a, und 2, 2—6a d. h. es fehlt in ihm wiederum M 1, 3—6 und 2, 1. Hiernach kann m. E. kein Zweifel sein (über einen Versuch, die Priorität des in M erhaltenen Textes doch zu retten, s. Gebhardt a. a. O. S. 279 ff.), dass in der ursprünglichen Apostellehre 1, 3b—6; 2, 1 gefehlt hat. Dies haben Holtzmann, Bratke u. viele Andere erkannt; namentlich aber gebührt Warfield (Biblioth. Sacra 1886, p. 100 bis 161) das Verdienst, die ursprünglichen „beiden Wege“ aus BMKAL, wozu noch Citate bei Hermas, Clemens Alex., Lactantius und den Sibyllen kommen, sehr sorgfältig festgestellt zu haben (ausser der grossen Auslassung 1, 3—2, 1 sind die Unterschiede vom Texte M noch ziemlich zahlreich, aber nicht von grosser Bedeutung). Es ergibt sich, dass M in den beiden

Wegen nicht aus B geschöpft hat (ebensowenig B aus M, wie auch Warfield zugesteht), ferner dass der ursprünglichere Text der beiden Wege bei B L und K vorliegt, der erweiterte in M und A. Die neueren Untersuchungen aber haben noch weit mehr zu Tage gefördert. Nach tastenden und mehr oder weniger unsicheren Versuchen verschiedener Gelehrter hat C. Taylor in seiner vortrefflichen Schrift: „The Teaching of the twelve apostles with illustrations from the Talmud“, Cambridge 1886, es m. E. fast zur Evidenz gebracht, dass die Urschrift der beiden Wege jüdischen Ursprungs ist — ein für Proselyten bestimmter Katechismus. Ich habe diese Ansicht schon in meiner Dogmengeschichte (I. S. 105) angedeutet; allein Taylor gebührt das Verdienst sie energisch geltend gemacht und bewiesen zu haben. Ihm hat ein so conservativer Kritiker, wie George Salmon es ist, beigestimmt. Er schreibt in seiner Vorlesung: „Non-canonical Books“, London 1886 p. 57: „... I have found the greatest assistance from a study of the Didache in connexion with the Talmud, by Dr. Taylor. It results from his investigations that the Didache is an intensily Jewish document, and that its contents are so well accounted for by the use of Jewish sources, that we lose all attention to imagine that the author had need to resort to Barnabas for guidance. But Dr. Taylor's illustrations do more than convince me that the author of the Didache had received a Jewish training; they seem to me to make it probable that the „Two Ways“ is a pre-Christian work; in other words, that the author of the Didache has taken a Jewish manual of instruction for proselytes, and has adapted it for Christian use by additions of his own; in particular by insertions from the Sermon on the Mount.“ Von hier aus fällt auch ein ganz neues Licht auf die Geschichte des Buches. Im Folgenden stelle ich die Ergebnisse meiner wiederholten Bemühungen um dieselbe zusammen. Wer die Geschichte der Kritik der *Ἰδοαχὴ* aufmerksam verfolgt hat, wird die Behauptung vielleicht nicht zu kühn finden, dass die nachstehenden Sätze als das Resultat derselben bezeichnet werden dürfen:

1) Juden haben im ersten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung oder schon früher eine Instruction für Proselyten unter dem Titel „die beiden Wege“ verfasst. Diese Instruction kann aus BMKLA noch fasst wörtlich wiederhergestellt

werden.¹⁾ Sie reichte jedenfalls bis *Ad.* 5, höchst wahrscheinlich bis c. 6 (incl.), ja möglicher Weise noch darüber hinaus. Man kann nämlich vermuthen²⁾, dass in der jüdischen Instruction Bestimmungen enthalten waren, welche mit den christlichen Bestimmungen über Taufe, Fasten, Gebet, Erstlinge u. s. w. correspondirt haben. Diese Vermuthung empfiehlt sich besonders angesichts der cc. 8 u. 13 der *Αδοχῆς*. Allein die Verfolgung dieser Möglichkeit führt in ein völlig dunkles Gebiet — der christliche Bearbeiter müsste seine Vorlage hier gänzlich umgearbeitet haben —; daher lasse ich sie fallen und nehme nur „die beiden Wege“ als jüdisch in Anspruch.

2) Die jüdischen „beiden Wege“ enthielten das, was wir *Ad.* 1, 1—1, 3 init. u. 2, 2—5, 2 lesen, und zwar mit Ausnahme kleiner Abweichungen, die wir aus Barnabas constatiren können, wörtlich und in derselben Reihenfolge. Ausserdem enthielten sie vielleicht den wesentlichen Inhalt von c. 6, der sich auf die Speisegesetze bezog. Aus B und L dürfen wir schliessen, dass die beiden Wege auch als die Wege des Lichts und der Finsterniss bezeichnet worden sind, ferner — aus B — dass möglicherweise in manchen Abschriften das Stück *Ad.* 3, 1—6 gefehlt hat. Die Anlage war diese, dass als der Weg des Lebens die Gottes- und Nächstenliebe sowie „die goldene Regel“ bezeichnet war; als Auslegung folgten nun die Verbote des Dekalogs (grobe Sünden), sodann die Verbote alles dessen, „was dem Bösen ähnlich ist“ nach den Geboten einer höheren Sittlichkeit, wie sie längst sowohl von den Pharisäern als von hellenistischen Juden aufgestellt waren; hierauf folgten (3, 7—4, 14) die positiven Gebote, erst im Allgemeinen zur rechten Gesinnung (Sanftmuth, Langmuth, Güte, Demuth, Gottergebenheit 3, 7—10), sodann zum rechten Verhalten gegen den Lehrer, gegen die Gemeinde und in den verschiedenen Beziehungen zu den Brüdern, Kindern, Sklaven u. s. w. Allgemeine Ermahnungen (4, 12—14) zum Hass gegen das Gottwidrige, zum pünktlichen Befolgen der Ge-

1) Dass die Instruction jüdischen Ursprungs ist, folgt aus der Abwesenheit aller spezifisch christlichen Merkmale und evangelischen Sprüche, aus der Beobachtung, dass das Thema (*Ad.* 1, 2) nicht in der evangelischen Fassung angegeben ist, und aus den zahlreichen Parallelen, welche die jüdisch-palästinensische und hellenistische Literatur bieten.

2) S. Taylor, a. a. O. S. 49 ff.

bote Gottes, zum Sündenbekenntniss und zur rechten Verfassung beim Gebet bildeten den Beschluss. Der Todesweg war ganz summarisch angegeben. Hierauf folgten vielleicht — s. oben — Bestimmungen über das Verhältniss der Proselyten zu den jüdischen Speisegesetzen; sie wurden ihnen nicht zugemuthet, aber empfohlen. Vermuthlich war hier auch von Beschneidung, Sabbath u. s. w. die Rede.

3) Diese jüdische Proselyteninstruction ist — wie das Alte Testament — von Christen sehr frühe schon übernommen worden, und zwar wurde sie als Taufrede gebraucht zur Einschärfung der christlichen Sittlichkeit. Als solche hat sie in stereotyper oder in freierer Form viele Jahrhunderte hindurch gedient³⁾ und ist selbst ins Abendland gedrungen.

4) Im nachapostolischen Zeitalter hat der Verf. des Barnabasbriefes diese Instruction seiner Schrift einverleibt. Er kannte sie höchst wahrscheinlich noch nicht als eine „Lehre der Apostel“, denn davon sagt er nichts; in dem Kreise, für welchen er zunächst geschrieben hat, wird die Instruction noch unbekannt gewesen sein; er selbst aber hat sie wohl aus dem Gedächtniss citirt, und so erklärt sich vielleicht die Unordnung, in welcher er ihre Sätze reproducirt hat. Er hat aber von Eigenem fast nichts hinzugefügt und muss daher, wo es auf den Wortlaut der einzelnen Sätze ankommt, hie und da als der vorzüglichste Zeuge gelten.

5) Ein anderer unbekannter Christ hat die jüdische Instruction zu einer „Lehre der (zwölf) Apostel“ erhoben — wie man die ATlichen Bücher für christliche, eine jüdische Apokalypse für apostolisch-johanneisch u. s. w. ausgegeben hat. Hier erhebt sich aber nun die Frage, ob der, welcher dies (zuerst) gethan hat, identisch ist mit dem Verfasser der *Διδαχή*, wie sie uns vorliegt. Man kann diese Frage auch so formuliren: ist der in K und L vorliegende, kürzere, ältere und darum B näher stehende Text der beiden Wege ein Büchlein für sich gewesen — welches den Namen „*διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*“ geführt hat — oder waren demselben von Anfang an die cc. 7—16 beigelegt? Im ersteren Fall würde es in Bezug auf eine Reihe von Citaten bei den

3) Zu denken giebt auch die sehr gut bezeugte LA in Act. 15, 29: *ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθιτῶν καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν καὶ πορνείας, καὶ ὅσα (ἂν) μὴ θέλετε ἐαυτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.*

Kirchenvätern völlig dunkel bleiben, ob sie wirklich das uns in der Handschrift vorliegende Werk bezeugen oder nur „die beiden Wege“. Im anderen Falle unterschiede sich die zweite Recension von der ersten fast lediglich durch die Hinzufügung der Verse 1, 3—2, 1. In beiden Fällen ist es von Bedeutung, festzustellen, in welcher Zeit der merkwürdige Zusatz 1, 3—2, 1 gemacht ist und wie man ihn zu beurtheilen hat. Wieviel in L gestanden hat, lässt sich nun leider schlechterdings nicht mehr sagen; denn das Fragment bricht schon bei c. 2, 6 ab. In K reicht die Bearbeitung bis c. 4, 8 (resp. in der Ottob. Handschrift bis 4, 14); es fehlt also hier nicht nur cc. 7—16, sondern auch das 5. Capitel, welches doch ohne Zweifel einen Bestandtheil des alten Büchleins gebildet hat. Ausserdem aber findet sich in K. c. 12 ein Satz aus M 10, 3 u. 13, 1. 2. Also darf man sich weder auf L noch auf K mit irgend welcher Sicherheit berufen zum Erweise, dass die christliche Bearbeitung der jüdischen Proselyteninstruction ohne die cc. 7—16 in der Kirche als Apostellehre zirkulirt hat. In A aber liegt die Apostellehre vom Anfang bis zum Schlusse bearbeitet vor. Also ist es methodisch angezeigt, von den beiden Möglichkeiten — 1) die jüdische Instruction ist einfach als Apostellehre bezeichnet und als solche in Umlauf gesetzt worden, die christlichen Zusätze in c. 1—5 sowie die cc. 7—16 sind später zugefügt, 2) die jüdische Instruction ist als „Apostellehre“ edirt worden, indem die cc. 7—16 zugefügt worden sind, später erst sind die christlichen Zusätze in c. 1—5 gemacht worden — die letztere zu bevorzugen. Hiernach gestaltet sich die Geschichte des Buches wie folgt: Ein unbekannter Christ hat die jüdischen „beiden Wege“ unter Hinzufügung der cc. 7—16⁴⁾ (in welchen er Bekanntschaft mit dem Barnabasbrief verräth) als Apostellehre edirt. Diese Edition besitzen wir nicht mehr; besäßen wir noch die griechische Vorlage von L vollständig oder das Exemplar der

4) In diesen Capiteln lassen sich m. E. nicht zwei Hände unterscheiden; nimmt man also an, dass sie von Anfang an in der christlichen *Διδάχη* vorhanden waren (s. oben), so hat man keinen sicheren Grund, für sie eine kürzere Form vorauszusetzen als in M vorliegt. Doch haben wir hier unser Nichtwissen einzugestehen; aus dem Fragment, welches Pseudocyprian bringt (s. u.) muss man auf eine andere Form der cc. 7—16, nicht aber auf eine ältere, schliessen.

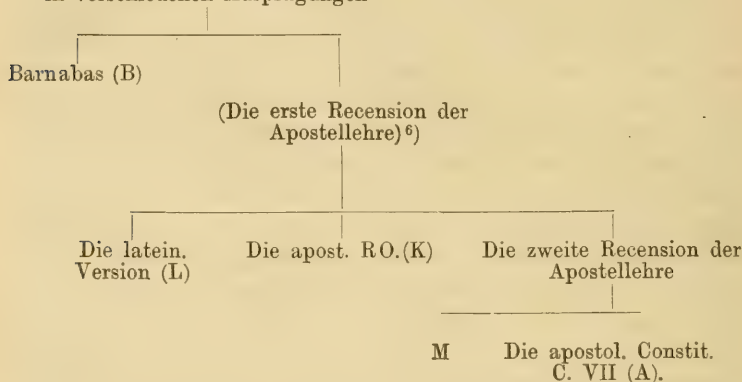
Didache, welches K benutzt hat, so hätten wir aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Urgestalt der christlichen Apostellehre; denn L und K zeigen einen älteren Text als M. Diese Recension ist um den Abschnitt 1, 3—2, 1 erweitert worden, und so ist unter Hinzufügung kleiner, unbedeutender Änderungen die uns in M und A vorliegende Form entstanden⁵⁾. Dass es ausserdem noch andere Recensionen gegeben hat, ist im Hinblick auf die Zeugnisse der Kirchenväter wahrscheinlich.

6) Der Abschnitt 1, 3—2, 1 ist hinzugefügt worden, um „die beiden Wege“ mit evangelischem Stoff, den man in einer *Ἰδαχή κυρίου διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων* vermissen musste, auszustatten. Durch diese Hinzufügung ist die Disposition des Lebenswegs gänzlich geändert worden, sofern nun c. 1, 3—6 als die Ausführung der Gottesliebe, c. 2 ff. als die Ausführung der Nächstenliebe erscheint. Von hier aus haben wir noch einmal die Zeit der Abfassung in's Auge zu fassen. Durch die Ausscheidung des Abschnittes 1, 3—2, 1 werden wichtige Instanzen gegen ein höheres Alter der ursprünglichen Recension der Apostellehre weggeräumt; denn nur hier war die Abhängigkeit vom Hirten recht wahrscheinlich (s. oben), und hier vor allem war eine Recension der evangelischen Sprüche zu erkennen, die mit Tatian's Diatessaron, resp. mit einer Evangelienharmonie frappante Übereinstimmungen aufwies (Scheidet man 1, 3—2, 1 aus, so darf man wohl urtheilen, dass die ursprüngliche Schrift einfach das Matth.-Ev., wie wir es lesen, voraussetzt; c. 16, 1 ist, für sich genommen, keine feste Grundlage für die Annahme, dass auch das Lucas-Ev. benutzt ist). Ist nun der Zusatz 1, 3—2, 1 nach der Zeit des Tatian, resp. nach der Zeit, da man in den Gemeinden das Matth.- und Lucas-Ev. las und mit einander verband, jedoch noch immer vor der Zeit, in welcher unsere Evangelien für kanonisch galten, entstanden, so kann die ursprüngliche Recension geraume Zeit früher angesetzt werden. Über das Alter der weiteren kleinen Zusätze in M, die sich in A nicht finden (s. unten Anm. 5), lässt sich nichts Bestimmtes sagen.

5) Nicht unmöglich ist, dass in M c. 1, 4a: καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος, c. 1, 4b: οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι, und Alles bis zum Schluss des 1. Capitels von den Worten: V. 5: μακάριος ὁ διδούς ab noch spätere Zusätze sind; denn sie fehlen in A und machen im Zusammenhang Schwierigkeiten.

Folgende Tafel wird ein Stück der Geschichte der beiden Wege veranschaulichen; man wird aus ihr erkennen, dass aus BMKLA die jüdischen beiden Wege, aus KLM die älteste christliche Gestalt derselben — die sich indess von der jüdischen sachlich wenig unterschieden hat — und aus MA die zweite Recension ermittelt werden kann.

(Die jüdischen „beiden Wege“).
in verschiedenen Ausprägungen



Die Zeugnisse: Vor Clemens Alexandrinus kann man eine Benutzung unserer Schrift nicht nachweisen; denn Barnabas ist älter (über Hermas s. oben), und bei den Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts finden sich keine sicheren Spuren einer Bekanntschaft (bei Aristides eine Sachparallele, s. meine Texte und Unters. I, 1. 2, S. 111 zu *Ad.* 1, 2). Allerdings hat Zahn in sehr lehrreicher Untersuchung eine Benutzung des 7. Capitels der Apostellehre bei Justin (*Apol.* I, 61) nachweisen zu können geglaubt (*Zeitschr. f. K.Gesch.* VIII, S. 66 ff.), aber auf Grund einer Textesänderung bei Justin, die schweren Bedenken unterliegt. Dagegen hat (s. Bryennios und Zahn, *Forschungen* III, S. 279. ff.) Clemens an mehreren Stellen seiner Schriften — *Pädagog*, *Strom.* und *Quis dives* — stillschweigend die Apostellehre benutzt und auch, wie *Quis div.* 29 beweist, die zweite Hälfte derselben gekannt (s. *Ad.* c. 9, 2). An einer Stelle (*Strom.* I, 100) hat er

6) Ihrem Verf. war der Barnabasbrief nicht unbekannt; aber die beiden Wege hat er ihm nicht entnommen. Um der Verschiedenheiten in L und K willen ist anzunehmen, dass die erste Recension schon Änderungen erlitten hat.

sie aber ausdrücklich als *γραφή* bezeichnet; sie gehörte ihm also in den Kreis der heiligen Schriften. Demgemäss hat er sogar den Dekalog des Moses (Paed. II, 89; III, 89; Protrept. 109) mit solchen Zusätzen wiedergegeben, die sich in der Apostellehre finden. Auch bei Origenes ist es Bornemann (Theolog. Literaturztg. 1885, Nr. 17, Col. 413) und Thomas Potwin (The Independent, New-York, 21. Jan. 1886) gelungen, die Benutzung nachzuweisen. Bornemann hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Orig. Hom. VI in I. Judic. (Lommatszsch XI, p. 258): „antequam verae vitis, quae ascendit de radice David, sanguine inebriemur“, aus *Αιδ.* 9, 2 geflossen ist, und Potwin hat gezeigt, dass Origenes wie Clemens die Apostellehre als „scriptura divina“ bezeichnet hat; denn das Citat de princ. III, 2, 7: „Propterea docet nos scriptura divina, omnia quae accidunt nobis tamquam a deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine deo nihil fit. Quod autem haec ita sint, id est, quod sine deo nihil fiat, quomodo possumus dubitare, domino et salvatore pronuntiante et docente: Nonne passeret etc.“, ist allerdings mit Wahrscheinlichkeit auf *Αιδ.* 3, 10 zurückzuführen. Diese Entdeckungen waren ausserordentlich dankenswerth; denn bisher waren bei Origenes keine Citate nachgewiesen (die räthselhafte Stelle Hom. in Lev. X fin., Delarue II, p. 246: „sed est alia ieiunandi ratio adhuc religiosa, cuius laus quorundam apostolorum litteris praedicatur. Invenimus enim in quodam libello ab apostolis dictum: Beatus est qui etiam ieiunat pro eo ut alat pauperem“, kann nicht auf die Apostellehre zurückgeführt werden). Wir haben jetzt somit — Origenes und Clemens bezeugen beide Theile der Apostellehre und bezeugen sie als heilige Schrift — die Grundlage, die es uns erklärt, dass Eusebius in seinem berühmten Capitel über den neutest. Kanon (h. e. III, 25) in der zweiten Abtheilung der zweiten Gruppe von Schriften (*ἀντιλεγόμενα-ρόθα*) neben dem Barnabasbrief die *λεγόμεναι διδασκαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* aufgezählt hat (s. meine Ausgabe S. 5 ff.). Wir dürfen nun auch annehmen — denn Eusebius ist von den Alexandrinern abhängig —, dass er unsere Schrift in ihrem ganzen Umfange, und nicht etwa bloss die 6 ersten Kapp., im Auge gehabt hat. Wahrscheinlich um die Zeit des Eusebius ist die Apostellehre ferner — in Ägypten — in eine Compilation eingearbeitet worden, welche den Titel *Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοί* (apostolische Kirchenordnung) führte.

Hier sind nur die vier ersten Capitel der Schrift, und zwar ohne die Interpolation 1, 3 bis 2, 1 verwerthet. Diese aber haben in der neuen, sehr conservativen Bearbeitung die weiteste Verbreitung erlangt, da die ap. KO. in die orientalischen grossen Kirchenrechtsbücher Aufnahme gefunden hat (das Nähere s. in meiner Ausgabe S. 193—241). Dass dem Bearbeiter übrigens die ganze Schrift bekannt gewesen ist, ist oben bemerkt worden. Vierzig Jahre nach Eusebius hat — wiederum in Ägypten — Athanasius in seinem 39. Festbrief vom Jahre 367 jenes Verzeichniss der kanonischen Schriften aufgestellt, welches für die Geschichte des Kanons von eminenter Bedeutung geworden ist. Hier steht unter den *οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον* nach der Weisheit Salom., Sirach, Esther, Judith und Tobias die *Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων* und der Hirte. Wahrscheinlich sind den Katechumenen nur die cc. 1—6 verlesen worden, und sie mögen deshalb auch hier und dort in besonderen Abschriften verbreitet gewesen sein; aber so wenig man urtheilen darf, dass Athanasius nur die Mandate des Hirten bei seiner Verordnung gemeint hat, so wenig ist ein Grund vorhanden zu der Annahme, er habe nur die 6 ersten Capitel der *Διδαχὴ* gekannt. Es findet sich übrigens bei Athanasius zudem noch ein freies Citat aus *Αιδ.* 11, 9; 12, 5. In der Zeit des Athanasius (um 350) verfertigte ein syrischer Fälscher unter Zugrundelegung verschiedener alter Schriften, die er der Bibliothek zu Cäsarea entnahm, die apostolischen Constitutionen in 8 Büchern und die längere Rezension der Ignatiusbriefe (s. meine Ausgabe S. 170—192; S. 241—268). Der ersten Hälfte des 7. Buches seines Werkes legte er die *Διδαχὴ* zugrunde, und zwar in der Gestalt, in welcher sie uns vorliegt, d. h. mit den Zusätzen 1, 3—2, 1 (ob mit allen, ist fraglich; siehe oben). Wir dürfen daher wohl annehmen, dass auch Eusebius sie in dieser Rezension gelesen hat. Bei der Anfertigung neuer Ignatiusbriefe zeigte sich der Fälscher ebenfalls mit der Apostellehre vertraut. Weder er noch Eusebius dürfen aber als Zeugen dafür angerufen werden, dass die Schrift im 4. Jahrhundert in den Kirchen Syriens und Palästinas in Gebrauch war, resp. bekannt gewesen ist. Dagegen besitzen wir noch zwei ägyptische Zeugnisse für dieselbe aus späterer Zeit.

Es ist nämlich erstlich wahrscheinlich, dass Joh. Climacus (saec. VI fin.), Abt im Sinaikloster, sie gekannt hat, und zwar bezeugt er gerade c. 1, 4 fin. (entdeckt von Bryennios, s. Migne LXXXVIII, p. 1029, meine Ausgabe S. 19), sodann ist das Gebet c. 9, 3. 4 nahezu wörtlich, aber ohne Angabe der Quelle, repetirt in der pseudoathanasianischen Schrift de virginitate, Athan. Opp. ed. Migne (XXVIII) IV, p. 266 (entdeckt von Swainson, s. de Romestin p. 100, Schaff p. 194, Cotterill in The Scottish Church Rev. 1884, July p. 466 und Sept. p. 582 — vielleicht ist übrigens die Schrift doch dem Athanasius selbst beizulegen, s. Eichhorn, Athanasii de vita ascet. testim. p. 27 f.). Darüber hinaus haben wir, abgesehen von der konstantinop. Handschrift vom Jahre 1056, nur noch zwei Zeugnisse aus der morgenländischen Kirche; denn was Zonaras und Blastares angeben, ist werthlos (s. meine Ausgabe S. 9; werthlos ist auch die dem Athanasius beigelegte Synopsis succincta, eben dort). In der Stichometrie des Nicephorus nämlich ist die *Διδαχή ἀποστόλων* mit den Periodoi der Apostel und den Schriften der sogen. apostolischen Väter, vor welch letzteren sie ihre Stelle erhalten hat, zu den Apokryphen gerechnet, nicht zu den Antilegomenen. Sie erscheint also hier von jedem Zusammenhang mit den heiligen Schriften befreit und bereits in der Gruppe, in welcher wir sie auch in der Handschrift des Bryennios finden. Aber das Verzeichniss des Nicephorus giebt uns noch ein Räthsel auf. Die Zahl der Stichen der Apostellehre beträgt nach demselben 200. In der Handschrift steht sie allerdings auf 203 Zeilen; aber das ist lediglich ein neckischer Zufall — nach Cotterill freilich das Indicium einer späteren Fälschung —; denn die Zeilen des konstantinop. Ms. umfassen durchschnittlich 53 Buchstaben (die Abkürzungen mitgezählt); das aber ist kein Stichos. Nach der Angabe bei Nicephorus müsste die Apostellehre 7000 Buchstaben enthalten; sie enthält aber in Wahrheit 10700, oder, wenn man c. 1, 3—2, 1 abzieht, c. 9835 Buchstaben, d. h. c. 306 resp. 281 Stichen. Wie diese Differenz zu erklären ist, bleibt dunkel. Keinesfalls aber kann daran gedacht werden, dass bei Nicephorus nur c. 1—6 der *Διδαχή* gemeint sind; denn diese Capitel umfassen nicht 200, sondern nur c. 114 Stichen. — Wie im Verzeichniss des Nicephorus so stehen auch in dem Verzeichniss aus der Zeit Justi-

nians, welches einer Schrift des Anastasius, Patriarchen von Antiochien, angehängt ist, die *περίοδοι καὶ διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* unter den Apokryphen, und zwar nach der Petrus-Apokalypse und vor dem Barnabasbrief.

Die uns bekannte Geschichte der Apostellehre im Morgenland läuft in wohl verständlicher Abfolge bis zu dem Ms. vom J. 1056. Dagegen bietet das, was abendländische Zeugnisse enthalten, Räthsel, die zur Zeit nicht gelöst werden können. 1) Vor der Zeit Cyprians kommt uns im Abendland kein Zeugnis entgegen; denn es ist nicht ausgemacht, dass die sog. Pfaffischen Fragmente des Irenäus überhaupt abendländischen Ursprungs sind, und es ist ebensowenig sicher (dafür haben sich Bryennios und Zahn erklärt), dass die *δευτέραι τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις* (2. Pfaffisches Fragment, Iren. Opp. ed. Harvey p. 500 sq.) unsere Apostellehre bedeuten (s. meine Ausgabe S. 241). 2) In der pseudocyrianischen Schrift „de aleatoribus“, welche wahrscheinlich dem 3. Jahrhundert angehört, findet sich unter anderen merkwürdigen Citaten folgendes (Cypr. Opp. ed. Hartel III, p. 92 sq.): „(et) in doctrinis apostolorum (est): si qui frater deliquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic non colligatur, donec paenitentiam agat et non recipiatur, ne inpediatur oratio vestra“. Ein solcher Satz findet sich in der *Διδαχή* nicht, wohl aber mehrere Sätze, an die er anklingt (s. 4, 14; 14, 2; 15, 3). Man muss demnach vermuthen, dass die Lateiner eine freie Bearbeitung der Apostellehre besessen haben. 3) In einer sehr alten Handschrift (saec. IX. vel X.), die schon im 12. Jahrhundert im Besitz des Melker Klosters gewesen ist, folgte auf eine „Exhortatio S. Bonifacii Episcopi de Abrenuntiatione in baptisate“ eine Schrift mit dem Titel „Doctrina apostolorum“. Schon am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts war diese Handschrift, die jetzt verschollen ist, verstümmelt; aber die wenigen Zeilen der doctrina apostolorum, die damals noch vorhanden waren, hat Pez abgeschrieben, und sie zeigen, dass die Schrift wirklich die *Διδαχή* in leichter latein. Bearbeitung gewesen ist (s. von Gebhardt in meiner Ausgabe S. 275 ff.). 4) Lactantius scheint „die beiden Wege“ gekannt zu haben (s. v. Gebhardt a. a. O. S. 282 ff.). 5) Rufin hat in seiner Übersetzung der KG. des Eusebius den Titel *διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* mit „doctrina apostolorum“ wiedergegeben. 6) Rufin hat bei seiner Wiedergabe der Bestimmungen

des Athanasius über den Kanon (Expos. in symb. apost. 36—38) an die Stelle der *διδασχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων* eine Schrift „qui appellatur Duae viae vel Judicium secundum Petrum“ gesetzt, und eine Schrift „Petri Judicium“ erwähnt auch Hieronymus (de vir. inl. 1) unter den pseudopetrinischen Schriften (s. meine Ausgabe S. 21 ff.). Über diese Schrift, ihr Verhältniss zur *Αἰδοχὴ* und über die Vertauschung bei Rufin lässt sich nichts Begründetes sagen. Pseudocyprian, Rufin und der Melker Codex, der, wie die Stellung der Schrift nach der Exhortatio Bonifacii de abrenuntiatione in baptisate beweist, die doctrina apostolorum auch als Schrift für die Täuflinge betrachtet hat, weisen auf eine uns gänzlich verborgene Geschichte der Apostellehre im Abendlande hin. (Nicht unwichtig für den kirchlichen Gebrauch der Doctrina ap. im Abendlande scheint mir der Hinweis von Usener auf „die Rede an Getaufte“ bei Caspari, Anecdota S. 197 zu sein, wo es heisst: „Et postea dies quadraginta cum discipulis XII est conversatus et docuit eos, ut adnuntiarent suam resurrectionem per omnes gentes et baptizarent eos in nomine patris etc. in remissionem peccatorum et praeciperent eis, ut recederent a vitiis diaboli, id est ab homicidio, a furto, a periurio, a fornicatione, ab ebrietate et omni vitio malo, et, quod sibi non velint, alii non faciant“). Aber auch die morgenländische Geschichte kennen wir vielleicht nur in einer Linie. Das bisher nicht berührte Problem des Titels giebt allein schon zu denken. Athanasius, Rufin, die lateinische Übersetzung und Nicephorus bieten *διδασχὴ (τῶν) ἀποστόλων*, Eusebius, Pseudocyprian (und Anastasius) bieten *διδασχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, das Ms. bietet: *διδασχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* und *διδασχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Angesichts der gänzlichen Unbezeugtheit dieser Titel wird man die Frage, ob sie ursprünglich sind, resp. ob der zweite ursprünglich ist und sich auf das ganze Buch bezieht, doch nicht mit voller Sicherheit bejahen können. Dass er aus inneren Gründen nicht zu beanstanden ist, ist oben gezeigt worden.

9) Bedeutung der Schrift. Von c. 7 bis zum Schlusscapitel ist jeder Abschnitt der Apostellehre eine Urkunde ersten Ranges für die Verhältnisse, von denen sie handelt, also in Bezug auf die Taufe, das Fasten, die Gebetsordnung, die Eucharistie, die Apostel, Propheten und Lehrer, die Wander- und

Niederlassungsordnung, die Sonntagsfeier, die Episkopen und Diakonen. Aber die höchste Bedeutung der Schrift liegt in einem Doppelten: 1) dass sie es uns ermöglicht hat, die älteste Organisation der christlichen Gemeinden im Reiche besser kennen zu lernen und einer Reihe von abgerissenen, dunklen und daher wenig beachteten Quellenstellen das Gewicht zurückzugeben, das ihnen gebührt (s. meine Ausgabe S. 88—158), 2) dass sie uns in „den beiden Wegen“, die in engster Verbindung mit c. 7 stehen, gezeigt hat, wo die Interessen der ältesten Christenheit im Reiche gelegen haben und wie diese Christenheit in das Erbe des Judenthums eingetreten ist und das in sich aufgenommen hat, was ihr das A.T. und das fortgeschrittene Judenthum überliefert hatten, was dort aber mit Fremdem und Kleinlichem behaftet geblieben war. Die zahlreichen Parallelen aus dem Talmud einerseits, aus Philo, den Sibyllen (II, 56—148) u. s. w. andererseits, zu „den beiden Wegen“, sind vom höchsten Belang (s. auch Bernays, Ges. Abhandl. I, S. 274—276); bedeutsam ist auch, dass in der Urgestalt der beiden Wege die Stellen aus der Bergpredigt noch gefehlt haben. Es ist oben bemerkt worden, dass wir keine sicheren Gründe dafür besitzen, dass in der Christenheit „die beiden Wege“ in der kürzeren Form je für sich existirt haben. Andererseits ist es, wie oben gezeigt worden, überaus wahrscheinlich, dass unter den griechischen Juden „diese beiden Wege“ längst bekannt gewesen, dass sie also von Juden entworfen worden sind. Unsere *Λιδαχή* verhält sich zu dieser ihrer Vorlage so, wie sich überhaupt das alte Christenthum zum Judenthum verhalten hat.

10) Die wichtigste Literatur. Abgesehen von seiner Ausgabe hat Bryennios weiter über die Apostellehre gehandelt in der Ztschr. *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἀλήθεια*, Konstantinop. 10. Nov. 1884. 1) Deutschland: Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 1884, Nr. 3; Harnack, Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts (Texte und Unters. II, 1. 2), Leipzig 1884; Zahn in den Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutestamentl. Kanons, Erlangen 1884, III. Th., S. 278—319; Hilgenfeld, Nov. Text. extra can. recept., Edit. II, Fasc. IV, p. 87—121, Lipsiae 1884; Derselbe in der Zeitschr. f. wissensch. Theol. 1885, S. 73—102; Holtzmann, Die Didache und ihre Nebenformen, in den Jahrbbb. für protest. Theol. 1885.

S. 154—167; Lipsius in der Deutschen Lit.-Ztg., 4. Okt. 1884 und im Lit. Centr.-Bl. 24. Jan. und 14. Febr. 1885; Bielenstein, Warum enthält die *Α. τ. ἀπ.* nichts Lehrhaftes?, in den Mittheil. und Nachrichten für d. ev. K. in Russland, 1885, Februar und März; Bonwetsch, Die Prophetie im apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter, in der Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wissensch. und kirchl. Leben, 1884, Heft 8 u. 9; Bestmann, Gesch. d. christl. Sitte, Nördlingen 1885, II, S. 136—153; Lechler, Das apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter, Karlsruhe 1885, 3. Aufl. S. 553 ff.; derselbe, Urkundenfunde zur Geschichte des christlichen Alterthums. 2. Theil (1886) S. 14 ff. Bratke in den Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie 1886, S. 302—311; Zahn, Justinus und die Lehre der zwölf Apostel in der Ztschr. f. K.Gesch. VIII, S. 66 bis 84; Delitzsch, Die Bibel und der Wein, Leipzig, 1885; Usener in Bernays Ges. Abhandl. 1885, Bd. I, S. V f.; Langen, Das älteste christliche Kirchenbuch in Sybels histor. Zeitschr. 1885, Heft 2, S. 193—214; Krawutzcky in der Tüb. Theolog. Quartalschr. 1884, S. 547—606, vgl. Kath. Kirchenlex. 2. Aufl., 3. Bd., S. 1869 ff.; Funk in der Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr. 1884, S. 381—402; 1885, S. 159—167; Bickell in der Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol. 1884, S. 400—412; v. Scherer, Ist die sog. L. d. z. Ap. echt? in dem Archiv f. kathol. K.-Recht 1885, 4, S. 3 ff.; Friedberg in der Zeitsch. f. Kirchenrecht, N. F., 4. Bd. 1884, S. 408—425; Arnold, Die neuentdeckte L. d. z. A. in der Zeitschr. f. Kirchenrecht, N. F. 5. Bd. 1885, S. 407—438; Derselbe, Die Didache und die apost. Väter, ebendort S. 439—454. Kleine Ausgaben der Schrift (deutsch) von Petersen (Flensburg 1884), Wünsche (Leipzig 1884), Volkmar (Zürich 1885) und Baltzer (Rudolstadt 1886). Textabdrücke auch bei Friedberg und Luthardt (Zeitschr. f. kirchliche Wissenschaft 1884, H. 3, S. 139 ff.). — 2) Frankreich: Bonet-Maury, La doctrine des XII ap., Paris 1884; Massebieau, L'enseignement des XII ap., Paris 1884; Sabatier, La Didachè etc., Paris 1885 (Die eingehendste französische Arbeit); Duchesne im Bulletin Critique, Paris 1884, Nr. 5. 17. 19; Ménégoz in mehreren Artikeln in der Zeitschr. Le Témoignage (Paris) vom J. 1884 und 1885; de Muralt, L'enseign. des XII ap., in der Revue de théol. et de philos., 1884 May p. 278—291; Cabrol in der Rev. historique 1886 Jan. 248—255. — 3) Holland; Prins, Bryennios' *Αποτ. τ.*

δ. ἀπ., Textausgabe, Leiden 1884; Gooszen, *Het oudste, ons bekende, christelijk Leer-Boekje*, in der Zeitschrift *Geloof en Vrijheid*, 19. Jahrg., 1885, S. 459—506; Meyboom in d. *Theol. Tijdschrift* 1885, Sept. p. 529—551, Nov. p. 596—632. — 4) Schweden: Berggren in d. *Theol. Tidsskr.* 1884, p. 200—206 (schwedische Übersetzung). — 5) Norwegen: Caspari in d. *Luthersk Ugeskrift* 1884, Nr. 24 und 25. — 6) Dänemark: Übersetzung und kurze Artikel von Paulssen und von Rördam in der *Theol. Tidsskrift* I, 4 (1884), II, 1 (1885); Warming (Übersetzung), Kopenhagen 1884. — 7) Italien: Chiapelli in der *Nuova Antol.* 1885, p. 209—225; Pasanisi in der *Zeitschr. La Cultura* 1885, Num. 9, p. 308 f.; Majochi, *La dottrina dei 12 ap.* (Text und Übersetzung), Mailand 1885. — 8) Ungarn: eine Übersetzung von Prof. G. Boros de Kolozs war. — Am zahlreichsten sind die Ausgaben und Arbeiten in England und Amerika; sie sind vollständig aufgeführt und kurz beurteilt in dem sehr dankenswerthen und überaus sorgfältigen Werke von Ph. Schaff, *The oldest Church Manual called the Teaching of the 12 apost.*, New-York 1885 (301 p.), in welchem überhaupt die ganze Literatur fleissig zusammengetragen ist. Eine 2. Auflage dieser wichtigsten und umfangreichsten Arbeit in englischer Sprache ist schon angekündigt. Von amerikanischen Arbeiten seien hervorgehoben die Ausgabe von Hitchcock und Brown, New-York, 1. Aufl. 1884, 2. Aufl. 1885, und von Fitzgerald, New-York 1884, der Kuriosität wegen die Abhandl. von Long im *Baptist Quarterly* 1884, July—Sept., dann die einzelnes Treffliche bietenden Untersuchungen von Smyth (*Andover Rev.* 1884, Apr. u. May, cf. *The Expositor* 1886, Febr. p. 156—159); Potwin (*Biblioth. Sacra* 1884, Oct. p. 800—817); Warfield (Text, Sources and Contents of „the two ways“ or first section of the didache — eine sehr gründliche Arbeit — in der *Biblioth. Sacra* 1886, Jan. 100—161) Mc Giffert (*Andover Rev.* 1886 Apr.) und Rendell Harris, *The T. of the 12 ap. and the Sibyll. Books*, Cambridge 1885. Ausserdem ist in Amerika folgende Publikation in 125 Abzügen gemacht worden: *Bryennios Manuscript*, Three pages of the, reproduced by Photography for the John Hopkins University, Baltimore 1885. — Englische Gelehrte, die hier zu nennen sind, sind Lightfoot (*The Expositor*, 1885 Jan. p. 1—11, und in seiner grossen Ausgabe der Ignatiusbriefe,

Vol. I. p. 739), de Romestin (Ausgabe der Schrift mit Übersetzung und Noten, Oxford und London 1884), Farrar (Contemp. Rev. 1884 May, The Expositor 1884, May u. August), Taylor (The Expositor 1886 April und schon früher), Gordon (in der Modern Review 1884 July), Spence (Text und Übersetzung mit Noten, London 1885), Wordsworth (in der Zeitschr. The Guardian vom 19. März 1884), Sadler (ebendort, 4. Juni), E. L. H. (ebendort, 25. Juni), Venables (The British Quarterly Rev. 1885 April), Cotterill (in The Scottish Church Review 1884, July p. 464—474, Sept. p. 563—583), Taylor, The teaching of the XII ap. with illustrations from the Talmud. Cambridge, 1886, Salmon, Non-Canonical Books, London 1886 p. 49 f., u. A.

Nachtrag.

Aus einem mir soeben zugegangenen Aufsatz von Warfield (The Andover Review, 1886 July p. 81 ff.) ersehe ich, dass zwei weitere grosse Entlehnungen aus der Didache in (pseudo?) athanasianischen Schriften nachgewiesen sind. Prof. Harris hat die grosse Parallele in dem „Syntagma Doctrinae“ (Migne XXVIII. col. 835) zuerst entdeckt, und Prof. Orris dieselbe in der „Fides Nicaena“ (Migne, l. c. p. 1635 sq.). Diese Beziehungen in den beiden Zwillingschriften sind von höchstem Belang. Sie zeigen, wie man die Didache für Cleriker und Mönche in Ägypten umgearbeitet hat, und verdienen eine besondere Untersuchung.

DIE
LEHRE DER ZWÖLF APOSTEL

NEBST
EINEM VERSUCH
DER WIDERHERSTELLUNG DES TEXTES
DER JÜDISCHEN BEIDEN WEGE.

Ich gebe hier lediglich den Text des constantinopolitanischen Manuscriptes; die correspondirenden Texte der apostolischen Kirchenordnung, der apostolischen Constitutionen und der lateinischen Version findet man in meiner grossen Ausgabe Prolegg. S. 225 ff., 178 ff., 275 f.

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων.

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Ι, 1. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐν θελήσει μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποιεῖς.

3. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη·

Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· 10 ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾷτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾷτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν. 4. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τις σοι ὁῦν ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔση τέλειος· 15 ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἔν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δός αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. 5. Παντὶ τῷ αὐτοῦντί σε δίδον καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδεσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίῳν χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ διδὼς 20 κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἄθῳος γὰρ ἐστὶν· οὐδὰ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρειαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἄθῳος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρειαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. 6. Ἀλλὰ καὶ 25

περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίτιν δῶς.

II, 1. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς·

2. Οὐ φορεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ γονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φόρῳ οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον.

3. Οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. 4. Οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ διγλωσσός· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία. 5. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.

6. Οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος, οὐ λήψη βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου.

7. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

III, 1. Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντός πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντός ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

2. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. 3. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεύει γεννῶνται. 4. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν· μηδὲ ἐπαιδοὺς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται. 5. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦδος εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κερόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. 6. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.

7. Ἰσθὶ δὲ πρᾶύς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρᾶεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

8. Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας.

1. δὲ cod., Bryennios δὲ. — 1. ἰδρωσάτω Bryennios, cod. ἰδρωτάτω. — 16. οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις ex K restitui; verisimile enim est, ea ex errore librarii in M omitta esse. — 20. ὀργίλος cod.

9. Οὐκ ἐψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θρόνος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ἐψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. 10. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

IV, 1. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ 5 θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κίριοι· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κίριός ἐστιν. 2. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα παραπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. 3. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηγέσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι 10 ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. 4. Οὐ διυχνήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

5. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείρων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. 6. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. 7. Οὐ διατάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς 15 ἀνταποδοτής. 8. Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἔξεις ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς.

9. Οὐκ ἄρεις τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς 20 θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. 10. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ σου, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. 11. Ὑμεῖς 25 δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγέσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.

12. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ. 13. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. 14. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ 30 ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηροῦ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

V, 1. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρως μεστή· φόροι, μοιχεῖαι. ἐπιθυ- 35

9. ποιήσεις edidi (cf. Barn.; Const. App. VII, 10 p. 203, 10; KO), cod. ποθήσεις. — 15. ὁ Bryennios, cod. ἡ. — 21. post διδάξεις fort. αὐτοῖς inserendum, cf. Const. App. — 26. δοῦλοι (sine οἱ) cod. — 26. ἡμῶν Bryennios, cod. ἡμῶν.

μίαι, πορνείαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι, ἄρ-
 παγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερη-
 φανία, κακία, ἀνθράδα, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία,
 5 θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία. 2. Διῶνται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες
 ἀλῆθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιο-
 σύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες
 οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πρᾶυτης
 καὶ ὑπομονήν, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ
 10 ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποροῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονομένῳ, οὐ γινώ-
 σκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φοβεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσ-
 ματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες
 τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίῳν παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί,
 παρθαμάρτητοι· ὀυθεῖντε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

VI, 1. Ὅρα μὴ τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς
 15 διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτός θεοῦ σε διδίδασκει. 2. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύ-
 νασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ'
 οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ τοῦτο ποίει. 3. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ
 δύνασαι βιάσασθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσχε· λα-
 τρεῖα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν.

20 VII, 1. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα
 πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. 2. Ἐὰν
 δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύ-
 νασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. 3. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς,
 25 ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρις ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ
 καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος. 4. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστεν-
 σάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι δύναν-
 ται· κελεύεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

VIII, 1. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑπο-
 30 κριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτῳ καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς
 δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. 2. Μὴδὲ προσεύχεσθε
 ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
 αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγια-
 σθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ
 35 θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν
 ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν
 ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς

ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σου ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. Τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

IX, 1. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·

2. πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Λαβιδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

3. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 4. Ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσχορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σου ἔστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

5. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας υμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

X, 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·

2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. 4. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 5. Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν

9. Athanasius, De virginit. s. de ascensi § 13: ὅταν κατεσθῇς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ ἐρχῇ κλᾶσαι τὸν ἄρτον ... εὐχαριστοῦσα λέγε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀναστάσεως σου, διὰ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν αὐτὴν, καὶ καθὼς ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διεσχορπισμένος ἐπῆρχεν ὁ ἐπάνω ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης καὶ συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτως ἐπισυναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ὅτι σου ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. — 12. τοῦτο τὸ edidi suadente Gebhardto, cod. τοῦτο. — 21. ἡμῶν Bryennios, cod. ὑμῶν. — 28. σοὶ edidi, cod. σὺ.

τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν, εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 6. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος· Ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ
 5 Δαβίδ. Εἴ τις ἁγίος ἐστίν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστὶ, μετανοείτω· μαρὰν ἀθά· ἀμήν.

7. Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

XI, 1. Ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· 2. ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων
 10 στραγῆς διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνώσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς κύριον.

3. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὕτω ποιήσατε.

15 4. Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος· 5. οὐ μὲν εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. 6. Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ ἀβυσθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

20 7. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. 8. Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου· ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προ-
 25 φήτης. 9. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 10. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. 11. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων
 30 δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ χρηθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὅσαυτόως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται. 12. Ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι· Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὕστε-
 35 ροῦντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτόν κρινέτω.

XII, 1. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχθήτω,

4. Ὡσαννὰ Bryennios, cod. ὡς ἀνὰ (cf. codd. gr. evn. et patr.) —

4. θεῷ cod., Bryennios ὑψ. — 6. μαρὰν ἀθά edidi, cod. μαραραθά. —

16. εἰ μὴ addidi (cf. XII, 2) invito codice. — 25. ὀρίζων Bryennios, cod. ὁ ὀρίζων. — 29. Fortasse τὸ post εἰς inserendum.

επειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε — σύνεσιν γὰρ ἔχετε — δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. 2. Εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μετεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκη. 3. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθίσει, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. 4. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός. 5. Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

XIII, 1. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθίσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 2. Ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. 3. Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων λινοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβοὶν δύοσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. 4. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. 5. Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβοὶν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. 6. Ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβοὶν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις. 7. ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντός κτήματος λαβοὶν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν, ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

XIV, 1. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. 2. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ σκελεθῆτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. 3. αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθείσα ὑπὸ κυρίου· Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστόν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

XV, 1. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἁγίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἄνδρας πρᾶεῖς καὶ ἀγισλαγρόρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. 2. Μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

3. Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου

1. ἔχετε Bryennios, cod. ἔξεται (fort. addendum cum Const. App.: καὶ δύνασθε γνῶναι). — 13. τὴν ἀπαρχὴν cod., Bryennios om. — 21. προσεξομολογησάμενοι cod., fort. προσεξομολογησάμενοι. — 22. ἱμῶν Bryennios, ἡμῶν cod. — 23. τὴν cod., Gebhardt τινά.

2. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν, πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θέλῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποιήσῃς.

II, 1. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδασχὴ ἐστὶν αὕτη·

2. Οὐ φονεύσεις,

3. οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις,

4. οὐ κλέψεις,

5. οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς,

τοῦ σατανᾶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας. — L: „Viae duae sunt in saeculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum“.

I, 2. Cf. M (praebebat θελήσῃς, ποιεῖ). — B: Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. — K: Ἡ μὲν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ δοξάζεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. δεύτερον· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ δεύτερα, ἐν οἷς ὁλος ὁ νόμος κρίμαται καὶ οἱ προφηταί. πάντα ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλῃς σοι γίνεσθαι, μὴδὲ σὺ ἄλλω ποιήσῃς. — L: „Via ergo vitae haec est: Primo diliges deum aeternum, qui te fecit, secundo proximum tuum, ut te ipsum. Omne autem, quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris“. — A: Πρώτη οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἐστὶν αὕτη, ἣν καὶ ὁ νόμος διαγορεύει, ἀγαπᾷν κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον, παρ' ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν. Καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἄλλω οὐ ποιήσεις.

II, 1. Cf. MLK, om. AB (sed post verba: Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη, offert B: ἐὰν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ· ἐστὶν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνώσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτῃ).

II, 2. Cf. MKAL (sed praem. „non moechaberis“), om. B.

II, 3. Hunc ordinem testantur MAL (sed L nonnulla interposuit, quae ceteri in sequentibus habent), B offert πορν., μοιχ., παιδοφθ., K: μοιχ., πορν., παιδοφθ.

II, 4. Cf. MKA, om. LB.

II, 5. Cf. KM (γεννηθέντα) A (τὸ γεννηθὲν), L om. οὐ μαγεύσεις, B om. οὐ μαγ., οὐ φαρμ. et praem. πάλιν ante γεννηθὲν.

6. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου,
 7. οὐκ ἐπιπορχήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις,
 8. οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία,
 9. οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενὸς οὐδὲ ψευδής,
 10. οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος,
 11. οὐ λήμψη βουλήν πονηράν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου,
 12. οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου.

III, 1. Τέκνον μου, φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

2. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται.

3. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ ἀσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται.

II, 6. Cf. ALB, om. σου KM.²

II, 7. Cf. KMAL (sed ψευδομαρτ. iam post φονεύσεις habet), B nil nisi οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου offert.

II, 8. Cf. KMABL (lect. var. sunt leves).

II, 9. Cf. KAL, ψευδὴς οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει M, omnia om. B.

II, 10. Cf. KMA, „non eris cupidus nec avarus nec rapax, nec adulator nec“ L, in B nil nisi οὐ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης.

II, 11. Cf. KMB, οὐ λήμψη πρόσωπον δυνάστου ἐν κρίσει A.

II, 12. Cf. KM (ex errore librarii desunt οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις), οὐ μισ. πάντα ἀνθρ.· ἐλεγμῷ ἐλέγξεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, cet. omittens A, (εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸν πονηρόν), ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου B, cetera omittens.

III, v. 1—6 desunt in B, omisit nonnulla, nonnulla libere repetivit, v. 4 ante v. 3 posuit A.

III, 1. Cf. MKA (κακοῦ pro πονηροῦ et αὐτῷ pro αὐτοῦ offerens).

III, 2. Cf. MK (θυμώδης pro θυμικός, pergit: ἐκ γὰρ τούτων φόνος γεννᾶται), nil nisi μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος . . . μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς A offert.

III, 3. Cf. MK (om. ἀπάντων et offert μοιχεῖαι γεννᾶται), μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής . . . οὐκ ἔσῃ ἀσχρολόγος οὐδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος . . . ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πορνείαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι γίνονται A.

4. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν· μὴδὲ ἐπαιδὸς μὴδὲ μαθηματικούς μὴδὲ περικαθαίρων, μὴδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρίαι γεννῶνται.

5. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπὴν· μὴδὲ φιλάργυρος μὴδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

6. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μὴδὲ αὐθάδης μὴδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.

7. Ἰσθι δὲ πραῦς, γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλέημων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἤκουσας.

8. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος.

9. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ.

III, 4. Cf. MK (sed secundum Clementem Alex. — cf. infra — ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ πρὸς pro ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς posui; K offert ἰδεῖν μὴδὲ ἀκούειν pro βλέπειν, M habet εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται), μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ὅτι ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς εἰδωλολατρίαν . . . οὐκ ἔσῃ ἐπάδων ἢ περικαθαίρων . . . οὐδὲ μαθήσῃ μάθημα πονηρόν A.

III, 5. Τέκνον μου MK (sine μου), v. c. Clem. Alex., quem in sequentibus usque κλοπὴν secutus sum, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα ἐπὶ (εἰς M) τὴν κλοπὴν MK, nil nisi μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος . . . μὴ γίνου κενόδοξος . . . ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων ἀλαζονεῖαι γίνονται A habet.

III, 6. Cf. MK (K om. μου et scribit ἐπειδὴ ἔγει πρὸς τ. βλασφ., M ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τ. βλασφ., ego ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ), μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος . . . μὴ ἔσο αὐθάδης μὴδὲ πονηρόφρων . . . ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς βλασφημίαν A.

III, 7. MKA ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ (οἱ) πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν (τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν K), nil nisi ἔσῃ πραῦς B habet. — Cetera ex MA (τρέμων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ θεοῦ A, διὰ παντός add. M) dedi, γίνου μακρόθυμος, ἐλέημων, εἰρηνοποιός, καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπὸ παντός κακοῦ, ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος, ἀγαθὸς καὶ φυλάσσων καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας K, nil nisi ἔσῃ ἡσύχιος, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας habet B.

III, 8. Cf. MA, οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα . . . οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος B, in K — ex errore librarii? — v. 8 et 9 sic coniuncti sunt: δώσεις τὴν ψυχὴν σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν.

III, 9. Cf. MK, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ B, οὐ συμπορεύῃ μετὰ ἀφρόνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σοφῶν καὶ δικαίων A.

10. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς αγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

IV, 1. Τέκνον μου, τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην (τοῦ) ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, [τιμῆσεις (δὲ) αὐτὸν ὡς (τὸν) κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν].

2. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

3. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι.

4. Οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

5. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.

6. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

7. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοῦς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.

III, 10. Cf. M, K (add. δὲ post τὰ), B (ἄνεν pro ἄτερ), τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι πάθη A (cetera libere mutans).

IV, 1. τέκνον M, K (sine μου), om. BM. — τὸν λαλ. usque ὀφθαλμοῦ σου K (add. καὶ παραιτίον σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα post θεοῦ) B (praemitt. πάντα ante τὸν λαλ. et offerens κυρίου pro τοῦ θεοῦ), τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας M, τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ δοξάσεις A. — μνησθήσῃ MKAB. — δὲ αὐτοῦ KA, ἡμέραν κρίσεως B. — νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας MB, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν K, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς A. — τιμήσεις usque ἐστιν MK, om. B, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἵτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εἶναι σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον· ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάρεστιν A. — Verba τιμήσεις usque ἐστιν fortasse in exemplo iudaico deerant.

IV, 2. Cf. M, A (om. δὲ, off. τὸ πρόσωπον), K (τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἁγίους, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύσῃ κτλ.), nil nisi καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων B habet.

IV, 3. Cf. B (add. συναγαγὼν post μαχομένους), M (om. τινὰ, off. παραπτώμασιν), K (σχίσματα), A (σχίσματα, om. τινὰ).

IV, 4. Cf. M, B (οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς) K (ἐν προσευχῇ σου μὴ διψυχήσῃς) A (μὴ γίνου διψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, εἰ ἔσται ἢ οὐ).

IV, 5. Cf. BMK, A (τὴν χεῖρα — συστέλλων).

IV, 6. Cf. M, K (τῶν ante ἁμαρτιῶν), A (δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν κτλ.), B: διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτрон ἁμαρτιῶν σου.

IV, 7. Cf. MK, A (add. πτωχῷ post δοῦναι et om. καλός), B (δὲ pro γὰρ, om. ἐστιν).

8. Οὐκ ἀποστραγήσῃ (τὸν) ἐνδεόμενον, κοινωνήσεις δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν τῷ πλησίον σου, καὶ οὐκ ἔρεις ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφ' ὧν κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς.

9. Οὐκ ἄρεις τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπο τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις (τὸν) φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ.

10. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίῳ ἐν πικρίᾳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν.

11. Ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.

12. Μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν.

13. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεῖς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν.

14. Ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου, οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχῇ σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

IV, 8. Οὐκ usque ἐνδεόμενον om. B, cetera ex BMKA (MK: συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, A: κοινωνήσεις εἰς πάντα τ. ἀδελφῷ σου, MK: ἀθανάτῳ—θνητοῖς, A: κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ μετέληψις παρὰ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρεσκευάσθη).

IV, 9. Cf. B (οὐ μὴ ἄρχῃς), M, A (διδάξεις αὐτοὺς), K in IV, 8 deficit, sed cod. Ottob. IV, 9 offert (οὐδὲ pro ἢ, διδάξεις αὐτοὺς τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου).

IV, 10. Cf. B (οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς... ὅτι ἤλθεν οὐ pro οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται), M (habet ἐν πικρίᾳ σου post ἐλπίζουσιν), A (... παιδίῳ τ. ἐ. τ. αὐ. θεὸν πεποιθόσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς, μὴ ποτε στενάξωσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἔσται σοι ὄργη παρὰ θεοῦ).

IV, 11. Cf. B; offerunt ὑμεῖς δὲ (καὶ ὑμεῖς A) οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε (ὑποτάγητε A) τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν κτλ. MA.

IV, 12. Cf. B, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν MA Ottob., ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ M, ὃ μὴ ἀρέσκει κυρίῳ Ottob., ὃ ἐὰν ἢ ἀρεστὸν κυρίῳ, ποιήσεις A.

IV, 13. Cf. B (om. δὲ), MA, Ottob. (οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψῃ... φυλάξῃ... ὑφαιρῶν).

IV, 14. Cf. B (legit προσήξεις pro προσελεύσῃ, om. σου post προσευχῇ, in fine praebet ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός), Ottob.: ἔξομ. τὰ παραπτώματα σου· οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐν προσευχῇ σου κτλ., M: ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔξομ. τὰ παραπτ. σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ κτλ., A: ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα σου, οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχῇ σου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πονηρίας σου κτλ.

V, 1. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων σχολιά ἐστι καὶ κατάρως μεστή·

2. φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, ἐπιорκίαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι, ἀρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλοζονεῖα, ἀφοβία.

3. Διῶνται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, χήρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πρᾶν καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ ποροῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονομένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίον παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι. [Ῥυθθεῖητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων].

[VI, 1. Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.

V, 1. Cf. M (σχολιά ex B posui pro πονηρά), B: Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σχολιά καὶ κατάρως μεστή. ὁδὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν, A: Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἐν πράξεσι πονηραῖς θεωρουμένη.

V, 2. Ex MA dedi (in M desunt ἐπιорκίαι, ἀφοβία ex errore librarii, ut videtur, ibidem ἐπιθυμίαι ante πορνεῖαι; A add. παράνομοι post ἐπιθυμίαι, habet ὑψηλοφροσύνη pro ὕψος); B: εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμειως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεῖα, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεῖα, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία θεοῦ.

V, 3. Cf. MA (sed A incipit: διωγμὸς ἀγαθῶν, ἀληθείας ἔχθρα, ψεύδους ἀγάπη, ἄγνοια δικαιοσύνης· οἱ γὰρ τούτων ποιηταὶ οὐ κολλῶνται κτλ., tum habet ἀργυπνοῦσιν, om. τὸν ante ἐνδεόμενον et θλιβόμενον, offert ὑπερόπτι pro ἄνομοι κριταὶ et πάντων pro ἀπάντων, uterque om. χήρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες et εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ), B habet τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ψεύδη pro ψεῦδος, οὐ pro οὐδὲ, ἀγρυπν. οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, add. καὶ πόρρω post μακρὰν, ponit ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, add. καὶ post ἐνδεόμενον et om. ῥυθθεῖητε κτλ. — Uncis inclusa vix genuina sunt.

VI. Cf. MA, cum in B nihil hoc capitulo respondeat, incertum est, utrum in exemplo iudaico fuerit annon. A habet πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας

2. *Περὶ δὲ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλο-
θύτου λίαν πρόσχε· ἐπὶ τιμῇ γὰρ δαιμόνων θύουσι αὐτά.*

et libere quae in v. 1 secuntur reddidit. — M post *διδάσκει* pergit: *εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δένη τοῦτο ποιεῖ*, quae verba cum in A desint conicio ab eodem scripta esse, qui *Λιδ. vv. I, 3—6* addidit. Idem scripsit, ut videtur, quae legimus in M: *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον*, A nil nisi *περὶ δὲ τῶν βρωμάτων* habente et quaedam omit-
tente, quae arte nulla restitui possunt. Etiam in fine eandem manum cognosco, nam quae in textu ex A dedi antiquiora mihi videntur verbis (M): *λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν*. — A habet: *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύ-
των φεύγετε*.

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Druck von August Pries in Leipzig.
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a number of books not found in the Vatican, as the four books of Maccabees and the Prayer of Manasses; but the books that are common to both are found in a different sequence. This fact, cited by Frankel,³³ Strack,³⁴ and others as evidence that the Alexandrian Jews did not look upon the Septuagint version as canonical, seems, in itself, well-nigh decisive. How could they have looked upon a list of books as canonical for which they neither offered, nor, as far we know, attempted to offer, any fixed recension? We might almost as well apply that term to a modern Sunday-school library. Divergence is one thing; independence is quite another. It is true that the Jews of Egypt built a temple of their own at Leontopolis, where, until the time of Vespasian, they continued to maintain services, had their own priests, Levites, and landed property. Their council of seventy elders was only second in influence to that of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem; but it was second, and was always acknowledged to be so. From Jerusalem the regularly recurring national festivals were heralded with astronomical exactness. The high priest at Jerusalem ever remained, for the entire dispersion, the sovereign representative of Jewish national dignity and religion. The Sanhedrin at Jerusalem was the last court of appeal from supposed unjust decisions in the synagogues, whether on the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Tiber.³⁵

Then, notice the practice of prominent Alexandrians — and of all Alexandrians so far as we have information — when it came to the point of the comparative value of the Palestinian collection and their version with its additions. Philo, as we have seen, while well acquainted with the apocryphal literature, and while holding, as his works show, peculiar, and not strictly orthodox, views on the subject of inspiration, depends solely on the books of the

³³ Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta, p. 88.

³⁴ As above, Herzog, s. v. Kanon d. A. T.

³⁵ Cf. my Apocrypha, pp., 34, 40, 50.

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Palestinian canon for incidental proof-texts and to them alone applies such epithets as the "Oracles," the "Prophetic Word." The author of the Second Book of Esdras, himself doubtless an Alexandrian Jew, in the legend of Ezra, which he dresses up in Greek for the delectation of his countrymen of that metropolis, carefully discriminates between the twenty-four books of the Hebrew canon and the apocryphal ones accompanying them. The one class was to be published openly, that the worthy and unworthy alike might read. The others were to be given out with judgment, and only to such as had wisdom to use them aright.⁸⁶

Josephus, it would seem, made use almost entirely of the Septuagint, and, when he chose so to do, of some of the apocryphal books. But no modern writer on the canon could have distinguished between them more intelligently than he has done.

It is especially in place to cite here the translator of the Wisdom of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus. He writes from Egypt and for Egyptian Jews. In making an apology in his preface for the imperfections of his work, a translation of a Hebrew book into the Greek language, which book in its Greek form was to take a prominent position in the current Bible, he incidentally expresses his comparative estimate of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. "Let me entreat you now," he says, "to read it [his translation] with favor and attention, and to be indulgent, in that where, perchance, with all the care bestowed on the translation, we may seem to have failed in some words. For what was originally uttered in Hebrew has not the same force when translated into another tongue. And not only this book, but the law also, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, uttered in the original." It is clear that such language as this is not in harmony with the hypothesis that the Jews of

⁸⁶ See my *Apocrypha*, p. 664. Cf. *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, c. xxviii. on the seventy apocryphal books.

Alexandria put their translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, as it respects canonical rank and authority, on the same plane as the Scriptures themselves. This is admitted by Kuenen, who remarks on this passage: "Thus, either the whole of the Old Testament which we now possess, or, at any rate, by far the greater part of it, was then translated, but, as it also follows from the words just quoted, as yet had no manner of authority, and was *tested by the original* by any one who had the power and the inclination to do so."³⁷

Here, then, we may conclude our investigations as it relates to this, by far the most important, period of biblical history. If any fact with respect to the Scripture may be looked upon as established, this is one: that to the great body of Jews of the first century of our era, learned and unlearned, of Palestine and of the wide dispersion, there existed a highly revered canon of Old Testament books. This collection had been received and was treasured as a *sacred inheritance* from the distant past. It was composed of exactly the books, and no others, that we now find within it. The fluctuations alleged to have existed in this respect are more phantasmagorial than real; are fluctuations in the theories of our critics far more than in the historical attitude of ancient Judaism toward their own Scriptures. We have, accordingly, yet to discover when this ancient canon was not, how it arose and came to take on its present form.

³⁷ The Religion of Israel (Lond., 1875), iii. 173, 174.

ARTICLE V.

TEXT, SOURCES, AND CONTENTS OF "THE
TWO WAYS" OR FIRST SECTION
OF THE DIDACHE.¹

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THE first chapters of the Didache, including chapters i.—vi., are distinctly set apart as a complete whole by the Didachographer himself (vii. 1). Internally they form an entire treatise, with introduction, and conclusion, and symmetrically arranged members. They thus lend themselves to separate treatment. At the same time, in subjecting them to a special and separate study, the question of the unity of the Teaching must not be prejudged. The whole Didache apparently was known to Barnabas and Hermas and is very strongly articulated internally. And although the author in composing his Book of Church Order may have, as well as not, incorporated into it the charge to the catechumens and the prayers that preceded the Eucharist which he found already in use, just as he has incorporated the Lord's prayer in chapter vii.—yet it is not to be assumed, prior to investigation, that he did this. Just because, however, these first six chapters constitute the whole charge to the catechumens, and thus form a unity, recognized and intended by the Didachographer himself, they may be studied apart without prejudicing our judgment as to their authorship. When a chief object of our study concerns

¹ By the goodness of Dr. Schaff, the present writer was able to state the outlines of a theory which he holds as to the relations of the documents which contain the Two Ways, in Dr. Schaff's admirable volume, *The Oldest Church Manual*, etc., New York, 1885, pp. 220-5. Where this essay touches on the same ground it is meant as an extension of that, and, in some minor points, a correction of it.

itself with the textual transmission of the treatise, there arises a further obvious propriety and gain, not to say necessity, for studying the first six chapters apart. Why it is so does not seem to demand a pause here to explain,² but it is true that while the latter portion of the treatise passed early out of use, the section on The Two Ways remained the property of, and in the constant use of, the church. Barnabas repeated it; the Ecclesiastical Canons, as well as the Apostolical Constitutions, incorporated it into itself; Lactantius used it; and there are traces of it in several other writings of early Christianity. The textual problems of this first section of the treatise, then, are necessarily different from, and are to be settled on different conditions and by separate methods from, those applicable to the remaining chapters. We thus not only may, but for all textual problems must, treat the opening chapters separately from the rest of the treatise. On these grounds our purpose to confine ourselves in this paper to the study of The Two Ways as given us in the first six sections of the Didache, is justified.

Let us begin by taking stock of the sources of our information concerning this charge to catechumens which we may call, for convenience sake, The Two Ways. (1) We have, first of all, the Constantinople MS., published by Bryennios in 1883 and frequently reprinted since. This contains the whole treatise in a unique exemplar, including, of course, The Two Ways at its opening. The MS. seems to be carefully written and dates from the year 1056 A. D. (2) We have the fragment of a Latin translation, taken from a tenth century MS., knowledge of which was recovered by Dr. v. Gebhardt. This fragment unfortunately contains only the opening of the treatise, extending to the middle of ii. 6. (3) We have the reworking of the matter of the treatise in chapters xviii.—xx. of Barnabas,³

² Cf. Sabatier, *La Didachè*, etc., Paris, 1885, p. 81 sq.

³ We venture to assume without discussion (which would carry us too far) that Barnabas draws from the Two Ways and not *vice versa*. The still

—in which the matter is disarranged and very freely treated, but portions of all the chapters i.–vi. are borrowed, and the following verses are represented: i. 1, 2; ii. 2, 3, 4, 6; iii. 7, 8, 9, 10; iv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; v. 1, 2 (vi. 2?). (4) The Ecclesiastical Canons (late third or early fourth century) incorporate most of the text from i. 1 to iv. 8 inclusive, but there break off suddenly. (5) The Apostolical Constitutions incorporate great portions of the text of the whole treatise, and among these, of our six chapters (fourth century). (6) The mention that is made by the fathers of, or silent quotations from, it constitute witness, not only to its existence, but also often to its text. Most important of the quotations are those of Hermas, Clement of Alexandria, the Sibylline Oracles, and (from the Latin version) Lactantius. We thus have quite adequate material to justify us in refusing to follow the Constantinople MS. *verbatim* until its readings have been tested by the witnesses.

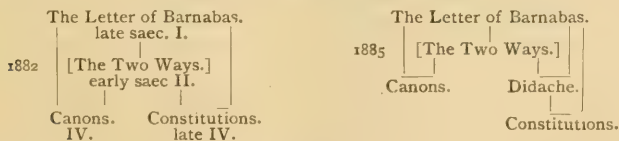
MUTUAL RELATIONS AND RELATIVE VALUES OF THE WITNESSES.

Before these witnesses can be used in criticism of the text, it is necessary to examine into their mutual relations. Otherwise we should have no criterion for determining the value of the various combinations or of the separate documents on the one hand, and, on the other, should stand constantly in danger of allowing to collusive testimony the weight due only to combined witness of separate lines of transmission.

unconvinced may consult the considerations offered by Funk (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift 1884, ii. p. 399 sq.); Zahn (Supplementum Clementinum, etc., p. 310 sq.); Massebieau (L'Enseignement des douze Apôtres, p. 16); Sabatier (La Didachè, etc., p. 82 sq.); E. L. H[icks] (The Guardian, June 26, 1884); J. W[ordsworth] (The Guardian, March 19, 1884); Schaff (The Oldest Church Manual, p. 19 sq.); Brown (The Teaching, etc., p. xxvi. sq.); etc. The most recent writers nearly all hold to the priority of the Didache, and the question may be considered now about determined, although the weight of the opposing names of Bryennios, Harnack, Hilgenfeld, Krawutzky, bids us be modest in the expression of our confidence.

On subjecting the texts witnessed to by the various documents to careful comparison it becomes apparent first of all that, with a single exception,⁴ they are independent in their testimony. This exception is the Ecclesiastical Canons which appears to have made direct use of Barnabas in (for instance) the following passages: Canons, *Praef.* from Barn. i. 1; Canons c. 8 affected by Barn. ii. 10, iv. 9; Canons, c. 14, by Barn. xxi. 2-4, 6; xix. 11. As it is undeniable that the author had the Epistle of Barnabas before him, doubt is thrown upon his entire independence as a witness to the text of the Teaching, especially in such passages as those in which he and Barnabas stand alone, as e. g. in Didache i. 2, where this pair add [καὶ] δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου against the Constantinople MS., the Latin version and the Constitutions; ii. 2, where against the same combination they desert the order in which the three sins of lust are named;⁵ iv. 1, where against the Constantinople MS., and the Constitutions, they alone add: [ἀγαπήσεις] ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου; and iv. 3, where, against the same pair, they insert *τινά* after ἐλέγξαι. No doubt it cannot be assumed out of hand that

⁴ In the arrangement wrought out by Krawutzcky in 1882 (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift 1882, iii. p. 424 sq.) the Apostolical Constitutions were also made directly dependent on Barnabas, but on grounds that are now inoperative since the discovery of the Didache. The complications that have arisen from clinging to his old scheme are painfully apparent in his paper in the same journal for 1884 (iv. pp. 547-606) where he makes the Constitutions only secondarily derived from the Two Ways — through the Didache. His two schemes may be thus graphically given:—



How much easier to put The Two Ways at the root of all and Barnabas among the reworkings: by this act moreover the problem sinks from the sphere of the higher to that of the lower criticism.

⁵ Observe, however, that Clem. Alex. Paed ii. 89 follows them so far as the post-positing of Paederasty is concerned.

the community of the two in these striking readings proves that the Canons borrowed them directly of Barnabas; and the less so that the Canons have entirely escaped the confusion into which Barnabas has brought the arrangement of the matter.⁶ Nevertheless the fact that the author of the Canons certainly drew from Barnabas elsewhere, combines with the inherent suspiciousness of these readings in so damaging the character of the Canons as an independent witness as to prevent our confidently counting the combined testimony of the two as that of two independent authorities.

Next, it is noticed that the witnesses divide themselves into two recensions or classes as to their texts, the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions on the one side, and the Latin version, Barnabas, and the Canons on the other. The kinship of the fragment of the Latin version with Barnabas is exceedingly close, while yet such as to forbid our assuming direct dependence. Each contains readings against which the other ranges its testimony with the other witnesses. For example, the Latin inserts at i. 1, *in sacculo*, and at i. 2, *æternum*. And Barnabas reads at i. 2, τοῦ φωτός, for τῆς ζωῆς; adds at i. 2, (with Canons) δοξάσεις, κ.τ.λ., and alters at ii. 2 (with Canons) the order of the lusts. That the Latin has not borrowed from Barnabas is strikingly illustrated in i. 1, where its words: "*In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis,*" could scarcely have been derived from, but must rather underlie, the long and involved sentence of Barnabas, who has dealt with this simple statement, according to his wont, by multiplying the angels, confusedly describing their characters, and then, at the end of an awkwardly added clause, drop-

⁶ Bickel, in 1843, suggested that the Canons might be independent of Barnabas; and Holtzmann (Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie, 1885, i. pp. 155, 158, 159) feels still justified in denying such dependence for the parts of the Teaching incorporated in the Canons: "A simpler solution is furnished . . . by the assumption that even the Didache, i.-vi. gives the common matter only in relatively its oldest form" (p. 159).

ping a hint of the neglected *iniquitatis*. That the type of text that lies behind both, however, is the same, is proved by the very characteristic readings which they have in common, such as, e. g., i. 1, insertion of the notion of light and darkness, and of the angel clause just quoted, (which occurs also in Hermas, Mandate ii.); i. 2, omission (with Bryennios' MS.) of "with all thy heart;" i. 3, omission (with Canons) of "Bless ye, etc."⁷

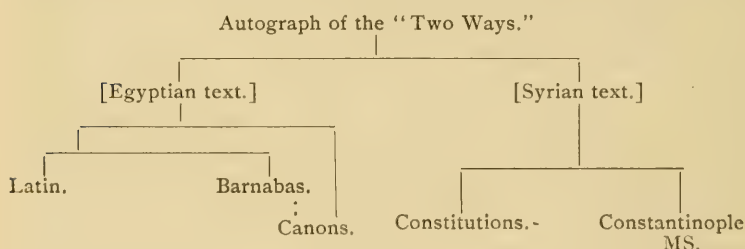
In like manner the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions draw together as independent co-witnesses to another rather marked recension. The sameness of the type of text represented by them lies on the surface of their transmission; such striking items as their common support of the insertion i. 3-ii. 1, inclusive, of the omission of οὗς δὲ ἐλεήσεις in ii. 7, of the plural form μοιχέλαι γεννῶνται in iii. 3, and of the omission of τινά in iv. 3, will quicken our memory concerning it. On the other hand, the independence of their witness-bearing appears to be placed above suspicion by their divergencies from one another. The Constitutions desert the Constantinople MS. and adequate support in such readings of the latter as: iii. 1, ποναροῦ (Constt., κακοῦ); iii. 3, ὑψηλόφθαλμος (Constt., ῥιψόφθαλμος); iv. 5, τὰς χειρὰς . . . συσπῶν (Constt., τὴν χεῖρα . . . συστέλλων); iv. 6, omit the clause about "working." The Constantinople MS., on the other hand, deserts the Constitutions, although they are supported by adequate testimony, in such readings of the latter as: θέλεις (MS. θελήσης); ii. 5, order of the words "empty and false;" ii. 5, omission of ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει; iv. 1, insertion of additional verb; iv. 3, ποιήσεις (MS., ποθήσεις); iv. 7, ὁ (MS., ἡ).

The text preserved in the Ecclesiastical Canons stands somewhat between the recensions represented by these

⁷ Cf. Hilgenfeld Zeitschrift, etc., 1885, i. pp. 97-9; and Brown, The Teaching, etc., p. xxii: "a different recension of the text, and one which already showed some of the striking peculiarities of Barnabas and the Canons, seems to underlie this [the Latin] version."

pairs; but is clearly most closely related to the pair, Barnabas-Latin.⁸ No doubt the possibility of its mixture from Barnabas renders its exact classification somewhat difficult; yet we assign it to a group consisting of itself and the above-named pair with considerable confidence. It joins with them in the important omission of i. 3, ἐὺλογεῖτε—ii. 1, inclusive. And although it is found often in company with the other group, these seem not to be typical readings, and to be thoroughly consistent with the somewhat intermediate place that the Canons occupy between the two.

The results at which we have arrived may be represented to the eye by some such table as the following:—



An important means of establishing the text of The Two Ways is already in our hands when this classification is attained. The union of the two classes which we have ventured to name the Egyptian and the Syrian will give us the best attestation; and this suggests to us the best groups at a glance. Genealogically considered, readings supported only by Barnabas and the Latin, or only by Barnabas and the Canons, or only by the Constitutions and the Constantinople MS. should be suspicious. The best pairs should combine both classes; while in the bounds of a single class, the pair, Canons and Latin, ought to be the best. Such a threefold support as Barnabas (or the Latin), the Canons, and the Constantinople MS. (or

⁸ So also Hilgenfeld and Brown, as cited above.

the Constitutions) should give certainty; and any three-fold attestation should be good—even if it be the Latin, Barnabas, and the Canons.

In this last case we should have the two classes arrayed against each other, and the very important question would arise of the relative soundness of the two transmissions. Unfortunately, the briefness of the Latin fragment, the extremely scattered nature of Barnabas' attestation, the possible mixture from Barnabas which the text transmitted by the Canons has suffered, and the early failure of the Canons, combine to prevent our obtaining any body of readings which we can confidently treat as fair representatives of the Egyptian text. Internal evidence of classes cannot, therefore, be interrogated on any broad scale. If it were just to stake every thing on a single important reading, the sharp division between the classes as to the omission or insertion of the long passage from i. 3, ἐὺλογεῖτε, to ii. 1, inclusive, would furnish us with an ideal test case. And here internal evidence most decisively throws its weight in the scale of the Egyptian text,⁹ which thus, so far as a single case can go in such a matter, is declared to be—when unanimous—the best and soundest, as well as oldest-attested (Barnabas) transmission.

If now we call in the process which Dr. Hort has appropriately named Internal Evidence of Groups to decide for us the probable value of each possible group, the results that were indicated by the genealogical considerations are in general fully confirmed. There are very few readings in which four witnesses array themselves against one; all of these commend themselves.¹⁰ All trinary groups approve themselves by internal evidence as

⁹ See this shown in full., below, p. 115.

¹⁰ Examples are I. 1, omit *in sacculo* of Latin (Barn., Cans., Constt. Ms.); I. 2, omit *eternum* of Latin (same); I. 2, τῆς ζωῆς instead of Barnabas' τοῦ φωτός (Lat., Cans., Constt. Ms.); II. 2, order. "murder, adultery," against Latin, "adultery, murder," ([Barn.], Cans., Constt. Ms.); II. 6, omit *cupidus* of Latin (same).

usually right.¹¹ Among the binary groups the internal evidence approves in general the three, MS. and Canons,¹² MS. and Barnabas,¹³ and Constitutions and Barnabas.¹⁴ The brevity of the Latin version is doubtless the reason that it does not appear in any binary combination with either the Constantinople MS. or the Constitutions. The following binary groups on the other hand are discredited by internal evidence; viz., Barnabas and Canons,¹⁵ MS.

¹¹ (1) Canons, Constt., and MS.: I. 1, insert *μία* . . . *μία* against (Latin), Barn.; omit "light and darkness," against Latin, (Lact.); omit *angeli* clause, against Latin; Barn.. Hermas; II. 3, place "false witnessing," here against Latin; III. 10, read *σοι*, against Barn.; IV. 1, retain last clause, against Barn.; IV. 2 read *τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν*, against Barn.; IV. 8, read *ἐστίν*, against Barn.; retain first clause against Barn. (2) Canons, Constt., and Barn., IV. 1, insert an additional verb against MS.; IV. 3, read *ποιῇσεις*, against MS. (*ποθήσεις*); IV. 7, read *ὁ*, against MS. (*ῥ*). (3) Canons, Constt., and Latin; I. 2, read *θέλεις*, against MS. (*τελήσης*); and *ποιῇσεις*, against MS. (*ποιεί*); II. 5, give the order "empty and false," against the MS.; and omit *ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*, against the MS. (4) Canons, MS., and Barn.: IV. 5, read *τὰς χεῖρας* . . . *συσπῶν*, against Constt. (5) Constt., MS., and Barn.: III. 7, *τῇ ψυχῇ*, against Canons (*τὴν ψυχὴν*). (6) Constt., MS., and Latin: I. 2, omit [*καὶ*] *δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον* or *ἐκ θανάτου*, against Canons and Barn.; II. 2 order of lusts, against Barn., Canons, Clem.-Alex. (7) MS., Barn., and Latin: I. 2, omit "with thy whole heart," against Canons and Constt. (8) Barn., Canons, and Latin omit I. 3, (*εὐλογεῖτε*)—II. 1, inclusive against Constt., MS., and some fathers.

¹² The chief of these are: I. 1, insert *μεταξύ*, against Barn., [Lat.]; III. 1, *πονηροῦ*, against Constt. (*κακοῦ*); *αὐτοῦ*, against Constt. (*αὐτῷ*); III. 3, *ἐψή-λόφθαλμος*, against Constt. (*ῥιψόφθαλμος*); III. 9, order, *δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν*, against Barn.; III. 10, *ἄτερ*, against Barn. (*ἄνευ*); IV. 2, *δέ*, against Barn. (*καί*); IV. 6, *ἐχης*, against Constt. (*ἔχεις*); omit clause concerning "working," against Constt. (Barn).

¹³ Such as: IV. 1, omit the *αἴτιον* clause, against Canons (Constt.); IV. 2, *πρόσωπα*, against Cons., Constt. (*πρόσωπον*); IV. 3, *σχίσμα*, against same (*σχίσματα*); IV. 4, omit *ἐν προσευχῇ*, against same; *διψυχῆσεις*, against Canons (—*σης*); IV. 9, omit *αὐτούς* after *δίδαξ.* against Constt.; IV. 10, *ἐλπίζουσιν*, against Constt., (*πεποιθόσιν*); IV. 11, *ὡς τύπω*, against Constt.; *αἰσχύνῃ*, against Constt. (*προσοχῇ*); IV. 13, omit *παρ' αὐτοῦ* (several times) against Constt.

¹⁴ Such as: IV. 8, *κοινωνήσεις*, against MS., Canons (*συγκοιν.*); IV. 14, omit *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, against MS.; v. 1, insert *ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*], against MS.

¹⁵ These readings are such as: I. 2, insert [*καὶ*] *δοξάσεις*, etc, against Lat., MS., Constt.; II. 2, order of lusts against same; IV. 1, insert "as the apple of thy eye," against MS. and Constt.; IV. 3, insert *τινὰ*, against same;—no one of these has the look of genuineness.

and Constitutions,¹⁶ and Canons and Constitutions.¹⁷ It is somewhat unexpected to find the last of these combinations discredited; but it is observable that the readings which it furnishes are not such as will prove collusion between the two,—the insertion of a clause speaking of an *“αἵτιον”* in iv. 1, alone suggesting it; but are rather such readings as two documents might readily fall into accidentally in common, such, e. g., as the addition in i. 2., drawn from the Gospels, the plural “schisms” in iv. 3, the very natural explanatory addition “in prayer,” iv. 4, etc. When we subtract such readings and those in which their only opponent is the Constantinople MS. standing in individual error (iii. 3, iv. 8, etc.), there is nothing left to suggest closer relationship than the genealogical table attributes to these two documents. On the other hand internal evidence approves many of the readings of the group, MS. + Constitutions, but it is observable that this is so only when they oppose singular readings of Barnabas or the Canons, that is, only in places where we have only three witnesses. The excellence of the general transmission of the Syrian group is thus no doubt indicated; but not as against any other than singular testimony. The only case in which the two groups are pitted against each other is

¹⁶ They unite in such readings as: insert, I. 3, *εὐλογεῖτε* . . . II. 1, against Lat., Barn., Cans.; [II. 7, omit *οὗς δὲ ἐλεήσεις*, against Cans.]; III. 3, *μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται*, against Cans. (singular); III. 6, *ὁδηγεῖ*, against Cans, (*ἄγει*); III. 7, insert *οἱ*, against Canons; III. 7, *γῆν*, against Canons (kingdom of heaven); IV. 1, omit “as the apple of thy eye,” against Canons and Barn.; IV. 3, omit *τινά*, against Cans., Barn.; IV. 9, *ἄρεις*, against Barn. (*ἄρης*); omit *τῆς* before *νεότητος*, against Barn.; IV. 10, *οὐκ*, against Barn. (*οὐ μή*); omit *σου* after *παιδίσκη*, against Barn.; IV. 11, insert *τοῖς* . . . *ὑμῶν*, against Barn.; IV. 12, *τῆς ζωῆς*, against Barn. (*τοῦ φωτός*); V. 1, *τοῦ θανάτου*, against Barn. (*τοῦ μέλανος*); order of list in general against Barn.

¹⁷ These are such as: I. 2, add “with thy whole heart,” against MS., Barn., Lat.; III. 3, omit *ἀπάντων*, against MS.; III. 6, *πρός*, against MS. (*εἰς*); IV. 1, insert the *αἵτιον* clause, against MS., (Barn.); IV. 2, *πρόσωπον*, against MS., Barn. (*πρόσωπα*); IV. 3, *σχίσματα*, against MS., Barn. (*σχίσμα*); IV. 4, add *ἐν προσυχῇ*, against MS., Barn.; IV. 8, omit *τόν*, against MS.

loudly proclaimed by internal evidence in favor of the Egyptian transmission.

On the basis of these investigations we may venture to subject the text of "The Two Ways" to detailed examination:—

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF "THE TWO WAYS."

The *title* of the treatise comes to us by direct transmission in two forms: *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* as it stands in the MS. and *Doctrina Apostolorum* as it stands in the Latin version. In no case where the treatise is mentioned by the Fathers do they specify the number twelve in the title; and although in the absence of the Latin version it might be held doubtful whether we should not explain the failure of the "twelve" in their citations by the lateness of the times, and the passing away of the need of distinguishing the original twelve from the other less authoritative apostles (Did. c.xi.), yet the absence of the word from the Latin version, which also is a direct witness, quite alters the balance of evidence and forces us on textual grounds to omit it. Indeed, a glance at the transmitted forms as given in tabular shape below, is enough to give decision as a mere matter of textual probability in favor of the form *Διδαχὴ [τῶν] ἀποστόλων*:

Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων, [Lat., Ruf.], Niceph., Stich., Syn., Athan.

Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, [Lat., Ruf.], Athan., Anast., Zonaras.

Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, (Eus.), [Pseudo-Cyprian].

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, Constantinople MS.

Διδαχὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, Blastares.

To those accustomed to observe the growth of titles in descriptiveness, the addition of the *δώδεκα* will, as a matter of internal probability, have all the appearance of a later addition that the insertion of *ἁγίων* by Blastares has,—although induced, no doubt, by a very different tendency.

Its absence from the Latin version throws grave doubt also on the second title,—which, if genuine, must certainly be taken as the special title of the section on the Two Ways (chapters i.–vi.) and not as an alternative or more original title of the whole treatise. No trace of it is discoverable in any of the patristic citations of the work. Even though we should judge that it is hinted at and paraphrased in Constt. App. i. *Præf.*: οἱ ἀπόστολοι παῖσι τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνων πιστεύουσιν ἀκούσατε διδασκαλίαν ἐκ προσταγμάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὁμοστούχων ταῖς ἐνδόξοις φθογγαῖς αὐτοῦ,—the balance of probability would not be essentially altered. It would no doubt be otherwise if we could feel that it is implied in the Ecclesiastical Canons c. 2, where the apostles propose to communicate to their sons and daughters only ὡς ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. It is noticeable, however, that all reference fails here, on any theory, to the words “to the Gentiles,” which furnish the only justification for the co-existence of this second title with the first. There are no internal reasons to urge strongly one way or the other, except as against the naturalness or likelihood of these words, “to the Gentiles.” All that Harnack has said in favor of the primitiveness and originality of this title only goes to show that it has a certain appropriateness to the book, and in no wise distinguishes between the likelihood of its having been given by the first author and the likelihood of its having been added by a later scribe. Transcriptionally judged it presents all the characteristics of scribe’s work,—a certain specious appropriateness conjoined with no

¹⁸ Cf., on these words, Sabatier, *La Didaché*, etc., p. 73: “To whom is it addressed? To the pagans, says the title; and yet, if we take this indication literally, we find ourselves met by more than one difficulty. How is it that the author when speaking to pagans did not commence by revealing to them the one, living, and true God? He speaks to them of the Law as if they knew it; of the pagans as if they were not ordinary pagans.” Few will, however, think that M. Sabatier has untied the knot by understanding the word in a narrowed sense of Syrian semi-proselytes, like, for instance, Cornelius.

actual inherent value. It is altogether too fully explanatory. Especially do its closing words "to the Gentiles" awaken suspicion. Were catechumens ever called "Gentiles?" Was this treatise not intended for the instruction of Jewish candidates for baptism also? Or are catechumens not intended at all? Was the treatise meant after all for the instruction of already baptized Christians? On what principle then are they "Gentiles"? Is the book a veritable missionary document directed by the Jewish element of the church to the Gentile brethren in the effort to convert them, not to their common Christianity, but—to its way of thinking? In any view, satisfactorily explanatory as the word seems at first sight, it explains nothing satisfactorily and raises curious difficulties. And especially, if, after all that Harnack has said, it stands fast that the first section is addressed to catechumens, as its whole content proves, and the next section openly declares (vii. 1, "having first taught all this, baptize"), the phrase "to the Gentiles" can have no proper meaning as an original part of the treatise and can only be explained as a later addition by a writer who neglected the primary purpose of the treatise. But if "to the Gentiles" is not genuine, there is small need for the rest of the second title, and although it cannot be so confidently pronounced against, it appears best to follow the Latin in omitting it.¹⁹

¹⁹ Compare De Muralt, *Revue de Théol. et de Philos.*, 1884, p. 281: "sous-titre . . . ajouté plus tard"; Bonet-Maury, *La Doctrine des douze Apôtres*, Paris, 1884; Ajouté après coup pour rapprocher la *Didachè* des Constitutions; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1885, I. p. 78, where we find the following:—"The essential agreement of the old witnesses confirms me in the opinion that the former title is the original one." Harnack (p. 24 f.) explains on the contrary the second title, which is otherwise entirely unattested, as the original one, and even assigns it to the whole tract, taking the *ἐθνη*, not of unbaptized, but of already baptized heathen. But we read in VII. 1: *ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε κ. τ. λ.* These words are, no doubt, addressed to baptized Christians, but presuppose that chapters I.-VI. are intended for the still unbaptized (heathen). Thus we are to apply 'The Teaching of the Lord through the twelve apostles for the heathen'—if the whole writing is to be so entitled,—in chapters

I. 1. The insertion by the Latin version of the two words "*in sacculo*" (Compare also Lactantius, *humanae vitae*, Epist. div. instit. c.lix., Divin. inst. vi. 3) has decisive external evidence against it and no internal evidence in its support. It is probably only an individualism of that translation. Whether the Latin follows Barnabas in omitting the *μία μία*, must remain doubtful, but in either case the words are supported by the decisive testimony of the Constantinople MS., the Canons, and the Constitutions. And exactly the same may be said of the omission of *μεταξύ* in Barnabas and perhaps the Latin.

Two important additions are made by the Latin and Barnabas in this verse which require careful consideration. After declaring that the two ways are those of life and death, the Latin adds in further appositional expansion: "*lucis et tenebrarum*," which is at once seen to be the parallel of what has hitherto been thought an individualism of Barnabas. The latter writer appears in his blundering way to witness to the fact that a double description underlies his matter, even in xviii. 1, and more plainly still in xx. 1. This double reading may be, with great probability, held to have been a part of the Barnabas-Latin subclass of the Didache. The union of the Egyptian document—the Canons—with the whole Syrian class, however, in excluding the second pair of words is decisive evidence against their originality. And the internal evidence casts its vote in the same direction.

The further addition by the Latin of the words: "*In his*

I.—VI. to unbaptized and in chapters VII.—XI. to baptized heathen; and thus the unity of the work is maintained at the cost of the unity of the sense of the expression in the title. Bryennios and Zahn (p. 286 f.) have therefore assigned the second title to the first part only, (chapters I.—VI.) which (they consider) was to be communicated to the candidates for baptism before they were baptized. Harnack (p. 29) objects: 'if this were so, it would be all up with the integrity of the *Διδαχή* as it lies in the MS. But are we to maintain the unity of this writing at every cost—even at the cost of assigning an unexampled double-sense to one and the same expression in its title?' Cf. also p. 97; and Nov. Test. extra canonem recept., 1884. iv. p. 94.

constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis," although certainly not an individualism, and certainly supported by Barnabas, who has borrowed from them in his tell-tale blundering fashion (xviii. 1-2), and also by Hermas, who has quoted them almost verbatim (Mand. vi. 2), as well as by Lactantius (See v. Gebhardt in Harnack, op. c. p. 285), who seems dependent on the Latin version, yet shares the same fate. The internal evidence is strongly against its genuineness, and although it is the reading of the whole sub-class, yet the union of the Canons with the Constitutions and Constantinople MS. against it is decisive.

1. 2. The individualism of the Latin version which adds *æternum* after *Deum*, may be set aside at once, along with the individualism of Barnabas, who changes τῆς ζωῆς into τοῦ φωτός in accordance with his adoption in the preceding verse of the corresponding alternative of the text that lay before him. In two minor readings the Constantinople MS. may possibly need correction in this chapter by the combined evidence of the [Canons], Constt., and Latin, which give us θέλεις for its θελήσης, and ποιήσεις for its ποίει. As the internal evidence is not decisive for these cases, however, although faintly favoring the change,—and in order to adopt θέλεις an additional syntactical alteration would need to be made in the sentence, the correction cannot be said to be certain. Perhaps it would be best to read θέλῃς (Constantinople MS. —ησης by repetition) and ποιήσεις.

The addition to the command to love God of ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου, which the Canons and Constitutions make, is discredited by internal evidence of groups which represent this combination as of small authority,—by genealogical evidence which ascribes great authority to the opposing combination of Barnabas and the Latin version with the Constantinople MS. and very strongly by internal evidence as Krawutzcky pointed out in 1882.

The further addition to the same command of [καὶ] δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου which Barnabas and

the Canons make, is more plausible, though discredited again by the apparent collusion of these two documents, the genealogical strength of the opposing group (Latin, Constantinople MS., and Constitutions) and the balance of the internal evidence. The words *ἀγαπήσεις* and *δοξάσεις* when applied to God had a tendency to suggest each other, as we shall see in a subsequent passage (Didache iv. 1, Canons, Barn., *ἀγαπήσεις* > Constt. *δοξάσεις*). While we adjudge the sentence an unauthorized addition, however, we cannot deny the possibility that it is a characteristic reading of the Egyptian recension which the Latin has passed over by accident; this is possible but not probable.

1. 3. In this section we are faced by the most important textual problem which meets us in the whole treatise on the Two Ways. The entire section from the word *εὐλογεῖτε* in this verse to and including ii. 1, is omitted by the Latin version, by Barnabas, and by the Ecclesiastical Canons. On the other hand it is found, not only in the Constantinople MS., but also, though not complete, in the Apostolic Constitutions. The portion transcribed in the Constitutions carries us through the first section of i. 5. Hermas, moreover, quotes from i. 5 (Mand. ii. 4-6). Clement of Alexandria (*Frag. ex Nicetæ Catena in Matt.* v. 42) also quotes the same verse. And John Climacus (vi. saec.) appears to have had the same verse before him (Migne, vol. 88, p. 1029). The external evidence divides itself therefore into the whole Egyptian group *versus* the whole Syrian group supported by three patristic quotations. The patristic quotations are such as to witness to the very early—first half of the second century—and very widespread—Alexandria and Rome—circulation of the Syrian recension; but are not sufficient to determine the relative originality of the two classes into which the witnesses to the Didache text divide themselves. The use in this passage of the Syrian recension by Clement of Alexandria is indeed surprising but cannot be asserted to be decisive. We are thrown back on internal evidence, with

the feeling that we need a stronger probability than the external evidence furnishes for either side, before we can decide the matter with any confidence.

Internal evidence, however, casts its whole weight so clearly for omission as to leave little or no doubt in the matter. This was already seen by Krawutzcky in 1882, who declared our present section an interpolation which was moreover badly placed at the beginning of the discussion, where it violently breaks in upon the flow of thought, rather than at the end of the section on the Way of Life, where the disposition of the treatise might have made room for it. The matter has had new light thrown upon it since Krawutzcky wrote, not only in the great advance in the amount of external evidence which we now have in hand enabling us to see the value of the various supporting groups in clearer light, but also in the fulness and clearness of the internal evidence. The importance of the case will justify us in stating this somewhat fully.

(1) The section in question appears to be violently stuffed into its present place. As it stands, the commandments of i. 3-6 are enclosed between two headings. They follow the heading "But of these words the teaching is this," i. 3, which must refer back to the preceding context, i. 2,—either, then, to the whole of it, thus promising an elaboration of both commandments of love to God and to our neighbor,²⁰ or, far more naturally, to the last sentence of it, thus promising a negative treatment of the duties to our neighbor. It certainly cannot promise a special treatment of the command of love to God. Yet the heading with which chapter ii. opens commits its author to the theory that what had gone before was an elaboration of the commandment of love to God, and that what is to come after is to be an elaboration of "the second commandment," that of love to our neighbor. It is no doubt easy to say that the title of i. 3 is the general title of all to follow, while ii. 1 is the

²⁰ Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftl. Theologie* 1885, I. p. 80.

special title of this part of it. But it is plain that ii. 1 is framed with reference to i. 3, and the probability is very strong against so formal an introduction to the "second commandment," while the "first commandment" is left without any introduction at all. The objective form of the phrase "the teaching," too, in this second heading, "The second commandment of the teaching," suggests the hand of a reworker with the treatise before him, rather than of the original writer, who freely composed this admirably well-joined treatise in which there is nothing else at all similar to this phrase until vi. 1, after the whole discussion is finished. On the whole, the appearance is strong that the title of i. 3 originally stood immediately before ii. 2, which proceeds to give exactly what this title promises,—namely, a negative elaboration of the duties that we owe to others; and that i. 3-6, having been interpolated, a new title was needed for ii. 2, which the interpolator awkwardly invented from his objective stand-point.

(2) This appearance is strengthened by the serious interruption which the passage in question makes in the otherwise logically and admirably arranged sequence of thought. The title at ii. 1, "But the second commandment of the teaching [is this]," divides the treatise at this point necessarily into (a) an elaboration of the first commandment—"thou shalt love God who made thee," i. 3-6, and (b) an elaboration of the second commandment—"and thy neighbor as thyself," ii. 1 sq. But that the matter actually communicated will not run into these moulds is evident on the surface and is demonstrated by the difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of so framing any analysis of this part of the treatise as naturally to cover its divisions. Bryennios proposes two analyses, the one of which regards i. 3-6 as containing commandments growing out of love to God while ii. 1 sq. contains those which spring from love to our neighbor, and the other of which classes the two sections under the captions respectively of "Do the good," and "Abstain from evil." Harnack defends the former

view and argues that the primitive conception classed such duties as are given in i. 3-6 always under the rubric of love to God. Even were this sound, as it apparently is not, neither analysis is tenable. The same duties are treated under both heads (i. 5, and iv. 5 sq.). And Kra-wutzcky's criticisms (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift 1884, iv. p. 560 sq.²¹) remain unanswered and unanswerable. Even if we should persuade ourselves (which we cannot do) that i. 3-6 contain only duties which might justly fall under love to God, it remains true that the subsequent portion of the treatise (ii. 1 sq.) does not confine itself to the rôle assigned it by either method of division; but busies itself, not only with the evil that we must abstain from, but also with the good that we must do,—not only with the lower duties that man owes to man as man, but also with the higher duties which he is to honor God by fulfilling toward his fellow. This might be a small matter with another treatise; but in so carefully ordered a tractate as this, it is much that a section will not submit to be included in its order.

(3) It is worth noticing, further, that our present passage, not only thus refuses to fall into the train of thought of the treatise, but is repetitious of matter which is found in its logically appropriate place, and in repeating mars it, almost contradicts it, nay scarcely saves itself from contradicting itself. The positive commands to charity find a fit place and expression in iv. 5 sq. in the midst of the section that is devoted to the positive duties of the Way of Life, and which treats in turn of the duties to one's self (iii. 7-10),—to the church (iv. 1-4),—to the poor (iv. 5-8),—to the household (iv. 9-11). The repetition of them at the beginning of the whole discussion is all the more startling that they find so just a place here. And that they are more justly set forth in iv. 5 sq. lies on the surface of the treatment, while the contradiction between the most likely meaning of the obscure i. 6 and iv. 7, or even

²¹ Cf also Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, etc., as above, p. 79 sq.

i. 5, has led the best critics to question whether some interpolation must not be assumed here. Certainly it is undeniable that i. 5-6 repeat in a surprising place and in a less appropriate manner what is better said and better placed in iv. 5 sq.

(4) It lies very near to what has already been urged to add that the manner and style of this section differences it from the rest of the Two Ways. Scripture is used differently; strange little additions are made to the quotations from it, such as, "for, indeed, thou canst not," "for he is guiltless," etc.; an unknown passage is adduced as Scripture; and a general lack of clearness, both in expression and ordering, is observable throughout this passage such as meets us nowhere else. This even goes so far that to all appearance the Scripture source that is drawn from by the author of this section differs from that used by the author of the rest of the treatise. Elsewhere there is no reason for suspecting that any thing other than our Synoptic Gospels has been used for the evangelical quotations, while the Diatessaron of Tatian seems to have furnished the quotations in our present section, as any one will suspect who will compare the quotations of i. 3, 4, with Tatian § 17.²² *It is from the quotations of this section that Harnack is led to doubt the direct use of our Gospels as we now have them by the author of the Didache.*

(5) It is not a mere repetition of what we have already said, but of independent value, to observe that when this passage is excised, the ordering of the whole section of the Two Ways becomes strict, logical, and even beautiful; so that the results obtained by omission become an argument for the omission. Every thing, then, falls properly into place and the section yields the following strongly concatenated analysis:—

I. Introduction to the whole section, i. 1.

II. The Way of Life, i. 2-iv. 14.

²² See Harnack, p. 78.; Zahn's Tatian's Diatessaron, p. 133 sq.

1. Introductory Statement of the Way of Life, ii. 2.
2. Negative development of its duties, ii. 2-iii. 6.
 - A. Negative commandments of the Way of Life, ii. 2-ii. 7.
 - B. "What is forbidden in these commandments" (in the sense of the questions in the Westminster Catechism), iii. 1-6.
3. Positive commandments of the Way of Life, iii. 7-iv. 11.
 - A. Duties to one's self (personal duties of temper), iii. 7-10.
 - B. Duties to the church (the church teachers — the church members — the church unity), iv. 1-4.
 - C. Duties to the poor, iv. 5-8.
 - D. Duties to the household (parents to children — masters to servants — servants to masters), iv. 9-11.
4. Concluding exhortations to the Way of Life, iv. 12-14.

III. The Way of Death, v. 1-2.

IV. Concluding exhortations, vi. 1-3.

(6) Transcriptional evidence is always ambiguous in a passage of such extent. But it must be observed that the absence of the passage from a whole class of documents forbids the special explanations which have been offered of its absence from individual documents. Von Gebhardt's conjecture that a leaf may have fallen out of an early copy, which may have perpetuated itself in this mutilated form, and become the parent of the whole Egyptian recension, is possible but not at all likely, in as much as: 1. The treatise would have to begin in the middle of the *verso* page to bring this passage all on one leaf, and 2. This is to bring the transcriptional evidence into opposition to, not into harmony with, both the external and (what is far more important) the intrinsic. It may be safely asserted on the one hand, that the whole Egyptian group partake

of this omission by inheritance and not by accident and, on the other, that the insertion of the passage editorially is more easily explained than its omission editorially. It is not scribes' way to omit; and the feeling that the ethical teaching of the treatise fell short of the height demanded by the gospel may have early suggested an interpolation, especially as the twofold command of i. 2 gave excuse for it.

The internal evidence against the passage appears to us, when viewed by itself, sufficient to raise very grave doubts as to its genuineness, and, when conjoined with the external evidence which has already cast it in doubt, enough to set aside the passage as almost beyond question spurious. It may be added that the quotation of the spurious words by Hermas and Clement of Alexandria set the age of the interpolated *Didache* for us, in the first half of the second century; while the apparent use of Tatian's *Diatessaron* by it points to Syria as the place where the interpolating was done.

II. 2. The general order of the words in this verse appears to be satisfactorily transmitted in the Constantinople MS. That, at the opening, murder precedes adultery, the agreement of the Canons, Constt., and Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 109, establishes against the defection of the Latin version alone. The transposition of false witness from the next verse by the Latin is only a curiosity of scribes' work. Question can arise only as regards the order of the three prohibitions of lustful deeds. The Latin and the Constitutions unite with the Constantinople MS. in arranging them thus: adultery, paederasty, fornication. Barnabas and the Canons depart from this in placing paederasty last, although they disagree in the relative order of the other two; and Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* ii. 8, 9, also gives this order. This would have strong claims to be considered the order of the Egyptian recension were it not for the possibility of collusion between both Clement and the Canons with Barna-

bas. The defection of the Latin version is, in this state of the case, decisive and we follow with confidence the Constantinople MS.

II. 5. This verse is remarkable in furnishing two clear cases in which the Constantinople MS. requires correction. That the order *ψευδῆς οὐ κενός* should be received, the testimony of the Latin, Canons, and Constt. against the Constantinople MS. alone, as well as strong internal probability, unite in demanding. The same witnesses unite in omitting the unnecessary and somewhat strange addition, *ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*.

II. 6. The Latin adds *cupidus* before *πλεονέκτης*—against the decisive witness of the Canons, Constt., and Constantinople MS. The omission of *οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίου σου* by the Constt. alone as against Barnabas, the Canons, and the Constantinople MS. is of no significance and the less so that the phrase is apparently hinted at in the Constt. themselves.

II. 7. A case of some difficulty is presented in this verse by the insertion of the words *οὓς δὲ ἐλέήσεις* after *ἐλέγξεις* by the Canons and their omission by the Constantinople MS. The Constitutions also omit the words but its testimony is of small value, since it has the passage only brokenly. Barnabas also is of small value here, as he has transmitted only the last clause and that in a changed form. Internally there is a balance of probabilities: on the one hand the words may have been dropped by homœoteuton, *ἐλεήσεις* presenting a very similar mark for the eye to *ἐλέγξεις*, and on the other they may have been introduced from Jude 22, as Harnack suggests. On the whole the internal evidence tends to favor the words, and we venture to insert them in square brackets.²³

III. 1. Two unimportant cases occur in this verse, in which the Constitutions range themselves against the decisive witness of the Canons and the Constantinople

²³ They are inserted also by Hilgenfeld (text and Zeitschr., 1885, p. 80, note 1) and Zahn (Theol. Literaturblatt, 1884, no. 26).

MS. combined, reading *κακοῦ*, instead of *πονηροῦ* and *αὐτῷ*, instead of *αὐτοῦ*.

III. 2. Quite an interesting textual question arises in the list of sins in this verse. The MS. reads *μηδὲ ζηλωτῆς μηδὲ ἔρισκακὸς μηδὲ θυμικός*. The Constt. substitute for the last two *μηδὲ μανικός μηδὲ θρασύς*. And the Canons, as edited by Harnack, changes the last item into *θυμώδης* which is the reading of Mosq., while Vind. reads *θυμαντικός* and Ottob. *μανικός*. These readings of other MSS. of the Canons may have been framed under the influence of a reminiscence of the Constitutions. But on the other hand they may preserve a reminiscence of the original text of the Canons and would thus hint at the presence in it of *μανικός*. The value of the combination of the Canons and Constitutions is shown by internal evidence of groups to be so small, however, that in any case it will be best to follow the reading of the MS.

We follow, without hesitation, the MS. also in retaining in this verse *ἀπάντων* and the plural form *φόνοι γεννῶνται* against the Canons. The parallelism of the other verses demands them,—although the testimony changes sides curiously at iii. 4.

III. 3. In this verse also we follow the MS. throughout although the other witnesses present some noteworthy variations from it. The Canons, for instance, divide the verse into two, repeating the *τέκνον, μὴ γίνου* instead of *μηδὲ* before *ἀσχρολόγος*: while the Constitutions omit the first half altogether—and transfer the second part to a place after iii. 4. The parallelism of the verses, and the parallelism of this section with the preceding one, ii. 2-7, thoroughly justify the form of the MS. The same parallelism vindicates the genuineness of *ἀπάντων* although the Constitutions unite with the Canons in omitting it here. The Canons stand alone again in reading the singular for *μοιχεῖται γεννῶνται* of the MS. and the Constitutions. And the explanatory *ρίψόφθαλμος* of the Constitutions is set aside by the strong combination of the MS. and the Canons for

ὕψηλόφθαλμος, which is supported also by internal probability.

III. 4. The reading of the Canons *ἰδεῖν μηδὲ ἀκούειν* may be confidently declared a later strengthening of the simple *βλέπειν* of the MS. On the other hand we adopt here on internal grounds (parallelism) the plural reading of the Canons, *εἰδολολατρίαί γεννῶνται* instead of the singular of the MS.

III 5. We retain the *μου* of the MS. (Canons omitting) to satisfy the parallelism. The preposition before *τὴν κλοπήν* is curiously variously transmitted: the MS. gives *εἰς*, the Canons *ἐπί*, and Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. 20) *πρός*. Some variation also appears in some of the parallels: in iii. 2, the MS. reads *πρός*, which is supported by the Canons; in iii. 3, again both read *πρός*; in iii. 4, the MS. and Canons read *εἰς*, and the Constt. *πρός*; in iii. 5, here, the MS. *εἰς*, the Canons *ἐπί*, and Clement *πρός*; in iii. 6, the MS. reads *εἰς*, and the Canons and Constt. *πρός*. In every instance some witness or other gives us *πρός*. This seems certainly the true reading in 2 and 3; whereas *εἰς* is best supported in 4, and the other two cases are doubtful. Transcriptional evidence is ambiguous: either *πρός* was everywhere the original reading and the variants have arisen from the accidental substitution of a synonym, or *εἰς* was original in the last three cases and has been mechanically assimilated to the previous *πρός*. The latter is somewhat most likely; and we propose to edit *πρός* in iii. 2, 3, and *εἰς* in iv. 6, with an alternative *πρός* in the margin.

III. 6. Again we follow the MS. throughout:—rejecting the reading of the Canons both in its omission of *μου*, and its substitution of *ἄγει* for *ὁδηγεῖ*.

III. 7. We follow the MS. again and the more so that it is supported by the Constitutions in both cases, where the Canons read variants. Internal evidence thoroughly supports it also in one of the cases: viz., *γῆν* for *βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν*; but is ambiguous in the other, viz., *οἱ* before *πραεῖς*.

III. 8. The MS. is here also to be followed, both in its insertion of the *καί*'s, and in its rejection of certain words; both against the Canons.

III. 9. The combination of the MS., Barnabas, and the Constitutions for *τῇ ψυχῇ* far outweighs the Canons (*τῇν ψυχῇν*).

The Canons (cf. edition of Harnack) apparently lacked the phrase "*θράσος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου*" (omitted by homœoteleuton?) although it appears in Ottob., in a form which could scarcely be drawn from Barnabas. Whether we are to read it as it appears in the MS., or as Barnabas gives it: *οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου* (omitting *θράσος*), and as it is repeated in the Canons (Ottob.), is hard to determine. Perhaps the conjunction of Barnabas and the Canons in a reading in which they do not seem in collusion will determine us to accept *οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ* instead of *οὐ κολληθήσεται*. This appears best whether we judge the reading of Ottob. to be a survival of the original reading of the Canons, or subsequently introduced from the Didache; in either case it is an independent witness to the Didache.

The order *δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν* is established by the MS. and Canons, against Barnabas.

III. 10. We follow the MS. throughout here; in the omission of *δέ* (against Canons), the reading *σοι* (with Canons and Constt., against Barnabas' *σου*), and the reading *ἄτερ* (with Canons, against Barnabas' *ἄνευ*).

IV. 1. We retain as probably genuine the *τέκνον μου* of the MS. against the Canons, which omit *μου*; and in like manner omit *τόν* (Canons) before *κύριον*, with the MS.; and retain the last clause as given in the MS. and the Canons against the omission of Barnabas (?) and the alteration of the Constitutions.

It is more difficult to settle the complicated reading that affects the whole first part of the verse. It may be considered in three separate parts. (1) Ought we to insert another verb before *μνηθήσῃ*, dividing the sentence into two clauses? (2) Shall we insert a further qualifying

phrase? and (3) are we to insert another objective clause? The MS. reads simply: τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνηθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. In the Canons this is expanded into the following long sentence, in which the figures mark the parts affected by the above questions: τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (3) καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα (1) ἀγαπήσεις (2) ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν. Taking up the three questions in their order, we observe:—

(1) The insertion of a new verb is supported by Barnabas [and the Constitutions]. Barnabas reads: ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου· μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς. His blundering genius is here very apparent. Πάντα appears to be a strengthening addition. Ἡμέραν κρίσεως seems only a confusion of ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα,—nearly the form of adverb used by the Canons; so that Barnabas conflates the adverbial expressions of the Constantinople MS. and the Canons. It is clear that the Canons cannot have copied their statement from Barnabas, but it is not so clear that they may not have altered the Didache as it lay before them into closer accord with Barnabas. The union of Barnabas with the Canons is, therefore, here, as elsewhere, suspicious, and we dare not plead the pair as more than one witness. The Constitutions also, however, insert an additional verb, though no longer ἀγαπήσεις, but δοξάσεις; yet in so doing they support Barnabas and the Canons in the main point. Internally, the addition is faintly probable, and of the two verbs δοξάσεις is intrinsically the superior reading. It is not difficult to account for the falling out of a single word in the Constantinople MS. or for the subsequent adjustment of the syntax by changing the accusative into the genitive. On the whole, then, it appears best to insert here δοξάσεις, with adjustment of the syntax.

(2) The support (Barnabas and Canons) of the qualifying phrase ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου is genealogically and by internal evidence of groups too suspicious to detain us

long, especially in the face of internal objections; and so we confidently reject this insertion.

(3) The second half of the objective clause inserted by the Canons, from *καὶ δόντα* to *σφραγίδα* inclusive has no claim whatever on our acceptance, external or internal. The former portion, however, may possibly be echoed in the Constitutions a little later in the words: *οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εἶναι σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον*, from which it might be inferred that the author of the Constt. had some such sentence as that which the Canons transmit before him and tried to guard it from misunderstanding. Although the combination of the Canons and Constt. is discredited by internal evidence of groups, this seems to be due to the number of petty cases of accidental union between them. Our present case is essentially different from them and we cannot help suspecting that we have here a genuine transmission from the common original on which the two works rest. It may be best to put it into the margin as a possible addition. But if we so conclude we are immediately faced by two difficulties—concerning the exact form in which to cast the addition, and the exact place into which to insert it. The form given in the Canons is the most original one transmitted to us, and we cannot do better than adopt it. We have the choice of inserting it as an appositional accusative to *τὸν λαλοῦντα* (following the Canons) or immediately after *δοξάσεις* connecting it with *μνηθήσῃ*. The latter is the more attractive disposition, but will be judged by many too conjectural.

IV. 2. In this verse we read *δέ* with the MS. and Canons, against Barnabas (*καί*); *καθ' ἡμέραν* without *ἐκάστην* with the MS. Canons, and Constitutions, against Barnabas; *τῶν ἀγίων* with the MS., Barn., and Constt., against the confused reading of the Canons; and *πρόσωπα* with Barnabas and the MS., against the Canons and Constt. (*—ον*). Whether we are to accept the form *ἐπαναπαῆς* (the Constantinople MS.) with Harnack and Hilgenfeld, or correct it into *ἐπαναπαύῃ* (Constt.) with Bryennios, Spence,

Sabatier, etc., or into ἐπαναπαύση (Canons) can scarcely be confidently decided. The correctness of the last words of the verse as given in the MS. is vouched for by the Constt. and Canons; Barnabas, however, adds an idea of labor and of saving the soul thereby which has left traces also in the Canons.

IV. 3. Very clearly the MS. reading ποθήσεις in this verse is wrong and should be supplanted by ποιήσεις (Barnabas, Canons, Constt.). The MS. σχίσμα, supported by Barnabas, is on both external and internal grounds superior to the σχίσματα of the Canons and Constt. Barnabas and Canons insert unnecessarily a τινά after ἐλέγξαι, against the MS. and Constt. Decision is difficult here, though apparently the MS. has the best claim to be followed.

IV. 4. The addition of ἐν προσευχῇ by the Canons and Constitutions to this enigmatical verse, besides being discredited by the character of that combination, is condemned by its self-evident explanatory purpose. The parallelism with the preceding verses as well as the excellent character of the supporting group (MS. and Barnabas) establishes the future διψυχήσεις against the διψυχήσης of the Canons and the γίνου δίψυχος of the Constitutions. The negative varies in the documents from μή (Constt. Canons) and οὐ in the MS. to the plainly strengthened οὐ μὴ in Barnabas; we follow the MS.²⁴

IV. 5. Here we can, without hesitation, adopt the MS. reading τὰς χεῖρας συσπῶν, supported as it is by Barnabas and the Canons, against the τὴν χεῖρα συστέλλων of the Constitutions.

IV. 6. The Constantinople MS. presents in this verse two omissions, one of which—τῶν before ἁμαρτιῶν,—we can easily adopt without discussion, but in the other of which we judge it to be in error. Supported by the Canons, it reads: "If thou have, through thy hands thou shalt

²⁴ Cf. Zahn's Supplementum Clementinum, p. 315, and Hermas as there quoted.

give thy sins' ransoming." The Constitutions, instead of this, reads: "If thou have, through thy hands give, in order that thou mayest work out thy sins' ransoming." And Barnabas (xix. 10): "Through thy hands thou shalt work unto thy sins' ransom" (λύτρον). Now, if it is established, as seems to be done, that the Constitutions and Barnabas are independent, this addition deserves the deepest attention; it cannot be by accident that they agree in inserting ἐργάσῃ εἰς before the "ransoming (ransom) of thy sins." Apparently, then, the Constitutions have preserved for us here the true text and are to be followed. We propose to insert—at least in brackets—ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς between δώσεις and λύτρωσιν. Otherwise we should have to count the Constt. a conflation of Barnabas and the Constantinople MS.²⁵

IV. 7. External evidence supported by intrinsic considerations decides in this verse for γάρ (MS., Canons, Constt.) against δέ (Barn.); ó (Barn., Canons., Constt.) against ἡ (MS.); and ἐστίν (MS., Canons., Constt.) against its omission by Barn. The πτωχῶ of the Const. is manifestly an explanatory addition.

IV. 8. We retain, though with some doubt, the τόν before ἐνδεόμενον, with the MS., but against Canons and Constt. For the rest of the verse we follow the MS. although there are several minor variations, the only one of importance being the omission of the συγ— in συγκαινωνήσεις by Barnabas and the Constitutions,—a combination strong enough to throw doubt upon it. The rest are such as ἐν πάσιν Barn., εἰς πάντα Constt., for πάντα; the interpretation πλησίον (Barn.) for ἀδελφός, and φθαρτοῖς (Barn.) for θνητοῖς.

IV. 9. The Ecclesiastical Canons fail at this point, taking from us one of our most important witnesses and leaving the whole Egyptian class to be represented by the sporadic and bungling excerpts of Barnabas alone. For-

²⁵ Cf. J. R. Harris as quoted in the N. Y. Independent, Sept. 24, 1885, p. 7.

tunately Barnabas quotes from every succeeding verse of the chapter and this is of value as against Krawutzcky's efforts to prove the spuriousness of iv. 9-14.²⁶ That they are contained in Barnabas on the one side and the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions on the other side is decisive for their genuineness on any other theory of the relations of the documents than that which Krawutzcky, and Krawutzcky alone, has adopted. His theory supposes that Barnabas is the original writing, and that in order to logically arrange and doctrinally correct what he had so wildly brought together in these last chapters of his epistle, the Two Ways was written early in the second century. All the other documents (including the Didache) came from this and it is this they represent. Even on this theory it is unnatural to suppose that two out of the three witnessing documents should have borrowed from Barnabas just the same supplements, and hence Krawutzcky is driven to make the Constitutions a secondary witness even to the Two Ways, drawing itself directly from the Didache. The internal evidence on which Krawutzcky relies against this section is as weak as the external, and turns wholly on his failure to grasp the train of thought in this part of the treatise. When we once see the principle of arrangement which apparently governed the writer himself, this portion of the chapter becomes not only a natural, but even a necessary, part of the treatise. Why the Canons desert their model here is another matter and of no great importance to us in the criticism of the Didache: for this purpose we only need to know that they did not stop here because the matter before them stopped. And this appears to be proved by the borrowing of the Canons in c. 12 from Didache, x. 3, xiii. 1, 2, thus showing that much more of the Didache was before the author than he chose to borrow: cf. also c. 15, and Harnack's notes 34 and 35, pp. 210, 211.

This verse presents some readings in which Barnabas opposes itself to the Constantinople MS. and the Const.

²⁶ Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift, 1884. IV. p. 559 sq.

combined, as follows: οὐκ (Constantinople MS. and Constt.) against οὐ μὴ (Barn.), which is a manifest alteration for emphasis; ἀρεῖς (MS., Constt.) against ἄρης (Barn.) where again the internal evidence decides for the former; νεότητος (MS. Constt.), against τῆς νεότητος (Barn.); τὸν φόβον (MS. Constt.), against φόβον (Barn.). Although with doubt in the two latter cases, we follow the MS. in all four instances. When the Constt., standing alone, inserts αὐτοῦς after διδάξεις, while its omission by the MS. is supported also by Barnabas, it is the easier to decide in favor of the MS. that the external group is in this case a strong one and the internal evidence not ambiguous.

IV. 10. In this verse we reject the strengthened οὐ μὴ of Barn. in favor of the simple οὐκ of the MS. and the Constt.; accept on internal support the σου which Barnabas (against the MS. and Constt.) inserts after παιδίσκη; adopt the order of words of the MS. and Constt. against Barnabas; adopt the simple negative οὐ of Barnabas against the οὐ μὴ of the MS., and the φοβηθήσονται of the MS. against the φοβηθῶσι of Barnabas; and reject the πεποιθόσιν of the Constt. in favor of the ἐλπίζουσιν of the MS. and Barnabas.

A more important and difficult variation occurs in the last clause—where also the Constt. deserts us and we must decide between οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται read by the MS. and ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ by Barnabas. We must frankly confess that the latter reading appears to us internally very much the preferable one: and yet in a conflict between a MS. and so freely worked over a transmission as Barnabas gives us, we dare not follow the latter in so important a case. We content ourselves with placing, therefore, what seems intrinsically the better reading in the margin.

IV. 11. The δοῦλοι and ὑμῶν at the opening of this verse seem to be properly corrected by most of the editors into οἱ δοῦλοι and ἡμῶν from Constt. The omission of τοῖς and ὑμῶν (ἡμῶν) by Barnabas seems an individualism that may be justly neglected. Each of the three wit-

nesses gives a different form to the verb, but that given by the MS. appears most likely, from the forms used in the neighboring verses, to have been the original one. The combination, MS. + Barn., is enough to settle the readings *ὡς τύπω* (Constt. *τυποῖς*) and *ἀσχύνη* (Constt. *προσοχή*).

IV. 12. We venture to follow the MS. here, although Barnabas and the Constt. insert a verb, though diversely, apparently betraying independent correction by them.

IV. 13. It cannot be seriously questioned that the repeated *παρ' αὐτοῦ* in this verse is an insertion of the Constt. (omit: MS., Barn.).

IV. 14. The words *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, with which this verse opens in the Constantinople MS., are omitted by both Barnabas and the Constt. Barnabas merely says: "Thou shalt confess thy sinfulness:" the Constt.: "Thou shalt confess to the Lord thy God, thy sins." Either the Constt. are a direct correction of the Didache (which, indeed, is not *per se* unlikely), or the original Didache lacked the words *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*. The latter seems to be most probable; and the internal evidence—for there is nothing apparent in the context to justify the emphatic prepositing of *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*—appears to support it. We relegate the words, therefore, to the margin.

The word for "sins" differs in each witness: we adopt *τὰ ἁμαρτήματά σου* of the Constt. supported in part by Barnabas. The same evidence more directly given, makes *καί* suspicious. The internal evidence supports the *προς-ελεύση* (MS. Constt.) against Barnabas's *προσήξεις*; while, on the other hand, the variation of the Constt. in the 'last words of the discussion by which they are transmuted into *ἡμέρα πονηρίας σου* is plainly explanatory, and we follow the MS. and Barnabas. It goes without saying that *τῆς ζωῆς* of the colophon, supported by the MS. and the Constt., has higher claims to genuineness than Barnabas's *τοῦ φωτός*.

V. 1. On the opening words of the Way of Death, Krawutzcky (Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift, 1884, IV.

p. 565) may be profitably consulted. His doubt whether the Constitutions may not give the original form rests on his underestimate of the union of Barnabas and the Constantinople MS., which is here not precise, indeed, but in the main opposes the Constitutions. The alteration by Barnabas of τοῦ θανάτου into τοῦ μέλανος ranks with his characteristic forms elsewhere. Possibly the omission of αὕτη . . . ἔστιν may be explained by accident due to homœoteleuton: the sentence thus resulting needed one word's insertion, and thus we get Barnabas's σκολιά instead of πονηρά.

The list of sins which follows, contains in this verse, as given in the Constantinople MS., twenty-two items. Every one of these is witnessed by the Constitutions also—although ἐπιθυμίαι is further explained by the adjective παράνομοι, and ὕψος takes the form ὑψηλοφροσύνη. Besides these the Constitutions add two, ἐπιορκίαι, which is given the third place, and ἀφοβία, which closes the list, thus increased to twenty-four items. Barnabas contains seventeen items, of which fifteen appear also in both the other witnesses, and two are added,—παράβασις in the middle, and ἀφοβία θεοῦ at the end, the last of which agrees with the final term of the Constitutions' list. Hermas, in Mandate viii. 3-5, plainly presents reminiscences of this passage, and in his list of sins includes eight (ten) that are found in our documents, grouped just sufficiently together to make connection with our passage certain: it is worth remarking that of these eight words five (πορνεία, ὑπόκρισις, ψευδομαρτυρία, ἐπιθυμία, ἀλαζονεία) are lacking in Barnabas. The type of the Didache used by Hermas seems to have been intermediate between the Egyptian and Syrian types, and included both the angel clause peculiar to the one (Didache i. 1 = Hermas, Mand. vi. 2) and the alms-giving clause peculiar to the other (Didache i. 5 = Hermas, Mandate ii. 4, 6). Its witness, here, consequently adds less than could be wished to the testimony of the Constantinople MS. and the Constitutions.

The order in which these sins are arranged agrees perfectly in the MS. and the Constt., with these trivial exceptions: the third and fourth items (*ἐπιθυμῖαι, πορνεῖαι*) in the MS. are transposed in the Constt. and the additional word *ἐπιπορκῖαι* interposed between them. On the other hand, Barnabas presents an utterly different order. If we number the items in the MS., the different orders may be represented to the eye thus:—

Constt.: 1, 2, 4, *ἐπιπορκῖαι*, (3), 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, (21, *ὑψηλοφροσύνη*), 22, *ἀφοβία*.

Barn.: 6, 20, 21, 11, 12, 2, 1, 9, 14, *παράβασις*, 13, 15, 16, 8, 7, 17, *ἀφοβία θεοῦ*.

So far as Hermas gives the same words, they stand in him: 2, 4, 14, 11, (15), (24), 10, 17, 3, 22.

Another difference in form is found in the fact that Barnabas throughout uses the singular number, in which, indeed, Hermas agrees with him, while the MS. and Constt. use the plural for the former moiety and the singular for the second part,—the MS. giving eleven plural names (down to and including *ὑποκρίσεις*) and eleven singular ones; and the Constitutions thirteen plural names down to and including *διπλοκαρδῖαι* = No. 12 in the MS. list) and eleven singular ones.

Internal considerations give us great confidence in the general trustworthiness of the text—both in its contents and order—as transmitted in the MS. and Constt. Barnabas here is confusion worse confounded. On the other hand, the other documents not only present an arrangement that can be traced, but one which was demonstrably the natural order for the author of this document. We have in Didache iii. 2 sq. a formal arrangement of sins in which they take this order: (1) murder, (2) sins of lust, (3) idolatries, including witchcraft, (4) thefts, including sins of pride, (5) blasphemies, including sins of the tongue and temper. The list in ii. 2 sq. takes essentially the same order: (*a*) murder, (*b*) lusts, (*c*) thefts, (*d*) magic, (*e*) child-murder, (*f*) coveting, (*g*) sins of speech. Now, in our

present list we have (1) murders, (2) adulteries, lusts, fornications, (3) thefts, (4) idolatries, witchcrafts, sorceries,—[robberies],—(5) false witnesses, hypocrisies, (double-heartedness). At this point the plurals break off and the list takes a new beginning. It cannot be accidental that the order is exactly that of iii. 2 sq. with the one difference of transposing thefts and idolatries,—a transposition which is supported by ii. 2 on the one hand, and not to be thought doubtful, on the other, on account of the “robberies” which come later. (See later p. 145.) The conjecture lies very close that “thefts” here originally occupied the eighth place, and has been transposed to the fifth under the influence of ii. 2 and the reminiscences—fresh in every scribe’s mind—of the ten commandments (Ex. xx. 13; Deut. v. 17), as well as of our Lord’s words in Matt. xix. 18, and the best MSS. of Mark x. 18. But the agreement of the order, as it stands in the MS., with that of ii. is sufficient to compel us to reject even so specious a conjecture. The insertion of *ἐπιорκίαι* by the Constt. is also discredited by the parallelism;²⁷ but the parallelism apparently throws its weight for the plural form of *διπλοκαρδία*.

The last ten (eleven) names—from *δόλος* to *ἀλαζονεία* (*ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*])—have too close a relation to ii. 5 sq. to remain doubtful. As there, so here they follow upon and are attached to sins of speech, and include (1) guile, ii. 5 = *δόλος*, (2) pride and covetousness, ii. 6 = *ὑπερηφανία* *ἀλαζονεία*. We confidently adopt this list also, then, and in the order in which the MS. gives it. Even *ὑψος* (Barnabas? and MS.) is preferable to the *ὑψηλοφροσύνη* of the Constt. At the end, however, the testimony of Barnabas and the Constt. induce us to insert a final term, *ἀφοβία* [*θεοῦ*], which stands as the final term in both witnesses, and could scarcely have been added independently. It is the climax, here, just as the next list ends climactically in *πανθαμάρτητοι*. And in this aspect of it, it looks as

²⁷ If it be genuine it should stand just before the tenth name. It is probably, however, inserted to accord with II. 3.

if we should probably retain also the *θεοῦ* which Barnabas alone transmits.

V. 2. In this section of the sin-list, the MS. gives us nineteen items, and the Constt. supports it throughout,—apart from some minor points of detail. Here, too, we have the general support of Barnabas, which was lacking to us in the previous verse, and the presence of which gives us an attesting group of great strength. Barnabas agrees with the MS. exactly in the first five items, with the exception that he inserts *τῶν* before *ἀγαθῶν* in the first. Between the fifth and sixth he inserts *χῆρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες*, which is so plainly a further explanation of the previous sentence, "not cleaving to that which is good nor to righteous judgment," that it may be rejected out of hand. The slight changes which he introduces in the sixth and seventh items are opposed by internal evidence. The eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, he supports exactly. Between the eleventh and twelfth he inserts *εὐχερεῖς ἐπὶ καταλαλιᾷ*, which apparently is condemned by its unfitness for this context. After this he supports the MS. to the end. The support of Barnabas in this detailed way suffices, not only to establish the general list as in the MS., but also its details even when the Constitutions desert it.

VI. 1. The sixth chapter of the Didache fails in Barnabas, except a trace, perhaps, of verse 2 in xix. 8, *ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις*, which is the more gratefully received because it is just this verse that is passed over by the Constitutions. The Constantinople MS., therefore, and the Constitutions are our sole witnesses to this chapter. This ought not to throw its genuineness into doubt, but it prevents us from placing implicit confidence in the details of the text. The Constitutions contain the first clause of verse 1, and imply some thing like the second clause; and so quote from verse 3 as to imply the whole of it. What concerns details:—in verse 1:

Instead of ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς of the MS., the Constitutions reads ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας. The internal evidence is ambiguous: on the one hand, the statement of the MS. appears rather objective; on the other, it appears likely that "from this way" stood in the original document. We cannot do better than to follow doubtfully the MS.

VI. 3. The simple φεύγετε (φεύγε) of the Constitutions has a more primitive flavor than the strong λίαν πρόσεχε of the MS. But, again, material for confident decision is wanting.

Reviewing this examination, we obtain the following list of changes, which, it appears, we should probably introduce into the text of the Constantinople MS., viz.:

Title: bracket τῶν and omit δώδεκα; omit second title.

I. 2. θέλης for θελήσης; ποιήσεις for ποίει.

I. 3. Omit from εὐλογεῖτε to ii. 1, inclusive.

II. 5. Reverse the order ψευδῆς, οὐ κενός; omit ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.

II. 7. Insert [οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις] after ἐλέγξεις.

III. 4. εἰδοδολατρίαι γεννῶνται; place πρὸς in the margin opposite εἰς.

III. 5. Place πρὸς in the margin opposite εἰς.

III. 9. οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου with οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχῇ σου in the margin.

IV. 1. τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι instead of τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι, with the latter in the margin; insert δοξάσεις after θεοῦ with omit opposite it in the margin; place "Add [καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς]" in the margin opposite θεοῦ; add δὲ αὐτοῦ after μνησθήσῃ with "omit" opposite them in the margin.

IV. 2. Place ἐπαναπαύη in margin opposite to —παῆς.

IV. 3. ποιήσεις instead of ποθήσεις.

IV. 6. Insert between δώσεις and λύτρωσιν the words [ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς].

IV. 7. ὁ instead of ἡ.

IV. 8. Place opposite τόν before ἐνδεόμενον, "omit" in the margin; place opposite συγκοινωνήσεις, the word κοινωνήσεις in the margin.

IV. 9. Add τῆς in the margin before νεότητος and place omit in the margin opposite the τόν before φόβον.

IV. 10. Insert [σου] after παιδίσκη; bracket μή; place ὅτι ἦλθεν οὐ in the margin opposite οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται.

IV. 11. Add οἱ before δοῦλοι; ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν.

IV. 14. Transfer ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ to the margin; ἁμαρτήματα instead of παραπτώματα, with the latter in the margin; bracket καί.

V. 1. Add at end, ἀφοβία [θεοῦ].

VI. 3. φεύγε with λίαν πρόσεχε in margin.

The result of such an examination of the text as we have made is certainly, first of all, to give us an increased confidence in the general purity of its transmission in the Constantinople MS. If we may venture to adopt the corrections of that MS. which it suggests, we have gained, further, a purer text on which to found our study of the contents and relations of the work. Feeling the ground grow thus firmer beneath our feet, it becomes possible to discuss with some satisfaction such problems as the following: The sources and composition of the treatise; the disposition of its matter; its theological and ethical teaching; the history of its use and abuse in the church; and many others which inevitably start themselves in the mind of the student. Sheer lack of space will compel us to postpone most of these pressing questions to a future occasion. Let it be only said that a beginning has been made by Krawutzcky²⁸ of a thorough study of the use made of the Two Ways by the Canons and Constitutions; Zahn may be profitably consulted on the use made of it by Barnabas; Harnack's remarks on the Canons and Constitutions deserve consultation; and now Professor J. R. Harris has given us some insight into its use by the Sibylline Oracles. For the rest, we must confine ourselves to

²⁸ Tübingen Theolog. Quartalschrift, 1882.

the two subjects of the composition of the treatise and its doctrinal and ethical teaching.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE TWO WAYS.

If the original title of the treatise can be attributed to its author, he appears to have undertaken his work with Acts ii. 42, "And they continued steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles" (τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων), in mind. At all events, he laid out his treatise on the lines of the Christian commonplace of the two ways, with conscious reference, no doubt, to the Scriptures, though, perhaps, not to any one definite passage. Jer. xxi. 8, "Behold, I have given before your face τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου," may have been most sharply present in his mind. But the conception is spread over the face of the Scriptures, old and new, and is found in strikingly similar forms in Deuteronomy (xxx. 15), and Baruch (ii. 1), and in Matthew (vii. 13), and 2 Peter (ii. 2), alike. The constant use of the simple word "The Way" in the Book of Acts (cf. ii. 28; ix. 2; xiv. 27; xviii. 25; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14, 22; also 1 Cor. iv. 17; xii. 31; Heb. x. 20) as a synonym of the Christian life, shows it already figuring as a sort of Christian "slang," if we may be pardoned the word. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. v. 5) is thoroughly justified in declaring: δύο ὁδοὺς ὑποτεθεμένου τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις ἅπασιν. And on this very account it is difficult to trace the phrase back to any one definite passage in the case of our author, just as it is in the cases of the Testt. XII. Patriarchs, Aser. 1 (Sinker, p. 183), or the writer in the Talmud, Berachoth 28 b.; both of which appear as independent of our Teaching as Dr. Charles Hodge's "Way of Life" or The Letters from Hell, p. 2: "It was true, awfully true, that I had not followed the *way of life*, but the *paths of death* since the days even of childhood."

In accordance with the obvious indications of this conception, our author divides his treatise into two parts, the

former and larger portion (i. 2—iv.) treating of the Way of Life, and the latter (v.) of the Way of Death, the whole closing (vi.) with some broad, concluding exhortations. In making his disposition of the matter to be included under the former of these two great divisions, it seems to be evident that the author was working under the influence of a strong reminiscence of either our Gospel of Matthew or some thing with much the same contents. In Matt. xxii. 35–40 all the commandments are summed up in the two of love to God and love to our neighbor. In Matt. vii. 12 the Golden Rule is brought into close connection with the two ways. In Matt. xix. 17 sq., it is declared to the young man that if he would enter into life he should keep the commandments, which are specified as: "Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Honor thy father and thy mother; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell that thou hast and give to the poor." In like manner, the author of our tractate declares that the way of life consists in keeping the two commandments of love to God and our neighbor,—in avoiding all that is forbidden by the golden rule, which is (ii. 2) analyzed at once into the commandments of the second table of the decalogue. The collōcation of these three things: the ways of life and death, the golden rule, and the decalogue, very strongly recalls the words of Jesus recorded in Matthew. So that the disposition of the treatise itself gives us very real grounds for assuming that it depends on our first Gospel.

This is strengthened by (and strengthens) the appearance of actual use of the phraseology of Matthew. It is evident, indeed, that the author does not intend to make exact quotations from or immediate appeals to any writing. In i. 1 he succinctly and clearly states the authoritative teaching, which is observed to be drawn from Scripture, but not quoted from any special passage of it. In like

manner, in verse 2 the evident purpose rules of definite, clear, succinct statement of authoritative truth. No authorities are adduced; the truth is didactically and dogmatically stated, as if from a teacher, accredited by his position, and dealing with his matter freely. Under such circumstances there is no reason to doubt that the matter is drawn from Matthew, because it is compressed and simplified and made easy to grasp and hold in memory. A comparison of the commands to love God and our neighbor, in i. 2, with the same injunctions in Matthew xxii. 37 sq., reveals the very closest relationship between the two; while the very form of them in the Teaching betrays a studied compression. It is, perhaps, too much to say that the prepositing of *πρῶτον* suggests a reminiscence of the parallel in Mark xii. 27 sq.; yet it is found there too. Only the change of "the Lord thy God" into "the God that made thee" needs accounting for before we decide that Matthew is certainly the source from which the Teaching drew. This phrase also occurs in Barnabas xiv. 2, where it is borrowed from the Teaching, and also in Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 16, where it may be borrowed from either Barnabas (although the use of Barnabas by Justin is not yet fully proven) or the Teaching—for that Justin did not use the Teaching is not so certain as some seem to think.²⁹ There is no reason to think its insertion here any thing else than original with our author; and it seems due to the purpose of the treatise, as a catechism directed to those just becoming Christians, to whom the creatorship of God needed emphasizing rather than their personal part in that God which would suit Jewish readers better. But if we thus conclude that all the divergences of the words from the form given by Matthew are such as the author of the Teaching would naturally make in adapting them to his purpose, there exists no reason why we may not refer them to Matthew as their source.

²⁹ Cf. J. R. Harris, *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, 1884, p. 380.

The negative form which the Golden Rule takes in the latter portion of i. 2 is explicable also from the desire of the writer to express its far-reaching teaching in a form which should be at once, on account of its definiteness and easy comprehensibility, fitted to serve as the "milk-food" of catechumens and an easy point of attachment for the negative commandments which were to follow. Otherwise its language is not further removed from that of Matt. vii. 12 than ordinary freedom of quotation allows. There is compression and a change from the plural to the singular in the first clause, and in the last from the imperative to the future (the actual reading of the MS. is the imperative singular): but nothing that can throw doubt on Matthew's being its source. The fact that the sentiment is attributed to Confucius, and Hillel, and stands in Tobit (iv. 15, *καὶ ὁ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσεις*) in the negative form, has no tendency to suggest that a sentence so nearly verbally from Matthew came from any or all of these sources rather than it. Nor is the fact that it was so current in the Stoical ethics of more importance. Harnack quotes Lampridius's Alexander Severus, 51: "*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*," and apparently lays some stress on the parallel: the Latin version is far closer to this, however, than the Greek: "*Omne autem quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris*," and the conjecture lies very close that the Emperor drew from the Latin version of so characteristic a Christian teaching directly or indirectly.³⁰ On the whole, the dependence on Matthew, which is already probable from the general scheme of the tract is corroborated by these special phrases, which differ from

³⁰ We have preferred to speak thus mildly in the text, seeing that the negative form of this rule was, no doubt, pre-Christian even in Greek letters. Cf. Isocrates, as quoted by Gibbon (Decline and Fall, liv. note 36). But Lampridius distinctly states that Alexander got *this* saying from Jews or Christians:—*Clamabatque saepius quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat et tenebat*, etc. Lampridius adds: *Quam sententiam usque a deo dilexit, ut et in Palatio et in publicis operibus praescribi jubebat*. This seems, indeed, to be another trace of the circulation of the Latin Didascalia.

Matthew only in the direction and the degree that the direct, didactic purpose of the writer and the character of the audience which he is addressing will readily account for.

The plan of the section on the Way of Life (i. 2—iv.) is very easily traced (i. 3, *ἐὐλογεῖτε*—ii. 1 being omitted on the grounds given above). After the general introductory statement of i. 2, there follows immediately an enumeration of the sins which are forbidden in the way of life, covering the matter from i. 3 to iii. 6, and this we may call the negative part. A positive part, communicating the duties commended in the Way of Life, follows, including iii. 7—iv. 11, and is itself followed by three broad concluding exhortations, iv. 12—14. The negative portion itself (i. 3—iii. 6) falls into two parts, the first of which sets forth the negative commandments of the way of life (i. 3—ii. 7) and the second of which sets forth "what is forbidden in these commandments" quite in the sense of this phrase in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, questions 41, 55, etc.,—an odd indication of the continuity of Christian thought and methods through all ages.

The reference of the words that open verse 3, "of these words, however, the teaching is this," is not altogether obvious, and has been variously understood by commentators. On the whole, it seems likely that in this charge to the catechumens the writer had only the command to love our neighbor in mind, and, having stated, passes over the command to love God. Then the command to love our neighbor is stated negatively in the Golden Rule and expanded into the commandments that are attached to it. In that case the reference of "these words" is to the immediately preceding Golden Rule, of which they promise an expansion. It is undeniable that, if this be the true interpretation, the writer does not stick closely to his scheme throughout: iii. 4 concerns itself with idolatry and iii. 6 with blasphemy, while in v. an occasional item suggests duties to God rather than to man. But these

departures, if departures they be, are exceedingly slight as well as rare, and the tract distinctly concerns itself with morality rather than religion.

At ii. 2 the list of sins condemned by the Golden Rule taken negatively is begun. That the decalogue (Ex. xx. 13) underlay the author's principle of arrangement is clear. The order of the decalogue, or its restatement in Matt. xix. 18 (cf. Mark x. 18), is followed at the beginning. And yet that the decalogue is only the basis of the work, is already evident from the distribution of its simple "Thou shalt not commit adultery," into the three items of adultery, paederasty, and fornication. An enlarged, explained, and enforced decalogue, on the model of our Lord's words as reported by Matthew, seems to be the author's purpose. Whether or not Romans xiii. 9 was also in his mind seems difficult to determine: it seems likely, however, that a reminiscence of that passage has deflected the Latin version into an order of sins which places adultery first and murder second. That Matt. xix. 18 sq. was the prominent deflecting force in the arrangement of the original, however, seems probable from Matt. xix. 19, and its apparent expansion in ii. 4-6, especially 6. The debt to Matthew crops out, too, in the οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις (Matt. v. 33) with which ii. 3 opens. In ii. 6 there is apparent dependence on 1 Cor. v. 10, 11; not only are the classes mentioned by Paul, "fornicators, covetous, extortioners, idolaters," all hinted at, but the two items so closely connected by Paul, "covetous and extortioners," are brought together. A reminiscence of Rom. i. 29 sq. also appears somewhat probable in this verse: *πλεονεξία . . . κακοθετίας . . . ὑπερηφάνους*. The structure of the sentence ii. 7 forcibly recalls Jude 22 and 23, and if the words οὗς δὲ ἐλέησεις be inserted, as it seems likely they ought to be, a reminiscence of Jude can scarcely be doubted (cf. Harnack, p. 227, note). The final clause of the chapter is apparently again due to Matt. xix. 19; as the one closes the list of commandments with a command to love our neighbors, so does the other

bring his list to an end with a somewhat strengthened reminiscence of the same.

The order of sins in chapter ii. is somewhat peculiar, and that we may get at the ordering principle in the author's mind it will be necessary to compare the three lists of ii. 2 sq.; iii. 2 sq.; and v. 1 sq. The second of these is the most formally arranged and must be our key in the matter. From it we perceive that the writer is condemning five great classes of sins: (1) murder, (2) lust, (3) idolatry, (4) theft, (5) blasphemy; and, though basing his arrangement on scriptural grounds (where, e. g., idolatry is frequently brought close to adultery), yet appears to introduce an original element. On comparing, now, the other lists with this, we may observe that the evils brought together at the end of v. 1 belong under the fifth head (iii. 6), inasmuch as the *αὐθάδης* of this class appears here as *αὐθάδεια*: but it is also clear from their general character that these are the same that appear in ii. 6—both containing *πλεονεξία*, *άρπαγαί*, *ὑποκρίσεις*. It is curious, however, that the sins of ii. 3 and ii. 6 are somewhat mixed together in v. 1 *fin.*; “false witness” and “double-mindedness” seeming out of place after “robberies.” Even in ii. 6, however, “hypocrisy” is not a sin of deceit, but a sin of violence or evil-nature. And it is observable that, according to our author's scheme, murmuring, self-will, and evil-mindedness all fall under the head of blasphemy. Apparently, the class of blasphemy of iii. 6 is represented in v. 1 from *άρπαγαί* down, and in ii. 3–6 inclusive. No doubt, we must guard against erecting an artificial harmony between the three lists. In classifying sins, not by their nature, but by their progeny, if we may so speak, the same tendency may often find place under one head as readily as under another: particularly “thefts” (iii. 5) and “blasphemies” (iii. 6) lie close to one another.³¹ In iii. 5 false speech is a “theft,” and so is vain-glory: in ii. 6 and v. 1 rapacity is separated from “thefts” and put with the

³¹ Cf. the words *ιερόσυλος*, *ιεροσυλέω*.

sins of evil nature that lead to blasphemy. Nor will the identification that we have suggested settle all the problems of the lists. Why, for instance is theft placed between lust and magic (idolatry) in ii. 2 and v. 1, but between idolatry and blasphemy in iii. 5? This variation of order appears to be certainly due to the author, not the scribes, and is apparently caused by deflection from his preferred order (iii. 5) under the influence of the decalogue. Why, again, are abortions separated from murders, in ii. 2, and classed apparently with sorceries? Why does ii. 2 close with "covetousness" to pass over to sins of speech and return to "covetousness" in ii. 6? Difficulties remain; but if we consider abortions an appendix to sorcery, and the items of ii. 3-6 as a detailed statement of the sins that lead to blasphemy (iii. 6), the parallelism of the lists and their principle of arrangement are both apparent, thus:—

II. 2 sq.		III. 2 sq.		V. 1.
Murder,		Murder,		Murder,
Lust,		Lust,		Lust,
Theft,	=====	Idolatry,	=====	Theft,
Sorcery,	=====	Theft,	=====	Idolatry,
{ Covetousness, }		Blasphemy.		Blasphemy.
{ Blasphemy. }				

At iii. 1 the second part of the negative treatment of the way of life begins (iii. 1-6), in which the sins of the list ii. 2 sq. are traced to their finer roots,—the transition being not so much to more refined sins as to the deeper and less noticeable roots of evil. Hence the appropriateness of the opening words: "My child, flee from every evil and from every thing that is like it,"—taken, almost certainly, from 1 Thess. v. 22,—on which is founded, on the model of the Sermon on the Mount, a condemnation of the first beginnings of the evils that the author saw about him. For this purpose he writes five artistically parallel sentences, making mention in each, first, of a root of evil, next of the gross sin to which it leads, then of other similar roots, ending with a repetition of the gross sin to

which they lead. The symmetrical structure of these sentences does not suggest the construction of a Christian decalogue (5×2), as Harnack thinks, out of the second table of the law; but rather recalls in its tone and manner the proverb-literature of the Old Testament (Proverbs and Sirach especially). The detailed sins here condemned rest on the Old Testament law, as worked out on the evangelical side: most of the items are found in the LXX. or lists of sins in the New Testament. Especially Titus i. 7 (*ὀργίλος*, 2; *αὐθάδης*, 6) and 2 Peter ii. 10 appear somewhat prominently as possible sources. The latter passage even seems to have been probably used: it declares that the Lord knows how to keep for judgment especially those who are daring and *αὐθάδεις, δόξας οὐ τρέμουνσιν, βλασφημοῦντες*. The Didachographer forbids (iii. 6) the catechumen to be *αὐθάδης*, because it leads to blasphemy. It is possible that in iii. 8 a reminiscence of the trembling at dignities crops out also.

At iii. 7 the negative treatment of the way of life is left and the positive duties it entails are introduced. The section thus introduced extends to iv. 11 inclusive, and treats in turn of the duties to one's self (iii. 7-10), to the church (iv. 1-4), to the poor (iv. 5-8), and to members of the household (iv. 9-11). The remainder of the third chapter is thus occupied with what may be called the personal duties which each man owes to himself—the duties of right temper and disposition. It has, therefore, a direct relation of opposition to the sins hitherto condemned, and rightly stands next to them and opens the positive treatment of the subject. The section begins with a direct appeal to the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 5)—the *ἐπεὶ* adducing a well-known and revered truth—and the character of all its injunctions is in the highest degree Christian and scriptural. Few of them, however, fall into the exact language of Scripture. At iii. 2 there seems a probable reference to Gal. v. 20: at iii. 8 a clear reminiscence of Isa. lxvi. 2 (LXX.), which

may have been suggested to the writer here by the passage from 2 Peter ii. 10 that was apparently ruling his thoughts when he wrote iii. 6; at iii. 9 it is difficult to avoid finding a reference to Rom. xii. 16; and at iii. 10 the writer rests on Sirach ii. 1.

The discourse passes from the duties owed to one's self to those due to the church, at iv. 1, in words that may be a reminiscence of Heb. xiii. 7 (cf. 2 Peter iii. 2), and orderly treats in turn of the duties due to teachers (iv. 1), to the saints (iv. 2), to the church unity (iv. 3 beginning), and to church discipline (iv. 3 end—4). The somewhat enigmatical clause that constitutes iv. 4 has been a puzzle to reworkers and commentators alike: both have usually interpreted or altered it so as to make it refer to prayer, —a reference entirely foreign to its context. Hermas, Vis. iii. 4, 3 (Zahn's *Supplementum Clementinum* p. 315), possibly refers it to prophecy. Apparently the author of the Two Ways meant it of judgment, cf. v. 3; but may have left the expression purposely broad, with a mental reference to Jas. i. 8. Barnabas seems so to have understood it; for while retaining the unlimited expression and misplacing it he keeps it in a context of judicial dealing with the brethren.

From iv. 5 to iv. 8 the duties of charity are treated—which, in the corrupt text of the MS. and the Constitutions are anticipated in i. 3 sq. This sub-section opens (iv. 5 = Sirach iv. 31) and closes (iv. 8 init. = Sirach iv. 5) with appeal to the teaching of one of the most popular Jewish apocrypha. In the last verse (iv. 8) there is also an obvious reference to Acts iv. 32 and later to Rom. xv. 27.

Household duties (iv. 9–11) are orderly treated: first, duties of parents to children (iv. 9); second, of masters to servants (iv. 10), and lastly, of servants to masters (iv. 11), quite after the model of Paul's Epistles, especially Eph. vi. and Col. iii., iv. In particular the mutual duties of masters and slaves are closely parallel to Eph. vi. 5 sq.

and Col. iii. 22—iv. 1,—although the language of our treatise is free and independent.

The closing verses of the fourth chapter (12–14) round up the whole treatment of the way of life by offering certain final exhortations of such a general sort that they cover the whole ground recapitulatorily. The stress laid on hating hypocrisy seems founded on our Lord's constant reproof of that vice in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere. The last clause of v. 13 recalls Deut. iv. 2 or xii. 22. The opening words of iv. 14 seem to rest on Jas. v. 16; its close presents a reminiscence of Heb. x. 22, "Let us draw near, having our hearts sprinkled ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς," possibly not without influence on the memory of such passages as Matt. v. 23 sq. The close conjoining of prayer and confession is very likely due to the reminiscence of Jas. v. 16 which affected the early part of the verse.

The second grand division of the treatise on the Two Ways—that setting forth the Way of Death—occupies c. v. and consists of a long list of sins, divided in the middle by a change of construction. The first half (v. 1), consisting of twenty-three items, is parallel with the lists in ii. 2 sq. and iii. 2 sq., and ends climactically in ἀφοβία [θεοῦ] (omitted in the MS.). The second half, consisting of eighteen items, is new and ends in the climax, πανθαμάρτητοι. The section opens with a general description which seems not unlikely to include a reminiscence to 2 Peter ii. 14, 15 (κατάρας τέκνα κ.τ.λ.). The items that are adduced are all clearly Christian and biblical, but can be assigned to special passages only with considerable doubt. In v. 2 the phrase ἀγαποῦντες ψεύδος somewhat forcibly recalls Rev. xxii. 15, where, however, φιλέω is the verb used; a little lower down οὐ κολλώμενος ἀγαθῷ recalls Rom. xii. 9; and still lower there seems a reminiscence to Isa. i. 23 in "loving vanity," etc.

The sixth chapter, opening with a warning against deserting the teaching of the book (vi. 1), closes the whole

work with a tender word of allowance (vi. 2) and a strict caution against idolatry (vi. 3), recalling, in this last point, the last words of 1 John,—though perhaps not so sharply as to prove dependence on it. The first clause of vi. 2 recalls Acts xv. 10 and Matt. xi. 29, while the second clause recalls (though with a broader reference) Matt. xix. 21. The teaching of 1 Cor. viii. sq. is precisely that which is summed up in vi. 3. This chapter is a fit conclusion to the treatise, and brings it symmetrically to an end. The last verse appears clearly a part of the Two Ways, and only accidentally begins with a phrase parallel with the section-headings to succeed (cf. Harnack, etc., p. 40 sq.).

As the result of this somewhat long discussion we may form a table of the Scriptures used by our author, and a synopsis of his train of thought. The latter has already been given.³² For the former it will be enough to say in a recapitulatory way that the writer has used apparently besides certain Old Testament books, canonical (such as Exodus, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Isaiah) and apocryphal (Tobit and Sirach), the following New Testament books:—Matthew, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, (Ephesians), [Colossians], Hebrews, James, (2 Peter³³), Jude, [Revelation].³⁴

THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE TWO WAYS.

The meaning of the prominence of the ethical, as distinguished from what is called theological, teaching in these chapters is not to be determined apart from their object and aim. The comparison with the Epistle of James, which has been suggested by many writers, is premature, until the relation of these opening chapters to the remainder of the Didache has been settled. If we judge that the Didachographer has simply incorporated here a catechetical treatise which he found already in use, an

³² See above, p. 119 sq.

³³ Cf. (with judgment) Harnack, *Prolegom.* p. 15.

³⁴ For the whole subject of relation to Scripture, cf. Schaff, pp. 78–95.

explanation of its purely ethical contents may be suggested, with some plausibility, which would be altogether out of place, if we judge that he has composed this catechism for himself. In either case, however, the use which he has made of it is not such as will justify our declaring that it represented Christianity to him and contained all that he considered that Christians need concern themselves about. As a matter of mere fact the reception of the act of baptism, before which (vii. 1) this teaching was to be received, implies a much greater amount of teaching of theological truth than is given in these chapters. The meaning of the rite itself has not been explained: nor would the recipient, had he been taught only what is here stated, know so much as what the triune name in which it was administered meant. The name of Jesus is not once named in the whole catechism: the fact of sonship, to say nothing of its meaning, is not once spoken of. The Holy Spirit himself is only mentioned once, and that wholly by the way and incidentally. To the candid student it will be clear that chapters i.-vi. were to the Didachographer, not the catechism properly so-called, or body of truth to be taught the catechumen by which he was fitted for baptism: but the formal declaration to the catechumen at the moment of baptism, of the mode of life that solemn act entailed upon him. They are not so much the catechism as what in modern language we should call the "charge" to the catechumens. They represent, thus, not what seemed to the Didachographer the essential elements of Christianity, but what seemed to him the essential nature of the Christian walk: not the nature of Christianity, but the character of Christian life: not what was to be believed, but what was to be done: not the theology of Christianity, but its ethics. In this view of the matter we cannot appeal even to Origen's saying that Christ taught beginners the law, and only the perfect the gospel. These chapters do not represent the teaching given to beginners: they constitute only the solemn charge as to the life they

were henceforth to live in the world, given by the officiating officer at the moment of baptism to those who, already properly instructed for that act, appeared to receive the sign and seal of the new birth, and to have "the beautiful name" named upon them. And this is the most natural view of the aim and object of these chapters, whether they are considered the product of the same pen that wrought the rest of the *Didache* or older material found ready to his hand and freely incorporated into his work. For in the latter case, he would most naturally use the matter which he adopted because already in use, for the purpose for which he found it in use. And it is apparent that he uses, if not composes, these chapters as the charge to the neophytes about to be baptized.³⁵

If this is probable, we are not surprised at not finding our present chapters more theological. They have nothing to do with faith, but deal with immediate and practical duty. And we can ask after their theology only as we ask after the theology of any other practical charge,—that is, we can only seek to discover from chance hints dropped in them what theology was held by their author. And so far from being able to attribute to him only the theology which we can find trace of in such a treatise, we can only hope to run across an occasional remark in it that may give us a hint as to his theology in its broadest and most shadowy outlines. This treatise is not unusually barren of such hints: it is rather rich in them for a document of its class. The writer's doctrine of God, for instance, is tolerably fully revealed to us. We might not, indeed, be able to confidently determine his attitude towards such a conception as that of the Trinity, although iv. 10 is big with obscure hints. What is this Spirit (*τὸ πνεῦμα*), for example, whose work it is to make ready those to whom God comes, and without whose preparation he comes not? And who is this God that comes and

³⁵ This is the view of the matter presented also by Pastor Dr. A. Bielenstein and approved by Zahn (*Theolog. Literaturblatt*, Apr. 3d, 1885).

calls,—or, according to another and perhaps better reading, who *came to call*? Obscure hints, these,—from which we scarce dare draw inferences. But certainly the Holy Ghost and his work on the human heart is here alluded to; and if he who came to call men is Jesus, then, he is specifically called God,—not so very strange a thing when we remember that the Christians of Bithynia were distinguished in Pliny's time (cir. 105 A.D.) for just this,—that they sang hymns of praise to Christ as God. The strangeness of these hints resides only in the fact that they stand alone in these chapters,—and elsewhere in them neither Holy Spirit nor Jesus is named nor even certainly alluded to. Even the oddness of this, however, passes away when we remember the nature of the treatise that we are dealing with.

The creatorship of God is openly asserted in i. 2; and that by his plastic power (πλάσμα θεοῦ, v. 2) children come into life. His omnipresent and unceasing watch over events is declared in iii. 10: "Without God, nothing comes to pass." He is God over all, and as such to be feared (iv. 10); our Master (iv. 11); the searcher of hearts (iv. 10), and hater of all that is evil (iv. 12). Goodness is the essential quality of all his acts (iii. 10). It is he who is the recompenser of the reward (iv. 7): and there is no respect of persons with him (iv. 10). Love is demanded of us towards him, because it was he who made us (i. 2): honor belongs to him (iv. 1), and fear (iv. 10). To be lacking in fear to him is the climax of sin (v. 1 end),—a trait drawn, perhaps, from reminiscence of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

Over against God there is no other. The unity of God is not, indeed, asserted—as it could not well be in such a treatise.³⁶ But idolatry is repeatedly forbidden (v. 1), and all that leads to it (iii. 4): and the beings worshipped by the offerings of the heathen are but "dead gods" (vi. 3).

³⁶ On the other hand, if we had here a true catechism for heathen catechumens, this *must* have been asserted.

God has made known his will to men through commandments (iv. 13), and has therefore a word (iv. 1), which is proclaimed to them by special servants, who are therefore to receive honor. The sacredness of the word is insisted upon: the reverential awe that it inspires is not obscurely hinted at (iii. 8) where it is declared that it is a mark of those in the way of life that they continually tremble at the words they hear. It lays a yoke on men's necks (vi. 2), but makes them perfect if they bear it; for (iv. 8) it brings them what is imperishable as distinguished from mortal things. No teaching is to be received that is "apart from God" (vi. 1), and having received, as they have, his commandments, they are to guard them well and preserve them from addition no less than loss (iv. 13). Nothing is said as to these commandments being written; but there is unmistakably contained in these passages something very like a doctrine of sacred Scripture, and that doctrine might very well be expressed in the modern formula that the word of God (iv. 1, iv. 13) is the sufficient (vi. 2, iv. 8) and sole (vi. 1, iv. 13) rule of faith and practice. Clearly a definite revelation from God of his will—not to be added to, not to be taken from—leading to salvation, is here presupposed. It would be impossible to find this revelation in the Old Testament only: it is not the Old Testament law that the writer of the treatise professes to be explaining, but the teaching of the apostles; and it is from the New Testament that all his spirit and most of his commands are taken. Yet the Old Testament is not set aside: the laws of the decalogue shine through his own,—Isaiah and Sirach yield him sacred words. But along with these are words from Matthew, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, Ephesians, [Colossians], Jude, James, (2 Peter), Hebrews, [Revelation]. Were not these part of his sacred deposit—which could not be taken from nor added to? Like the closely related (in tendency and time) Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, Paul's work and word is apparently for him written in the

sacred books (*βίβλοι ἅγιοι*),—not substituted for them, but adjoined to them.³⁷ In any event, he knows a definite word of God, to be honored as such and to be preserved intact and unalloyed: and he uses these new books, too, as parts of a very important sacred teaching.

The doctrine of salvation held by our writer is less clearly adumbrated in his words. The whole scheme of his treatise proclaims the necessity of a holy life: the two ways of life and death separate just in this,—one is in holiness, the other in vice. And the judge is a just recompenser of the reward. But the difference between them lies equally revealed also in this: those who walk in the one, love God and their neighbor. And the good works of the way of life are but the fruit of the inner dispositions (iii. 2 sq.). If, in a single passage, alms-giving is looked upon as working a ransoming of sins (iv. 6);³⁸ so also in another (iv. 10) and closely neighboring passage it is the Spirit, not man's own will, that determines whom God shall come upon to call. It is openly asserted that God calls men: and that not according to the outward condition in which they live, but according to the preparation of the Spirit. We need not be sticklers for the entire theological consistency of our author: a Jewish-Christian heritage probably shows itself in the stress laid upon alms-giving. But neither need we make him unnecessarily inconsistent: probably he placed salvation in the hands of God, but made much of the necessity of works, and is to be placed not far from the attitude of James (ii. 14 sq.). Faith is not once mentioned in the treatise; which need not surprise us, however, in such a treatise.

Unto what God calls men (iv. 10) is not more plainly indicated than by the word life (i. 1) as over against death. There seems to be a deliverance contemplated from both

³⁷ Compare, for a curious parallel, the tenth of the paragraphs of the manifesto of the Jews of southern Russia of our own day.

³⁸ Compare, for the prevalence of this doctrine in the early church, Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Early Church*, p. 211.

the curse of sin (iv. 6) and its power (*passim*). And what is obtained from God is imperishable in contrast to what is mortal (iv. 8). The fate of the wicked is called only death. When the meek are promised the inheritance of the earth (iii. 7), we are left in darkness as to the exact understanding of the words which our writer held. It is only certain that he loved holiness and dreaded a curse of death.

The ethics of the treatise are high and in the best sense Christian. The simplicity and immediate practical purpose of the writer makes it almost as difficult, however, to trace an ethical theory in his words as to draw his theology out of them. This much, however, is plain, that right and wrong were plain and tangible facts to him, and the difference between them great (i. 1). His conscience of wrong was keen enough to pierce beneath acts to dispositions, beneath appearances to the roots of evil (iii. 1). His appreciation of the good was sufficiently cultivated to specially admire that meek sisterhood of graces which it was reserved for Christianity to awaken the consciousness and love of in the world (iii. 7 sq.). The Christian spirit is further shown in the summing up of all duty in love to God and our neighbor (i. 2), and, like the Proverbs of the old dispensation, finding the beginning of wisdom in the fear of God (iv. 9, 10). Not mere conscience, which, however, is recognized as the monitor of man (iv. 14), but the commandments of God (iv. 13), furnish the standard of duty: and these commandments are conveniently summed up in the decalogue of the Old Testament as broadened and deepened by the interpretations of Jesus (ii., iii., v.). The external norm of virtue, thus, is what is pleasing to God (iv. 12); its internal norm a tender conscience (iv. 14); while a convenient rule of negative action is found in the Golden Rule (i. 2).

Underlying the whole treatise runs an appeal to a virtuous life, based on the diverse ends to which evil and good conduct lead. The way of virtue is the way of life:

that of evil, of death. The chief motive to good that is appealed to is thus the hope of reward and fear of punishment (i. 1; i. 2 b.; ii. 4; iii. 7; iv. 6, 7; v. 2). Righteousness has its reward (v. 2): we give in the hope to receive again (iv. 7) and to work out a ransoming of our sins (iv. 6). Yet we must hesitate to attribute too grossly utilitarian an ethic to the author: the New Testament side by side with its lofty appeal to conscience places an equally strong appeal to the recompense of the reward; and our author ranges among the most heinous sinners those that seek after reward (v. 2); and, though he probably meant this in a human relation, his divine theories may have partaken of the same principle. As a matter of fact, too, appeal is made to other motives: we are to choke down evil dispositions, because they lead to evil deeds (iii. 2 sq.), whence evil seems hateful for its own sake (iv. 12); and a desire for perfection is evidently a strong and leading force to the writer (vi. 2) and is used to determine action,—whence good seems lovable for its own sake. So a remembrance of the blessedness of what we have received is used as a motive to further good (iv. 8). Even pure love of souls appears as a motive capable of moving men to watchful care over their conduct (iv. 10). We need not seek perfect singleness of motive: it is thoroughly consistent to use both higher and lower considerations to secure the same end, and it does not argue that our author had no love for holiness that he pleads the future retribution and reward as a motive to it. On the contrary, he appears to have a very high appreciation of its beauty and a keen insight into its loveliness. Most concisely stated, his ethical system appears distinctly Christian, and, as such, separated as decidedly from the merely Jewish as from the heathen morality of the times.³⁹

Certain difficulties are found in the apparent sanction of classes or castes of virtue in vi. 2, and the apparent crossing of the evangelical law of love to our neighbor in ii. 7.

³⁹ Sabatier is extreme in his statements of its Jewish affinities.

We should be very sure that we rightly understand the passages, however, before we introduce an inconsistency of teaching in so well-ordered a treatise. Perhaps in the latter case the exaggeration of the final clause of ii. 7 is the saving clause. And we must recollect that this verse occurs in the midst of the negative portion of the treatise, where "thou shalt not hate any man" is the counterpart of "thou shalt love thy neighbor." The added positive clauses are in this point of view a concession to the Christian heart of the writer, and culminate in the command to love some at least not only as, but above, ourselves. In the face of the positive command at i. 2 and these added clauses here we are not justified in seeing a lowering of the demands of our Lord's rule in our present passage. The meaning of vi. 2 has been clouded by too much discussion. It ought to be a principle not to go out of the context for an interpretation: and certainly the context says nothing of chastity, or celibacy, or the Jewish law. Verse 1 warns the reader against being led astray from *this* way of teaching; where "this" must refer to the requirements laid down in the previous chapters. Verse 2 joins on to this with "for," and therefore has to do with the same subject. He who keeps the whole yoke of the law, therefore, is he who puts into full practice all the precepts that had been in the preceding chapters enunciated; and he who does so will be τέλειος—a term used apparently in the exact sense of Matt. xix. 21. But the author recognizes that sanctification is striven after, rather than attained, and adds a clause apparently designed to preserve the young Christian from hopeless despair and to encourage him to fight his good fight in hope: "But if thou art not able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, do what thou art able." It is the pastor that speaks here, as elsewhere in the treatise; the pastor, who encourages and aids the lambs. So far from there being recognized here, therefore, two distinct classes in the church—the Montanistic conception which Hilgenfeld seeks to fasten upon

these words,—or two stages of attainment: there is only revealed a mild and tolerant spirit that makes more of the upward striving than of the self-righteous attainment. Again the conception appears Christian.

The detailed ethical teaching of the treatise, which is very rich and very compressed, can best be observed in reading it over with the help of the analysis which has been presented above. It cannot be justly estimated unless we carefully bear in mind that the treatment is first negative (ii.—iii. 1–6) and then positive (iii. 7–iv.) and then negative again (v.)—the first negative treatment pointing out the sins that he who is travelling in the way of life must avoid, and the second those which are characteristic of the way of death. Negatively all sins of anger and murder, lust and impurity, sorcery and idolatry, lying and theft, necromancy and blasphemy, and all others that beget them or resemble them are distinctly forbidden. A sharp analysis is made which carries back the sin of act into the sin of disposition: and special attention is paid to sins of deceit and pride. In the positive portion a step higher than even this is taken; not only freedom from evil dispositions, but positive dispositions to good, are demanded, and especially those virtues are singled out for notice which the heathen world despised and which make men gentle,—meekness, long-suffering, mercy, harmlessness, quietness, goodness, teachableness, loveliness of soul. And at the end it is commanded that association be sought, not with the lofty, but with the just and the lowly. In harmony with this feature much space is given to prescribing the duties to the poor, including cheerful and ready giving as lending to the Lord, and just sharing with the Lord's little ones as the recipients ourselves of better things from him. So, too, justice and tenderness in dealing with slaves are enjoined and secured by a Christian sanction. On the other hand the slave is to reverence his master as seeing in him the image of the Master of all, God. The treatise is so compressed, however, that to make an abstract of it would

be to transcribe it. It is only needful here to point out the main lines of its teaching.

Attention should not fail to be given to the truly religious character of the whole ethical teaching of the treatise. It is in no part simply ethical but in all its purpose and details, religious; and it would be more precise to speak of its counsels of sanctification than of its moral teaching. This is apparent, for instance, in its care to secure the performance of our earthly duties by referring them to what may most specifically be called our duty to God. The duty of parents to their children that swallows up all others is that from their youth up they shall teach them the fear of God. The motive for restraining bitter commands to slaves is lest they should lose their fear of Him who is Lord over both master and servant.

There is also evidently a very rich church life underlying the commands of our treatise. The commandments or word of God, which has been received as a sacred and unalterable deposit (iv. 13), is proclaimed unto them by an official person (iv. 1) whom they are bidden to honor as the Lord himself and to remember night and day,—apparently in order to his support. It is with the saints (cf. iii. 9) that their daily life is to be passed and their social life to be lived (iv. 2). The unity of the church is to be a matter of study to them and schism is to be avoided (iv. 3). What officers the church had,—what organization it had received,—what power of government and discipline,—what connection with other churches,—of all this we obtain no hint. But it seems certain that there was such a thing as may be called a church—consisting of saints, taught by an accredited teacher, and the unity of which was important. The usages of the church are also left undiscovered to us: the words “in the congregation” in iv. 14 are probably spurious,—another argument for which is the position of iv. 14 away from the the treatment of church duties (iv. 1-4)—and therefore we cannot confidently draw from that verse a commandment to public con-

fession of sins and prayer, although it is still most probable that the reference here is to public worship. From iv. 1 it appears that public teaching was a part of the church work. Beyond this we have nothing.

Lechler⁴⁰ is no doubt dealing in his estimate of the theological and religious teaching of the Didache with the whole treatise, but what he says is in great degree applicable to this section taken separately. It is brightly "illuminated with the evening glow of the apostolic radiance," and is dominated everywhere by the conviction that eternal life has been revealed by Jesus Christ,—the strange assurance that seemed to Lucian the most striking characteristic of Christians. Though the confession of Christ and the call of faith fall here into the background, and the purity of the Christian walk forms the chief subject, yet even here it is God who calls and prepares the journeyers on the path of life and who sustains and brings to completion his church.

To speak of the "tendency" of such a treatise is somewhat of a misnomer. Its "tendency" is Christian and, apart from a doubtful tenet or two, orthodox, so far as we can trace it. There are not lacking, however, signs of Jewish inheritance and it seems most natural, in every way, to attribute it to a Jewish Christian of the same type as the authors of St. James' Epistle and of the Testt. XII. Patriarchs, which three Canon Spence rightly draws together. Internal evidence is silent as to place of composition and the time is only so far defined as to be consistent with a very early date. The use of the treatise by Barnabas on the one hand, and its use of Paul and Matthew on the other, give us the pretty wide limits of the last quarter of the first century. Sober judgment in recognition of this will place it somewhere earlier than, but near, A. D. 100.

⁴⁰ Das Apostolische und Nachapostolische Zeitalter, 3 ed., 1885.

of Protestant theology with all its excellences and its faults; and it became the mighty spring of their whole marvelous missionary activity upon which they entered immediately after the Renewal of the Unitas in 1727, and which to-day yet constitutes their greatest field of usefulness and brightest crown of glory.

J. Max Hark.

LANCASTER, PA.

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THREE PAGES OF THE BRYENNIOUS MANUSCRIPT, etc., reproduced by photography for the Johns Hopkins University. Edited, with notes, by J. RENDEL HARRIS, Associate Professor of New Testament Greek and Palæography. Small 4to; three photographic plates and nine pages of letter-press. Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University. 1885.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. A translation with notes; and excursus (i. to ix.) illustrative of the "Teaching;" and the Greek text. By CANON SPENCE, M. A., Vicar of St. Pancras. Small octavo, pp. vi., 183. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, etc. Edited, with a translation, introduction, and notes, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. A new edition, revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo, pp. cxv., 85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THE OLDEST CHURCH MANUAL, called THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES. Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. The Didache and kindred Documents, in the original, with translations and discussions of post-apostolic teaching, baptism, worship, and discipline, and with illustrations and facsimiles of the Jerusalem MS. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. viii., 301. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1885.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΒ' ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. LA DIDACHE, OU L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES DOUZE APÔTRES, texte Grec — publié pour la première fois en France, avec un commentaire et des notes. Par PAUL SABATIER, ancien élève de la Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris. 8vo, pp. 167. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1885.

THE five titles given above represent (with the exception, if we mistake not, of Volkmar's characteristic treatise alone) the latest work on the "Teaching of the Apostles," and prove that valuable work may still be expected even on so much studied a treatise. The literature of the book is, indeed, already immense. Dr. Schaff devotes in Drs. Hitchcock and Brown's book twelve pages of fine type to what he calls a "digest of the Didache literature," which are increased in his own book to fourteen pages. Nor are these mere repetitions of each other. The former gives a fuller list of the minor publications, and the latter a fuller account of the contents of the more important ones. The two thus happily supplement each other, and thereby symbolize the general relations of the two books; and the two together, it may be added, practically cover the whole ground, although a few titles have been missed. Neither book has been published therefore in ignorance of the extent of what had already been given to the public, and neither has been published without adding something of value. To the critical scholar who has kept himself informed of what was doing with reference to the Didache, equally welcome with these two publications are Dr. Harris's photographs, which, taken with Bryennios's notes, supply the palæographer with all that he needs to know of the MS. in which the Teaching was found; and M. Sabatier's book, which, without exception, is the most readable treatise that the Didache

has called out, — entirely French as it is in its purity of style, brilliancy of presentation, and unity of aim.

The treatises before us, taken together, illustrate very clearly the position that discussion has brought us to with reference to the origin, date, and character of the *Didache*. It is worth noting that all of these latest laborers agree in their solution of the central problem, — the relation of the treatise to Barnabas. Without exception, they look upon Barnabas as the borrower, and some of them even express surprise that any one could have ever imagined the contrary. In this the present writer cannot help believing that they have rightly judged; and with all respect for those scholars who prefer to consider Barnabas the originator of the matter which the *Didachographer* subsequently reduced to order, it seems to him, too, that the argument has gone not only decidedly but decisively the other way, and it may now be accepted as a critical result that the *Didache* is older than Barnabas. If so, it belongs in date to the verge of the first century at the latest, and this our present treatises unanimously recognize. Stragglers have to be beaten in indeed, not from the side that would set the composition of the work too late, but rather from the side that would set it too early. Dr. Schaff and Drs. Hitchcock and Brown with just sobriety assign it to the years about 100 A. D. Canon Spence thinks the last quarter of the first century more likely, and looks upon the book as one which John may have read. M. Sabatier is not satisfied with even this: about A. D. 50 is the date he prefers (p. 159), — before any of Paul's letters were written, and even before the beginning of his missionary journeys! The antiquity of the treatise is so hoary, indeed, according to him, that it comes to us from a time before there were any church offices (p. 126), — before the Lord's Supper had come to be thought a commemoration of the Lord's death (pp. 104, 108, 113), — before there was any church worship distinct from that of the synagogue (p. 94 *sq.*), — before, in fact, we may add in our own words, distinctive Christianity had been born! The untenableness of this extreme view is already evident in that it necessarily places the origin of the treatise within twenty years of the death of our Lord, and yet presupposes a flourishing church among the Gentiles, needing precise instruction in church order and practices. The theory is, moreover, self-contradictory. Wandering apostles and missionaries are assumed going everywhere among a large and widely scattered body of Gentile believers, — so numerous and so long settled as to require protection against the impostors which their already famous hospitality and generosity called out — before Paul began his missionary journeys. Numerous settled and strong churches among the Gentiles are assumed with all the Christian rites — baptism, the Lord's Supper, Sabbath services, tithing, etc. — before the deacons of Acts vii. have been appointed or the elders of Acts xi. invented, or that theory of the Eucharist been dreamed of, which was well settled in 57. This is no caricature of the situation. M. Sabatier distinctly recognized that our *Didache* is not the effort of an individual to reduce disorder into order; it is the church speaking. "We have here," he says (p. 154), "not the work of a Christian, writing for a restricted number of persons, making a letter or an edifying treatise. We have, in the strictest sense of the word, a work of the church; it is a sort of official manual of liturgy and catechism." But if so, the treatise was not written before the church had the usages here described; and in reading it we are certainly not "assisting" at the birth of ecclesiastical organization. In the face of so radical a difficulty

we need not seriously discuss the arguments that are advanced for so early a date. Canon Spence's view is more plausible, just because less extreme; but even it must, in our present light, give way to the soberer judgment that finds the time when the treatise originated at about the year 100.

The place whence it was sent forth is divergently determined by our authors. Dr. Brown assigns it to Egypt; Dr. Schaff and M. Sabatier to Syria; and Canon Spence to Palestine. The evidence scarcely permits us to choose confidently between Egypt and Syria, and it is not impossible that the final decision will divide the honor between the two, — assigning the original composition of the work to Egypt, and an early though probably gradually formed recension of its text, by which it reached the form in which it lies in the Constantinople MS., to Syria. There are many converging considerations that point to this conclusion: among others, the early use of it in Egypt by Barnabas, and its later crystallization, in practically the same form which he used, into the book of order of the Egyptian churches on the one hand, and, on the other, the Syrian flavor of certain passages which seem to be interpolations into the original text. The discussion of this question in this form involves, however, a thorough-going discussion of the text of the document, and this has not been seriously attempted heretofore by any one except, perhaps, Hilgenfeld. Our present treatises have passed over this important matter almost wholly. Dr. Brown alone devotes a — no doubt unsufficing — chapter to it (§ 2, pp. xiv.–xxiii.). There are really two textual points quite distinct from one another which require settlement before the indications of the treatise as to the place whence it was sent forth can be classified with any confidence. We must know whether the text has suffered interpolation since it was published as a complete whole. And we must know whether the author of this treatise used any previous matter in his work. The first subject belongs under the head of textual transmission, while a discussion of the second should find place in the section devoted to the sources of the treatise. Under the head of “Sources of the Teaching” Dr. Brown does not discuss, however, this subject, although he elsewhere betrays his suspicion that the author may have adopted certain prayers, for instance, which were already in use when he wrote: “The prayers were no doubt found by the author in actual use” (p. lxxvii.). On the other hand, he appears to mention Hilgenfeld's belief, that the author found also chapters i.–vi. ready to his hand, only to reject it (p. xv. sq.). It is obvious, however, that it must be definitely settled whether the author wrote or incorporated these prayers and this catechism before we can use hints in them to determine the place of composition of the treatise. For instance, Mr. Rendel Harris (“American Journal of Philology,” vol. i. 104) and others object to Egypt that such a phrase as “as this broken bread was scattered over the mountains” could not naturally have found place in a treatise composed in the lowlands of Egypt. But this occurs (chap. ix.) in one of the prayers; and if the prayers were already in general use, and only adopted by the author of the treatise, whatever strength may be thought to reside in this argument completely fails us in determining the place of writing of the treatise as distinguished from the prayers. A thorough-going discussion of the textual transmission is equally important, and this none of the works now before us pretend to give. Dr. Brown, who alone touches on the matter, justly concludes that the “Jerusalem Codex gives us, on the whole, a true copy of the Teaching,”

and then finds evidence of "the existence of various later recensions of the text" (p. xviii.), some of them partial editions, some variant texts. The evidence on which all of these (how many of them has Dr. Brown found?) are declared to be "later" is not stated, but we are told the most interesting of them is found in the Latin version discovered by Dr. V. Gebhardt, of which it is declared, "a different recension of the text, and one which already showed some of the striking peculiarities of Barnabas and the Canons, seems to underlie this version" (p. xxii.). Even a cursory examination of the readings for the short section for which alone the Latin is extant will suffice to convince any student of the truth of this remark. It is not so obvious that the recension represented by the Latin was made out of Barnabas and the Canons, and did not rather underlie them, as Dr. B. goes on to state (cf. also p. xlii. note 1): "The presence of peculiarities marking these works and distinguishing them from each other" may be accounted for as due to common inheritance as easily as and in this case more easily than as due to promiscuous borrowing. Any close examination of the mutual relations of the three documents — the Latin, Barnabas, and the Canons — will result in conclusively showing that the text underlying the Latin did not borrow from Barnabas, but *vice versa*, and that the Canons are less closely related to either than the two are to one another; in a word, in establishing a recension divergent in some important points from that preserved in the Constantinople MS., separated further into two sub-recensions, Barnabas and the Latin on the one side and the Canons on the other. This I have already had the opportunity of stating in Dr. Schaff's book (pp. 220 *sq.*). But this recension, it should be remembered, while, as used by Barnabas, it must be admitted to be the most anciently attested recension, is not on that account necessarily the purest transmission of the text. This fact can be established only by a detailed examination. On its recognition, however, the formation of a text of the Didache becomes something very different from merely copying the Bryennios edition or even the text of the Constantinople MS., which is all that any of our present editors attempt. A close examination soon establishes a considerable interpolation in the latter: i. 3, *εὐλογεῖτε* — ii. 1, which on internal grounds can scarcely have been part of the original text, and which fails in the whole divergent recension. But if this one interpolation has been suffered, others may have also found their way into the text, and a very careful examination is necessary before we can use its details for any purpose of history, dogmatics, or controversy. It is a mere accident that we have spoken of this very important matter in connection with the question of place where the treatise was composed. But it has its bearing on it, too; for instance, the interpolation i. 3 — ii. 1 is apparently based, in its evangelical quotations, on Tatian's "Diatessaron." But this fact will not help to prove that the treatise was written in Syria, but only that it received its present textual form there.

Our authors are agreed again — with the exception of Dr. Brown — that the Teaching was composed by a Jewish Christian. Dr. Schaff ventures to declare this to be certain; and Canon Spence is satisfied that it was sent forth into the world from such a community of Jewish Christians as were gathered together at Pella, and belongs to that Jewish Christian triolette, the Epistle of St. James, the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs, which represent the broader and more truly Christian element of the Jewish Church, — nay,

he can even conjecture that Symeon, the Lord's kinsman, may have been its writer. M. Sabatier's whole treatise is devoted to the establishment of the one proposition that the Didache is the representative of early Jewish Christianity, that its affinities are wholly Jewish, and that it can best be explained out of Jewish remains. He has so far succeeded in this task as to place the essentially Jewish Christian character of the document as a whole beyond dispute, and it is sufficient for our present purpose to set off his treatise against Dr. Brown's somewhat ill-considered statement. Indeed, the passage in which Dr. Brown denies the Jewish character of the treatise shows signs in its very structure of less careful revision than is usual in his valuable treatise. He says (p. lxxxv.): "The author evidently laid hold of Christianity not so much on its dogmatic as on its ethical side, and his book resembles, in this respect, the Epistle of James. This is the more remarkable because *there is no evidence that he was himself of Jewish origin*. This would appear to indicate DISTINCTLY a circle of Gentile Christians (individuals or communities) in which the same preponderance was given to the ethical over the dogmatic" (the emphases are ours). The passage from "it cannot be proved that he was a Jew" to "he was distinctly a Gentile" is quite a German leap.

These words of Dr. Brown suggest another important question. What right have we to assume that the writer "laid hold of Christianity not so much on the dogmatic as on the ethical side?" Any modern "Directory of Worship" is apt to contain very little doctrine. We desire to distinctly protest against the assumption that no doctrine was held or considered imperative above what was given expression in such a treatise. Dr. Brown had Zahn's protest before him, that the Teaching was not designed to be a complete description of Christianity and church life, but only a practical assistant to other sources of instruction and edification, and yet can say, "This certainly does not appear in the treatise itself; it makes the impression that the author supposed himself to be giving the substance of that which Christians need concern themselves about" (p. lxxxvi., note). On the contrary, the treatise is conspicuously a book of church order, not of the Christian faith, and has to do emphatically with practice, not belief. Does Dr. Brown really suppose that chaps. i.-vi., which, according to chap. vii., *initium*, were to be taught to the catechumens before baptism, contain all that the author of the treatise thought the catechumens needed to know before entering upon the Christian life, and not rather only the final instruction or solemn declaration to them, as they took this serious step, of the mode of life that they were to live in the gospel? Why, it is commanded that the catechumens be baptized with reference to the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But what is baptism? On this theory, the catechumen has been taught nothing as to that. Is he to appear and be baptized without ever having heard of it? And again, who is the Son? He has not even been once mentioned in the whole catechism, where the name of Jesus does not once occur, and where the fact of his sonship is not even once in the most remote way alluded to. And who is the Holy Ghost? Except in one somewhat obscure clause, he is not alluded to in the faintest way in the whole catechism. Truly, on the theory that this catechism contains all that the author supposed Christians need concern themselves about before receiving baptism, the candidates would be in worse case than those whom Paul found in Ephesus, who had not so much as heard whether there was a Holy Ghost. These would be called upon to receive

a rite that they had never heard mentioned and the significance of which was a riddle to them, and to have names named on them in a threefold enigma which would necessarily be insoluble to them. But, by as much as it is certain that the baptismal formula implies more knowledge than is given in the preceding catechism, and that of a doctrinal kind, by so much is it certain that the preceding catechism excludes doctrine, not because it had not yet been "developed" or was not considered "essential," but because it lay outside of the purpose of the treatise, and by so much is it certain that this catechism does not represent the total training of the candidate, but something like a formal and solemn declaration to him, on the moment of baptism, of the mode of external life which this new and solemn step involved. The calling of this catechistical section by Dr. Schaff, "*The Doctrinal* or Catechistical Part," and the insertion of his chapter on "*The Theology of the Didache*," immediately after his discussion of it, as if it had some very close connection with it (whereas the doctrinal teaching of the treatise is actually found by him mostly in other portions), illustrate the force of the error.

The zeal to find in the *Didache* a "more primitive form" of Christianity than ever existed is illustrated again in the treatment which M. Sabatier gives of the Eucharist. Comparing in a very interesting and instructive way the prayers here given (chaps. ix. and x.) with certain Jewish prayers, and noting the absence from them of any reference to the death of Christ, he concludes that we have here the Christian Eucharist before it was a commemoration of the death of our Lord, — which it already was, however, when Paul wrote his Corinthian letters (57 A. D.). "In the *Didache*," he writes, "we have nothing like this; its Christian repast did not have as its special object to recall the death of Jesus. It seems to confirm the hypothesis proposed by M. Renan. This celebrated critic has thought that the Lord's Supper carries us back, not to a single sacramental act performed by Jesus on the eve of his death, but to the habit which He had of breaking bread with his disciples. This rite, after having obtained even during the life of Jesus a great importance, became the great symbol of Christian communion." "It was natural, no doubt," he continues, "that the last occasion when they had enjoyed this communion with their master should be vividly remembered by his followers on its repetition, and so, gradually, the feast that was at first only a symbol of communion should become first associated with and then theologically inseparable from the Lord's death. But in the *Didache* there is absolutely nothing of all this yet; the participation in the same bread and wine is only a reciprocal bond. And we catch in it the word *Eucharist* just at the moment when it was commencing the evolution which changed its sense. Consequently we have another proof that our treatise belongs to a time before that evolution had taken place which Paul thinks of as primeval, and which the Gospels represent to be such!" Surely, these are grave conclusions, involving much historical result. On what are they founded? A dream of M. Renan's and the assumption of the extreme antiquity of the *Didache*, — for outside of the *Didache* there is no support for them. It is no doubt true that the eucharistic prayers of our treatise are astounding — almost inexplicable — when considered as eucharistic prayers. And the position of M. Sabatier is more logical than that of say Dr. Schaff or Canon Spence or Dr. Hitchcock, who can apply these prayers to the Eucharist, properly so called, and yet assign them to an orthodox writer of about 100 A. D. It is simply impossible that

such an eucharistic service could have been held in an orthodox Christian church at that date. The key to the whole matter seems to be the phrase "after being filled," in chapter x., and the concluding verses of that chapter. Dr. Schaff discusses Zahn's remarks upon these words, but rejects his conclusions. But what right has any one to follow the Constitutions in transmuting "after being filled" into "after having partaken," especially when the invitation to the table is apparently given in ix. 6? The truth of the matter seems to be that the Lord's Supper is not to be placed at the end of chap. ix., but at the end of chap. x.; that the prayers here given are not "eucharistic" in our sense of the word, but belong to the sacred feast or *agapé*, after which the Lord's Supper was celebrated. It was, no doubt, not probably the most primitive custom to thus celebrate the Lord's Supper in marked separation from the *agapé*; but, then, this only shows that the Didache does not belong to A. D. 50 but to A. D. 100. After all said, I believe Zahn's arguments remain unanswered, and the view commended by him as yet far the most likely one. M. Sabatier's investigations are, moreover, a strong corroboration of it, inasmuch as they show that these prayers are quite the natural ones for Jewish Christians to use at their feasts, and are very strikingly paralleled by those preserved for us in Jewish literature. That the blessing of the cup precedes here the blessing of the bread follows Jewish analogies; but in the Lord's Supper the other order was followed, even according to the Didache (ix. 5). The lack of formal communication of what was said at the supper itself is characteristic of the fragmentary character of the treatise and parallel to the omission of the doctrinal teaching before baptism.

There is much else in the works before us that calls for discussion, or at least mention. It is already time, however, to close this notice. In closing, we should like to reiterate that all five of the treatises are worth the attention of the scholar. Mr. Harris gives us important palæographical material. M. Sabatier discusses the teaching of the treatise from the standpoint of the Jewish analogies with a richness of illustration that leaves little to be desired, and with a freshness and spirit that carry the reader with him, even at times against his better judgment. Canon Spence's is the most popular treatise of the number, and presents much fresh matter in a very pleasant form. Dr. Schaff's and Drs. Hitchcock and Brown's works are mutually supplementary, the latter being an edition with critical prolegomena, and the former a discussion from the point of view of the historian, with supporting documents adjoined. America may well be satisfied with her part. No edition in English can stand comparison in value with either of these. Between them choice is difficult because of their very unlikeness. Dr. Brown made a mistake in not giving place to the Greek texts of the parallels in Barnabas, the Canons and Constitutions; Dr. Schaff in not discussing the critical questions more fully. As it is, neither book is complete, and the English-speaking student should purchase both.

Benj. B. Warfield.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ALLEGHANY, PA.

American Men of Letters. Nathaniel Parker Willis. By Henry A. Beers. 16mo, pp. 365. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1885. \$1.25. This Life is

given with a temperate, even pen, ready to be stirred to enthusiasm if it lights on anything inspiring it, but finding nothing requiring more than a placid and somewhat melancholy interest, in a highly gifted and graceful mind and character, whose epitaph might be summed up in one word, Almost. Almost lovable, almost estimable, almost a genius, almost a Christian. If not in any true sense a power, the biography sets him forth in sufficient and not excessive fullness as what he certainly was, an influence, and that for a number of years in two countries, and more, and not an influence working against good. There is, therefore, sufficient reason why his memory should be cherished with a certain tenderness by Andover, "the silver thread of whose Shawsheen" he has helped to make classic.

Charles C. Starbuck.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The First Napoleon. A Sketch, Political and Military. By John Codman Ropes, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, The Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, etc., etc. Crown 8vo, pp. xx., 347. 1885. \$2.00; — Italian Popular Tales. By Thomas Frederick Crane, A. M., Professor of the Romance Languages in Cornell University. 8vo, pp. xxviii., 389. 1885. \$2.50; — Bird-Ways. By Olive Thorne Miller. Pp. viii., 227. 1885. \$1.25.

Cupples, Upham & Co. Mind-Cure on a Material Basis. By Sarah Elizabeth Titcomb, author of "Early New England People." Pp. 288. 1885.

Carl Schoenhof, Boston. Der Korrektor. Scenen aus dem Schattenspiele des Lebens vorgeführt von Heinrich Steinhausen (Verfasser von "Irmela"). Vierte Auflage. Pp. 209. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann. 1885; — Missionsstunden. Von R. M. Dietet, Pfarrer in Mülsen St. Jacob. II. Heft, pp. 148. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann; — Das Buch Hiob nach Luther und der Probebibel aus dem Grundtext bearbeitet und mit Bemerkungen versehen von Viktor Böttcher, Pastor in Pretzschendorf. Pp. 72. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Lyrics and other Poems. By Richard Watson Gilder. I. Lyrics and Hymns. II. Ballads. III. Sonnets. IV. Odes and Meditative Poems. V. The New Day. 12mo, pp. xii., 251. \$1.75.

Benjamin F. Lacy, Philadelphia. Poems. By James Willsbro. Pp. vi., 119. 1885. \$1.00.

S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago. Natural Theology; or Rational Theism. By M. Valentine, D. D., Ex-President of Pennsylvania College, and Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Pp. iv., 270. 1885. \$1.25.

The Block Publishing and Printing Company, Cincinnati. History of the Arguments for the Existence of God. By Aaron Hahn, Rabbi of the Tifereth Israel Congregation, Cleveland, Ohio. Pp. 205. 1885.

Pamphlets. In Memoriam, William Hutchison. An abstract of the Extempore Remarks by Rev. Nelson Millard, D. D., at the funeral of Professor William Hutchison, in Broadway Church, at Norwich, Conn., January 12, 1885. Pp. 35. — The Old South Leaflets. Third Series, 1885. Boston: Old South Meeting House. 1885.

elaborated. I indorse most heartily the following estimate from a recent review : —

“ We are not afraid to venture the statement that there is no other theological work in existence that presents an examination and analysis of the non-biblical records of the New Testament times as do the volumes of Schürer.”

Perhaps no chapter in the whole volume is so rich as that of 50 pages on the Messianic Hope. It vividly depicts the development of the doctrine of the Messiah in the centuries intervening between the Old and New Testaments, and records the current opinions of our Lord's day with reference to Elijah as forerunner, the advent of the Messiah, the final onset of the hostile powers and their annihilation, the renovation of Jerusalem, the gathering of the dispersed, the kingdom of glory in Palestine, the renovation of the world, the general resurrection, the last judgment, eternal blessedness and damnation, and the suffering Messiah. While it is hardly necessary to state that the ideas here presented are in many points divergent from those which Jesus taught and exemplified, the necessity of thorough knowledge of the current Messianic expectation cannot be too strongly emphasized as a means of penetrating into the real significance of our Lord's life and teaching. No one can assimilate the contents of this one chapter without gaining fresh insight into the Gospel story and perceiving a profounder meaning in nearly all that Jesus said and did.

To say that the translation is better than that of many theological works still leaves much to be desired. Sometimes it suffers from excessive literalness, and sometimes unnecessary departures from the exact phraseology of the original have made the rendering clumsy and vague. In the main, however, the sense has been reproduced with sufficient accuracy to preclude gross misunderstanding. Some exceptions to this have been noted, as in vol. ii., page 14, where “ Sie behaupten, dass alles durch das Geschick vollbracht werde ” is rendered, “ They assert that everything is accomplished by faith ; ” page 16, where “ vermittelnde Ansicht ” appears as “ interposing inspection ; ” and page 27, where “ between them and their two opposite pursuits ” is the rendering of “ zwischen beiden Bestrebungen.” In spite of occasional serious defects, the translation of this work ought to be in the hands of every Biblical student who cannot read it in the original.

Typographically both the German and the English are excellent. The third and final volume of the translation of the second division of the work is published.

“ The Anderson Review ” August 1886. F. E. Woodruff.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES AND THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. Cambridge : H. W. Wallis. 1885. 8vo, pp. 36.

THE value of this little book stands in strong contrast with its meagre size. It presents us with a careful comparison of the language of “ The Teaching ” with that of certain parts of the Sibylline books, and the Pseudo-Phocylides. To this, several appendices dealing with interesting points in the interpretation or early use of “ The Teaching ” are attached. To speak of these appendices first: The first of them points out that after the prayers in the Didache had otherwise passed out of use they appear to have been retained in use at the daily meal of communities of

virgins (Pseudo-Athanasius' *De Virginitate* in Migne, xxviii. 265, 268). This favors the view which was suggested by Sabatier's investigations that these prayers were not specifically eucharistic prayers, but rather belonged to the meals of the Christians in general, and are in the *Didache* attached, on that account, to the *Agapae*. The value of the statements quoted from the Acts of John in the second appendix, towards showing that chapters i.-vi. can scarcely represent the teaching given to catechumens preparatory for baptism, is lessened by the fact that they all come from Prochorus, who is not only late, but also apparently a romancer rather than traditionalist. They prove, however, that in his day a teaching concerning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost preceded baptism. The use of *Xáρις* as a name of Christ — a usage which may well have grown up from a misuse of Titus ii. 11 (or 1 Peter i. 13) — is traced in the third appendix; and the meaning of *Maranatha* is investigated in the fourth, — with the result of supporting the view which holds that it means "The Lord has come." The last appendix traces the sign of the truth which the Didachographer calls *ἐκπέρασις* through early Christian literature, showing that it was understood of the appearance of the cross in the heavens.

Interesting and helpful as these appendices are, they must yield in importance to the main body of the book. Mr. Harris sets forth some thirty-three parallels with the *Didache*, taken from the Sibyllines and Pseudo-Phocylides. These, of course, differ in directness and importance among themselves. In my judgment, the following remarks may be made with regard to them: (1.) All the parallels that are adduced with the title and with i. 1 and 2 of the *Didache* are too uncertain to allow any stress to be laid upon them. (2.) All of the important parallels are confined to chapters i.-vi. of the *Didache*. In the case of only two parallels derived from later chapters do I feel any hesitation in laying them aside at once. These are: Did. xvi. 5 = Sibyl. iii. 86, where, however, the main matter comes either directly or indirectly, through Sibyl. viii. 412, from Malachi iii. 3, and the whole resemblance to the *Didache* turns on the use of the word *κρίσις* in this context. And Did. xii. 3 = Pseudo-Phocylides, 154 sq., which is very striking and not unlikely to be a genuine adoption of words by the later writer from the earlier. (3.) The important parallels are confined to the second Sibylline book and the Pseudo-Phocylides. Doubt here attaches only to Did. ii. 4 = Sibyl. iii. 37 sq. — a very striking parallel. And if this be judged genuine, a certain additional probability is thrown on the parallel, Did. xvi. 5 = Sibyl. iii. 86, that was mentioned above. (4.) That the author of the Pseudo-Phocylides had our chapters i.-vi. before him I cannot think can be doubted; nor that the author of the second book of the Sibyllines not only had Pseudo-Phocylides, but also the "Two Ways" itself.

The close relationship of Pseudo-Phocylides to the "Two Ways" appears to have been first noted by H. Werner in his edition of Bernays' "Gesammelte Abhandlungen," 1885 (Preface, p. 5 sq.), and was acknowledged by A. Harnack in the "Theologische Literaturzeitung," 1885, 7, 160. Sabatier's words in "La *Didache*," etc., p. 51, notes 78 and 79, appear to rest on an independent observation of the same phenomenon. Mr. Harris's service consists in pointing out the literary parallels in detail. I cannot see how any one who will attentively observe the relation of the *Didache* iv. 5-8, for instance, to Pseudo-Phoc., lines 22

and 23, 28 *sq.*, or of Did. iii. 1, 2, to Pseudo-Phoc., lines 76, 57, 63, or of Did. ii. 2-5, to Pseudo-Phoc., lines 3, 4 [149, 184], 16, 12, 7, 4, — can doubt that borrowing has taken place, or who was the borrower. This will, of course, force us to return to Scaliger's opinion that the poem is the work of "ἀνώνυμος Christiani;" and both Harnack and Harris now point out internal evidences that such is the fact, and others could readily be added to what they have adduced. When we ask when this anonymous Christian wrote, I see no reason why we should not say early in the second century. Stobaeus is the first to cite him; the second book of the Sibyllines the first to use his work; and, in my judgment, the first six chapters of the Didache which he has used are in their very warp and woof Christian and not Jewish, and are built upon Matthew's Gospel, as Dr. Caspari has truly recognized. The text of the Didache that was used by the Pseudo-Phocylides was apparently of that type which I have elsewhere called the Egyptian, and from which Barnabas and the Canons drew, and the Latin version was made.

The second book of the Sibylline Oracles used what I have called the Syrian text and knew Did. i. 3-ii. 1, which is lacking in the other text, and of which the Pseudo-Phocylides drops no hint. It even alters the Pseudo-Phocylides (line 23) so as to introduce (ii. 77) a hint of Did. i. 6, and thus gives us our earliest trace of the existence of that enigmatical verse. Neither the Pseudo-Phocylides nor the Sibyllines prove to be of much help in the textual criticism of the Didache, — unless we judge that the ἀπέχου of the former points to λίαν πρόσεχε in Did. vi. 3, as the true reading, instead of the φεύγε, which is read here by the Constitutions.

Another series of quotations from "The Teaching," which Mr. Harris has buried in a foot-note (p. 15), is too important not to be dragged from that obscure lurking-place. These are found in the tract of doubtful age, "Syntagma Doctrinae," printed with Athanasius' works. Their importance consists in this: They are apparently drawn from "The Teaching" itself, as the preservation of διὰ παντός, for instance, in column 840 (from Did. iii. 8), which appears to be preserved in no other source but the Bryennios MS. itself, goes to show; and yet the text they have drawn from stands in the very closest relation to that used by the Canons. This latter fact may be observed most pointedly in the quotation in column 836. Here not only does the writer pass immediately from i. 2 (where his words have been deflected into nearer agreement with Deut. vi. 4) over to ii. 2, thus omitting, with Barnabas, the Latin, the Canons [and the Pseudo-Phocylides], the section i. 3-ii. 1; but, what is of more importance, he gives the sins with which ii. 2 opens in the exact order in which they occur in the Canons and nowhere else. So far as the post-positing of pæderasty is concerned, Barnabas and Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* ii. 89) come also to their support; and the question becomes a very difficult one whether murder, adultery, fornication and pæderasty be not the original order. At all events, here is another witness to my Egyptian text.

It is with the greatest personal satisfaction that I observe that every new discovery concerning the Didache and its use in the church falls naturally in with the partition of the documents which I have repeatedly proposed into two great classes: One, the relatively oldest and purest, represented by Barnabas, the Canons, the Latin and its followers, and now we see, also, by the Pseudo-Phocylides and the Pseudo-Athanasius; and the other by the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, and now, as

we see, by the second book of the Sibyllines. The whole Didache problem takes a different aspect when this fact is recognized, and becomes at once easier and more hopeful.

Benjamin B. Warfield.

ALLEGHENY, PA.

PERSIA, THE LAND OF THE IMAMS. A Narrative of Travel and Residence; 1871-1885. By JAMES BASSETT, Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. 16mo. Pp. xvii., 342. 1886. \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS book does not bring Persia before us, in its outer aspect and its inner life, in the well-massed vividness of Mr. Benjamin's letters. The style has no special charm, and the descriptions incline to be confused and monotonous, the more so from assuming a good many things as familiar to the reader which are only familiar to the writer. But, though the details are broken, the same general impression comes out distinctly in both writers, as does the mighty cone of Demavend, towering above Teheran, though so much more dimly in the one than in the other. And Mr. Bassett, of course, knows Persia more completely on all its sides. Both give us to see a land of endless deserts and mountain-chains, but bursting out, wherever the touch of water comes, into magical beauty and fertility, radiant with roses, and musical with nightingales, with the usual abatements which every one who has lived in a terrestrial paradise knows how to make for himself. Mr. Benjamin, the ambassador, naturally gives us a brighter picture, drawn from the homes of the great; Mr. Bassett, the missionary, a more lowering one, reflecting the discouragements of the poor. Both show us a country wretchedly misgoverned, as every Moslem country is, was, and ever will be; but Mr. Bassett represents it as steadily and unequivocally declining in wealth and in industrial skill. Yet we have seen it declared that within twenty years agriculture, the foundation of everything, has largely advanced. Who can decide the point, in a country where a census would almost certainly be a cheat?

But any picture of Persia is less wretchedly depressing than one of Turkey. The Persians are Aryans, of a peculiarly vivacious temperament and imagination, and the Turanian races of the country are neither oppressors nor oppressed, but, as here shown, easily melt into the ruling stock, being of the same religion. Thus the nation is homogeneous and indigenous, and the mightiest revolutions of religion and government have not permanently broken its continuousness. The Persian of to-day is the true countryman of Darius. Christians and Jews, it is true, and the few remaining adherents of the once illustrious creed of Zoroaster, are as much oppressed as they would be by Islam anywhere, but they make up altogether only one hundred and thirty thousand out of five millions, or ten millions, as you choose to accept the higher or the lower estimate. Thus Persia is a true nation, working out its own destiny. According to another traveler, this destiny is a matter of universal discussion among the Persians, all agreeing that they are to be swallowed up by Christendom, but differing as to whether they are to be absorbed by England or Russia. Unhappily the cave of the Scythian Cyclops is much the nearest.

Mr. Benjamin brings out the intense Moslem exclusiveness of the Persians, far exceeding even that of the Arabs, outside of Mecca, and making it certain death for one of another creed, were he of the very highest rank, to be seen in a mosque. Mr. Bassett, on the other hand, describes

cessor will show the same. — The missionaries have been greatly cheered by the visit of a special delegate from the Synod of New York, the revered and beloved Dr. Nelson, the first delegate from the churches at home, not a missionary, whom they had ever received. How strengthening such a visit is none can fully know who has not been in such a field. They say: "The presence in the Knoosha" — a Conference of Protestants — "of Dr. Nelson, and his addresses, through an interpreter, captivated the hearts of all. They were charmed by his very manner and tones, and could scarcely be satisfied with their limited opportunities for hearing the 'venerable father.' It has done them great good, I believe, to see one of the able and devout men who influence the counsels of the great Presbyterian Church in America, and support this missionary work. We beg that we may see many more such on our field." — Mr. Labaree reports that the college is full to its maximum number (sixty), and an enlarged preparatory department has been added to the female seminary. A new high school has been opened, making four in all, where the boys board themselves. They are a very popular branch of the work. — Rev. S. G. Wilson says: "The Christian public have not been called upon sufficiently to rejoice over the publication of another version of the entire Bible. This time it is in the Ararat-Armenian, a dialect which has the sweetness of a mother-tongue to 600,000 Armenians in Caucasus and Persia." — Rev. J. H. Shedd says: "The first Sunday of April was the feast of the Resurrection, which our reformed people observe with as much interest as the old Church. It was the Communion Sabbath at Geogtapa, and a memorable day this year, as it was last. I was invited, and preached for them. The congregation was near five hundred. Seventy-six new members were received, and over sixty propounded for the next communion. The gospel is prevailing certainly in that village, and drawing into the Church the mass of the people. The new members and candidates embrace a large number of young men, both married and single." — On July 15th and 16th the semi-centennial jubilee of the Nestorian Mission was celebrated on the college grounds at Oroomiah. Fifteen hundred men and women assembled, — a more orderly, rationally devout and steadily attentive company, it is remarked, than could be brought together elsewhere between the Euphrates and the Indus. The exercises lasted two days. "The air was redolent with the precious memories of early missionaries, especially of Miss Fiske and Miss Rice. The presence of some of their first pupils added no little interest to the occasion. One gray-haired woman, one of Miss Fiske's earliest girls, came a distance of two days, half the way on foot, over rough mountain roads, to attend the jubilee." One thing marks the difference between 1835 and 1885: then there was not a woman in Oroomiah that could read; now, when the women who could read were asked to rise, three fourths of them stood up. — Dr. E. W. Alexander writes that medical missionary work is actively carried on in Oroomiah, and in the new stations of Tabriz, Salmas, Teheran, Hamadan. In these four stations a total of twenty thousand patients are attended annually. "Of these twenty thousand a large majority are Mohammedans, who have been trained from childhood to hate all Christians, but whose prejudices vanish, to a great extent, with their pains."

Charles C. Starbuck.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

THE "DIDACHE" VIEWED IN ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER WRITINGS.¹

It is proposed to discuss in this paper the peculiar and complicated relations which the "Didache" bears to other ancient writings, and to present the conclusions at which we arrive in regard to its origin and structure.

The most prominent fact in connection with the "Didache" is the close relationship which its first five chapters sustain to the Epistle of Barnabas, the Latin fragment of the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Apostolical Constitutions. The first and fundamental question which this relationship suggests is, With what did the common matter of these different works originate? With this question we shall first concern ourselves.

I. What is the original source of the common matter which appears in the documents mentioned? Upon this point the opinions of investigators are greatly divided. The majority have found the original either in Barnabas or in the "Didache," but a few critics, seeing the inadequacy of either supposition to explain the facts of the case, have put back of both an older source. This we consider the only tenable hypothesis, and yet, while accepting it, we differ entirely, as will appear, with its strongest advocate, Professor Warfield,² in regard to the nature of the original and its existing representative.

To prove the position that an older source lies back of the "Didache" and Barnabas, we wish to show, first, that the common matter as found in Barnabas is not original, but must have been drawn from an earlier source, and secondly, that our Bryennios's "Didache" is not that source. That the Barnabas appendix is not the original of the common matter has been maintained by many writers,³ some of whose arguments we may briefly recapitulate.

Barnabas throughout his Epistle is a copier who works over a mass of oral and written traditions, and it is most natural therefore to suppose that he copies in this section also. Again, at the end of chapter xvii., he seems to look back over his Epistle as if it were completed, and then goes on to say, "Let us pass over to another knowledge and teaching." These words certainly imply nothing less than that the writer is about to make use of new material. The word *γνώσις*, which is here added to *διδασχῆ*, is (as Holtzmann remarks) characteristic of the author of the Epistle (being found in no less than ten different sections), and denotes the high authority of what he is about to give. When we come to exam-

¹ [The following paper was prepared before the appearance of Professor Warfield's contribution in the December number of this *Review*. Such coincidences as occur are the result of independent investigations. — Eds.]

² See his able essay upon the Latin fragment in Schaff's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 220 sq.

³ See Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*; Theil iii., pp. 312-314. E. L. H., *The Guardian*, June 25, 1884. Funk, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1884, p. 399 sq. Holtzmann, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1885; Heft i., p. 158 sq. Brown, in Hitchcock and Brown's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. xxxii. sq.

ine the section itself (chapters xviii.-xx.) the style and arrangement betray at once all the marks of a copy. That the orderly and logical arrangement which appears in all the other documents could have originated with the confused and disordered mass which is found in Barnabas seems upon the face of it impossible. Striking illustrations of this lack of order are given by Zahn, by E. L. H., and by Brown, and many of them are seen to be such as can be satisfactorily explained only upon the supposition that Barnabas quoted from an older source, and, either through lack of memory or with the intention of showing his independence, changed utterly the arrangement of the original. The most noticeable of the many cases is perhaps the insertion of the words *φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες* in Barnabas xix. 11, where they make no sense, and where they could not possibly have been placed by the original writer. We need not repeat more of the numerous arguments urged by others, but may add to them the following considerations.

That Barnabas's arrangement is not the original is indicated by the fact that all the other witnesses, the Latin, the "Didache," the Canons, and the Constitutions, follow a totally different order and at the same time agree almost exactly among themselves. It seems much more natural to suppose Barnabas a confused and sporadic copy, entirely out of the line of development, than to suppose it the source from which was later developed the arrangement which appears with scarcely a variation in all other witnesses. And yet again, the words, "light and darkness," by which the two ways are characterized in Barnabas, must be a change from an original source and not the original itself. For were these words original the unanimity with which the other witnesses, the "Didache," the Canons (which follow Barnabas in many points), and the Constitutions, use the words, "life and death," with no mention of "light and darkness," could not be explained. The expression "light and darkness" is a favorite one with Barnabas,¹ who is fond of figurative language, and its substitution here for "life and death" is thus easily explained. That he knew of the original "life and death" is seen from his words in chapter xx. 1, "For it is a way of eternal death." In view of these arguments it seems certain that Barnabas, in chapters xviii.-xx., must have drawn from an earlier source.

In the second place, that this earliest source cannot be the "Didache" as we have it admits of equally solid proof. Professor Warfield remarks, "Only a few of the most discerning spirits saw that on the one hand Barnabas bears all the marks of a copier, and on the other the 'Didache' fails to furnish the matter which he borrowed, and therefore felt bound to assume that they both borrowed their common matter from a third source."² While concurring with him in this conclusion, we do not base it upon the same grounds. Our first reason for believing that the "Didache," as we have it, is not the source of Barnabas is not that it "fails to furnish the matter which Barnabas borrowed," but that Barnabas failed to use so much which the "Didache" does furnish. The argument is *a silentio*, and yet when we examine the matter which Barnabas omits we shall, as it seems to us, find the argument conclusive. The most striking omission is the section "Didache" iii. 1-6. Examining the matter and the style of this section, it occurs to us at once that Bar-

¹ See chapter v. 4, where the "way of darkness" is spoken of; and xx. 1, where it is called the "way of the black [one]" (*τοῦ μέλανος*).

² Schaff's *Teaching*, p. 221.

nabas would certainly have used it had he known of it. How he could have forgotten or could have resisted employing material so exactly in accordance with his taste is inconceivable. The figurative manner of expression would have delighted him. The balancing of the clauses, one over against another, and the heaping up of particulars under each head are just what we should have expected from him. And yet he shows not the slightest trace of this section in any part of his Epistle. The conclusion seems inevitable that it was unknown to him.

Again; the section "Didache" i. 3-ii. 1 is omitted not only by Barnabas, but also by the Latin fragment and the Canons. This threefold omission can be explained only upon the supposition that the document (whatever it was) from which these three drew likewise omitted this section. In other words, the "Didache," as we have it, could not have been the source from which these three drew their common material.

To these considerations we may add the very important fact that there is strong reason for supposing that a document of the general nature of the first half of our "Didache" circulated in the church independently of the second half. The name "Duæ Viae," under which it is supposed by most writers that our "Didache" is referred to, is applicable only to the first six chapters. Still further, Barnabas and the Canons who use these chapters so freely show no knowledge of the remaining chapters.

Again, as remarked by Harnack, Krawutzcky, and others, Athanasius, in speaking of the *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* as used for the instruction of Catechumens,¹ could not have included the latter half of the "Didache," which is entirely inapplicable to catechumens, — indeed is addressed, in distinction from the first half, to the officers and members of the church, the plural form of address being used instead of the singular. When we add to this the fact that Athanasius used the singular *Διδαχή*, as if speaking of a single well-known document, the conclusion is very strong that he knows nothing of our "Didache," as a whole, but refers to a document which covers the substance of no more than the first six chapters. This document, when considered in the light of the facts already stated, is most naturally identified as to its general substance with the original source for which we are searching.²

We may refer here, as additional testimony for the independent existence of the original document which we have described, to the mention of the "Didache" by Nicephorus of Constantinople. He refers to it in his "Stichometry,"³ and gives its length as two hundred lines. This measurement, as shown by Gordon,⁴ instead of favoring a reference to the Bryennios "Didache" opposes it. The length of the Epistles of Clement (2,600 lines, according to Nicephorus) is 1,120 lines in the "Jerusalem" manuscript. Upon this calculation the "Didache" of Nicephorus must have been but about two fifths of the length of the Bryennios "Didache." This very significantly corresponds closely to the length of our supposed original in the augmented form used, as shown later, by Clement and

¹ Athanasius, *Fest. Ep.* 39 ed. Migne, ii., col. 1437.

² Our conclusion seems far more natural, and certainly fits the facts of the case better, than that of Professor Brown, who, in speaking of the lack of acquaintance with chapter vii. sq. on the part of the Canons, says: "It is very natural that the early chapters which the author of the 'Teaching' himself designates as required in pre-baptismal instruction should actually have become detached from their original connection, and been circulated by themselves" (p. xviii.).

³ Migne, i., col. 1060.

⁴ *Modern Review*, July, 1884, p. 455.

Athanasius. An examination of the list given by Nicephorus shows that it follows exactly the list found in Pseudo-Athanasius ("Synopsis," § 76), and implies that the writer had in mind the particular document there referred to. And besides, his use of the singular διδαχή agrees with Athanasius and Rufinus over against Eusebius. We can, therefore, claim Nicephorus, with right, as a witness to the independent existence of the original document.

We conclude, then, as a result of our investigations that an original source underlies the common matter of the "Didache," of Barnabas, of the Latin fragment, and of the other parallels. The references to this document by subsequent writers will be considered later.

II. Having thus proved the existence of a common source we have next to investigate the place and date of its composition. We refer it, without hesitation, and with little fear of contradiction, to Egypt, and put its composition as early as the latter part of the first century.

For Egypt speaks the fact that it was known and used there by Barnabas, and by the Canons, was quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and referred to by Athanasius. Both for Egypt and for an early date speaks the lack of quotations not only from the New Testament as a whole, but also from the separate books. The only other region that has been urged with any show of probability for the origination of the "Didache," as a whole, is Syria, including Palestine. All the arguments which have been given for its Syrian authorship are applicable, as will be seen upon examining them, only to the latter half. Among these arguments the only one which may, at first glance, be supposed to support the Syrian authorship of the original "Two Ways" is the number of quotations from the Gospel of Matthew which it is said to contain. As to this point it is very significant to notice that, of the eighteen to twenty-two quotations in the "Didache" which are referred to Matthew, but six occur in the first six chapters; and, further, of these six, three occur in the section i. 3-ii. 1, which is omitted in Barnabas, the Latin fragment, and the Canons, and which, as we shall later in this paper endeavor to prove, is a Syrian addition. Of the remaining quotations the one in "Didache" iii. 7, "Be thou meek for the meek shall inherit the earth," is referred by all commentators to Matthew v. 3. It is important to remark that it is not an exact quotation from Matthew, but is taken literally, with the single insertion of the article before γῆν, from the LXX of Psalms xxxvii. 11. Again, in Barnabas are found only the words "Be thou meek," the last clause being omitted. We are not obliged, therefore, to suppose a knowledge of Matthew on the part of the writer of the original document. We are at liberty to conclude either that the latter part of the clause was quoted by the original directly from Psalm xxxvii., or, what is far more probable in view of the omission of Barnabas, that it did not stand in the original, but was inserted afterward by the "Didache" and the Canons independently, very likely under the suggestion of the use of the clause by Matthew. That the compiler of the Canons depended upon Matthew at this point rather than upon the original source seems probable, when we notice his substitution of the words "Kingdom of Heaven" for "the earth" against all witnesses, even the Coptic Canons. These words were probably taken by him, through a slip of the memory, from the conclusion of the first and similar beatitude. The variation at this point favors the view that the concluding clause did not exist in the original source. That the words "Be thou

meek" of the original were not taken from Matthew is further probable from the fact that all the other beatitudes are omitted, though at least a part of them might be expected here owing to their applicability to the subject in hand.

The two remaining quotations occur in i. 2, and are referred, the one to Matthew xxii. 37-39; the other to Matthew vii. 12. Of the first, "Thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself," it may be said, unhesitatingly, that it is not a quotation from Matthew. This will appear very clearly upon comparison with the Canons and Constitutions, which insert characteristic features of the Matthew passage which do not occur in the "Didache." The commands occur frequently in the Old Testament (for example, Deuteronomy vi. 5, and Leviticus xix. 18), and they must have been constantly upon the lips of the early Christians as forming the very basis of the Christianity taught by Christ. Of the second, which is referred to Matthew vii. 2, it may be said that it is neither in form (the form is negative) nor in words a quotation from Matthew. It is no more than a formulation of the oral tradition as to Christ's teaching on the subject, and falls below his true teaching to the level of already existing principles of morality. The Gospel, the authentic record of his words, first gave the positive form. When we compare the want of quotation, thus shown, with the profuse use of the Gospel of Matthew in the remainder of the "Didache," the argument for the Egyptian authorship of our original document becomes very strong.

We may remark, finally, upon this subject, that if the "Didache" as a whole dates from Egypt, then all reason for referring the original source to Syria vanishes. If, on the other hand, the "Didache" as a whole belongs to Syria (as we shall endeavor to prove) then, accepting our position that there existed an original document, we must assign it to Egypt, or accept an almost inconceivable series of transmissions and retransmissions from one country to the other.

The date of Barnabas (not much later than 100 A. D., or even earlier, according to Funk) compels us to put this original source well back into the last quarter of the first century. There is nothing in the document itself to preclude so early a date; indeed, internal indications point that way, especially its apparent ignorance of all of our Gospels. There is nothing, in fact, which would prevent a still earlier date. But enough that it is to be put as far back as the last quarter of the first century.

III. We must next study the nature of this original and the course of its transmission.

It consisted, to speak in a general way, of the first five chapters of our "Didache," with the omission of i. 3-ii. 1, and iii. 1-6. Barnabas omits the latter section, which can be explained, as shown already, only by its omission in the source from which he drew. Barnabas, the Latin fragment, and the Canons all omit the section i. 3-ii. 1, which can be explained only upon a like supposition. This section looks upon the face of it like an interpolation. It is made up wholly of quotations quite against the style of the rest of the "Two Ways" document, and the awkwardness of the phrase ii. 1, inserted to introduce the resumption of the original, broken off at i. 3, betrays a later hand.

This document, originating in Egypt in the latter part of the first century, was first used in a very loose and illogical way by Barnabas, who quoted probably in great part from memory, or, as suggested by Zahn,

changed the order intentionally, with the design of appearing independent, and thus produced an arrangement totally different from that of the original. That the original cannot agree with Barnabas in its arrangement is evident from the preponderance of testimony against it. The same internal arguments, also, which were urged to prove that Barnabas could not be its own original stand here against a similar arrangement of the source from which it drew.

The Latin translation followed, basing itself upon the original source, but at the same time, with the customary liberty of a translation, taking some matter from Barnabas, and perhaps adding new material of its own. This, as a Latin translation, exercised apparently no influence upon the development of the Greek document, as no traces of it are found in the later Greek recensions. The translation may have been made in the West, though its use of Barnabas renders it probable that it belongs to Egypt. That the Latin fragment follows Barnabas rather than precedes it is evident from its use of the two expressions, "life and death," "light and darkness," over against the single phrase "light and darkness" of Barnabas, and the single phrase "life and death" of all the other witnesses.¹ Had the original contained both expressions how can we explain the agreement of these other witnesses in the single phrase "life and death" and their absolute silence as to the "light and darkness"? The reason for Barnabas's substitution has been mentioned already (page 431), and seems sufficient. When the bearing of this has been carefully considered we submit that the conclusion as to the priority of the Latin, drawn from a comparison of the clauses in regard to the angels,² must be overweighed. And, indeed, with no more than the single sentence from which to argue, we confess ourselves unable to conclude that the Latin, on account of its greater brevity at this point, must have been original, and that its statement could not have resulted from a condensation of the Barnabas clause. The insertion of the clause by Barnabas seems very natural, having been suggested by the use of ἐξουσίας preceding, which was introduced as a complement to διδασχῆς. Wishing to justify the insertion and to explain and illustrate its meaning, he did it, in his usual figurative manner, by describing the ways as ruled over, the one by the angel of God and the other by the angel of Satan. Whether the conception originated with him or with Hermas matters not.

We may at this point discuss briefly the relation of Hermas to the documents which we are considering. He shows a resemblance at certain points which implies some sort of connection. We may throw out at once, however, all supposed connection of Hermas Vis. iii. 4 with "Didache" iv. 7, 8 and Barnabas xix. 8 and 11; also of Mand. xi. with "Didache" xi. In this last both go back upon Matthew vii. 15-20, but both go their own way independently of each other.³ But Mand. vi. 2 presents a resemblance to the angel clause of Barnabas and the Latin which seems to show dependence upon one side or the other.

¹ Against Warfield, who not only puts the Latin before Barnabas, but also makes it the representative of the original source. The latter view seems absolutely refuted by the existence of the angel clause which, omitted as it is by the *Didache* and by the Canons, could not have belonged to the original source. That the Latin is even later than Barnabas the argument we have given above seems to prove. Warfield appears to have overlooked the important bearings of the significant phrases quoted.

² Warfield: *Schaff's Teaching*, p. 221.

³ Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des N. T. Kanons*, Th. iii., p. 315.

In the previous section (Mand. vi. 1) "two ways" are mentioned, the one straight (ὁρθή), the other crooked (στρεβλή). This favors the supposition of some connection between the documents. We have no data in the passage itself for determining which is the original. If the early date of Hermas be maintained,¹ knowing its speedy transmission throughout Christendom, we should conclude that both Barnabas and the Latin drew from him. If, however, the late date of Hermas be accepted,² we must suppose that he knew either Barnabas or the version of the "Two Ways" represented by the Latin translation.

Both Barnabas and the Latin may very likely have reached Rome before the middle of the second century. The point is one of small importance at any rate, and in the present state of uncertainty as to the date of Hermas it is impossible to decide with any degree of assurance.

Hermas, Mand. viii. 3-5, has a list of specifications which suggest the "way of death" of our original source. A connection here is possible though by no means certain. Internal evidence tells us nothing as to which was the copier, but the early date of the original "Two Ways" renders it probable that it had reached Rome before Hermas wrote, and might well, therefore, have been familiar to him. The connection of Mand. ii. 4-6 with "Didache" i. 5 will be considered later.

We may at this point mention Lactantius. The Divine Institutes (Bk. vi. chap. 3), and the Epitome (chap. 59) exhibit parallels to the early portions of the documents under discussion. We think that Dr. von Gebhardt, who discusses these parallels carefully,³ has shown conclusively that Lactantius (in ideas though not in language) drew directly from the Latin. We should judge from this that the Duac Viæ known in the West was essentially the Latin Doctrina of which we possess a fragment.

After the writing of Barnabas — whether before or after the Latin translation we have no certain means of knowing — the original source was augmented by the addition of the section "Didache" iii. 1-6. That this must have been added at the latest early in the second century is proved by the fact that a clause from it ("Didache" iii. 5) is quoted by Clement of Alexandria⁴ as γραφή, which implies that it formed an integral undisputed part of a writing which he refers to under that term. The writing itself, as we have seen, belongs to the latter part of the first century, and was, therefore, very naturally looked upon by Clement as *Scripture* in the wider sense, but were this section an interpolation of late date, many copies of the original must have been in circulation without it, and the passage well known to be spurious could hardly have been quoted by him in such a way. And again, the early date of the addition is proved by the fact that it appears in our completed "Didache" (which, as we shall prove later, belongs to Syria), and must, therefore, have been added before the transmission of the original to that country.

The "Didache," augmented in this way, and with perhaps slight changes incident upon the copying and transmitting of any document, became gradually stereotyped in form, was used for the instruction of catechumens, and was regarded as *Scripture* in the broad sense. In the

¹ 97-100 according to Zahn.

² Latter half of the second century. See article of Dr. Hort in the *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, December, 1884, in which he shows that Hermas made use of Theodotion's version of Daniel.

³ See Harnack, pp. 283-286.

⁴ Strom. i. 20, Potter's ed., p. 377.

third century it was used in the compilation of the Ecclesiastical Canons. These follow very closely the substance and arrangement of the augmented source over against Barnabas,¹ but at the same time are evidently acquainted with Barnabas, and occasionally insert clauses taken from him (see, for example, the opening sentences of the two works).

It is this augmented source which is mentioned by Athanasius as *Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων*. The document in its Latin translation, whether with or without the section of the "Didache" iii. 1-6 we have no means of knowing, was familiar to the Western church under the name "Duæ Viæ," or "Judicium Petri," and the Latin name better known in the West was very naturally substituted by Rufinus² for the *διδασχὴ* of Athanasius.

In the mean time, while the "Two Ways" was thus assuming a stereotyped form in Egypt, a transmission of the document to Syria took place. This transmission must have followed the addition of the section "Didache" iii. 1-6, for this section is found in the Syriac recensions. It must have occurred very early, — not later than 110 A. D., — probably as early as the very beginning of the century. Supposing the addition of the section just named to have taken place after the compilation of Barnabas, we can yet put the transmission as far back as 100, if we accept Funk's date for the Epistle of Barnabas (96-98). But we are not compelled to suppose that Barnabas chronologically precedes this addition; we have only to suppose the section to have been added to a copy of the original which Barnabas had not seen; the recension which fell into his hands having remained unchanged. This point, however, is of small importance; we can, in any case, suppose the addition to have been made soon enough to allow of the transmission of the augmented document to Syria very early in the second century.

In Syria the document gradually received new additions, notably the sections i. 3-ii. 1³ (consisting of quotations from Matthew and from

¹ Warfield puts Barnabas, the Latin fragment, and the Canons together as representing one recension over against the *Didache* and the Constitutions. It will be seen from what has already been said that this is only in part true. The Canons stand against Barnabas and with the *Didache* and the Constitutions in two very important particulars: the general arrangement of the matter, and the insertion of the section *Didache* iii. 1-6. In the light of this comparison, the two recensions, as held by him, seem to be the result of a too superficial generalization, resting as it does upon only a small part of the observed facts. No such generalization fits all the phenomena.

² Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbol. Apost.*, c. 38, ed. Migne; col. 374.

The *Judicium* given by Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. 1, ed. Vallarsi, tom. ii. col. 813), among Peter's works is probably to be identified with this document.

³ The date of the section i. 3-ii. 1 is difficult to determine. The question depends upon its relation to Hermas. Mand. ii. 4-6 resembles *Did.* i. 5 so closely that some connection must be admitted. The passage in Hermas read in its connection does not give us the impression of a quotation. The style of the whole section is uniform, and we can discover no points at which a quotation begins or ends.

Again, as Zahn remarks, the quotation (on whichever side it was made) is very exact verbally, and it is not likely that Hermas would quote from a late apocryphal book so much more closely than from any of the New Testament books. Still further, the *Didache* contains, in close connection, words from Matthew, and also a very striking quotation from an unknown source, all of which Hermas omits; an omission not easy to explain if he used the *Didache*.

In regard to the passage as it stands in the *Didache*, we may remark that

other sources) and chapter vi. ; and became, in the course of time, somewhat changed, perhaps, in minor points of style and arrangement. As thus altered (though in all probability as yet without the section i. 3-ii. 1), it was combined by a Syrian or Palestinian writer with a series of ordinances relating chiefly to church rites and discipline, and the document thus completed formed the "*Didache*" essentially as we now have it, and was given the name "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*" from the fact that its first part already bore that honorable name, and the doctrine of the whole was known to be in strict accord with that taught by the Apostles in Palestine and in the East, and especially by James of Jerusalem. Proceeding from some church of that region closely related in spirit to the Jerusalem church, it could with peculiar fitness assume the name "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*."

There are reasons for supposing that the bulk of the second part already existed and was in use in this part of the church. The fact that the first half rests upon an earlier source furnishes at least a presumption for this. But however this be, the combination as we have it, — the issue of the document as a manual for catechetical instruction and for the use of church officers and members, — must have taken place early in the century ; not later, certainly, than the first quarter, probably before 120.¹

the *Didache* quotes throughout the section, and it is probable, therefore, that this, too, is a quotation. If a quotation, we know of no source except *Hermas* from which it could have been taken.

Again, the *Didache* speaks expressly of a *commandment* (τὴν ἐντολήν), "Blessed is he that gives according to the commandment," and then follows the parallel with *Hermas*. *Hermas* calls the directions which he has given — the substance of which stands in the *Didache* — a *commandment*, concluding the section with the words φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολήν ταύτην. The connection is certainly significant.

Still further, *Clement of Alex.*, who shows a knowledge of this or a similar passage (*Fragm. ex Nicetæ Catena*, in *Matt.* v. 42, Potter's ed., p. 1013), agrees more closely with *Hermas* than with the *Didache*. It is probable, therefore, that both he and the *Didache* drew from *Hermas*. (*Clement of Alex.* uses *Hermas* frequently, often mentioning him by name.) The question as to the date of this section, then, will depend upon the date of *Hermas*. If we agree with *Zahn* in putting *Hermas* as early as 100, we are no nearer a decision as to the date of the section than before. If, however, as the discovery of *Dr. Hort* seems to necessitate, we put *Hermas* as late as 150, this section must be thrown into the latter half of the second century. A confirmation of the lateness of the insertion is found in the fact that the *Constitutions* omit a part of this section, and show variations throughout which seem to imply that there lay before the compiler a recension of the *Didache* made before the addition of this section, while he added, at this point, matter which he had seen in other and later recensions, but perhaps only vaguely remembered. The *Const.* (Bk. iv. c. 3) show a clear use of the fragment of *Clement* mentioned above in a lengthy quotation almost verbally exact. The exactness of the quotation, together with the omission of all matter characteristic of the *Didache* section, and the fact that the first six books nowhere show a knowledge of the *Didache*, prove that the *Constitutions* at this point drew directly from *Clement*, without the interposition of the *Didache*. *Clement*, meanwhile, and the *Didache*, in their agreement with *Hermas*, while omitting the characteristic features each of the other, show their direct dependence upon him and their independence of each other.

¹ The early date of the last half of the *Didache* can be fully established upon purely internal grounds. (See *Hitchcock and Brown*, p. xc. sq. ; *Schaff*, p. 119 sq.) If it belongs to Syria, the simplicity of its ecclesiastical organiza-

The "Didache" thus completed became, later, the basis of the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which adheres very closely to its original in general arrangement, but shows at the same time resemblances in certain points to the Egyptian documents, which lead us to suppose it based upon a recension of the "Didache," varying slightly from that which we now possess in the direction of the Egyptian original.

IV. We have thus assigned our completed "Didache" to Syria or Palestine. Let us examine in detail our reasons for this position, some of which have already been mentioned in the course of our discussion. As remarked above, the choice lies between Egypt on the one hand and Syria, including Palestine, on the other.

To begin with the external grounds for our position.

First, the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which dates from Syria, is based upon the "Didache" as a whole, following its order and arrangement almost without a variation, and it is a significant fact that it is the only known work which bears such a relation to it. The presumption is certainly very strong that the document thus employed by the Constitutions belongs not to that country in which every trace of its existence is lacking, but to the region to which the Constitutions themselves belong.

Further, three witnesses, Barnabas, the Latin, and the Canons (at least two of which are known to be Egyptian), omit a certain section ("Didache," i. 3-ii. 1) which is found in the "Didache" and in the Constitutions, which stand thus, in this particular, over against the other three witnesses. Our presumption is certainly strengthened by this fact.

Again, the course of transmission which we have supposed puts into the region of Syria two documents bearing the same name, but very different as to scope, contents, and length; one, the short moral treatise; the other, the longer manual for church use, including the former, and yet at the same time differing entirely from it in its aim, and in all probability not wholly superseding it in the church of that region. When Eusebius, then, speaks of αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί,¹ we see that his plural exactly fits the state of the case as we have supposed it to exist in Syria. It is inconceivable that he could have used the plural to designate simply variant copies or recensions of the same work. The term must include works actually differing as to scope and matter; we know of none which could be called by that name except our "Didache" as a whole, and the

tion as compared with the developing episcopacy of the Ignatian Epistles stamps it at once as belonging to a period not later than the first quarter of the second century. We do not propose in this paper to enter into a discussion of the question of date. An early date has been maintained by many besides those mentioned, and is, as we think, satisfactorily proven. An Egyptian origin permits a somewhat later date, and leads Harnack to bring the terminus *ad quem* down to 160. But he grants that an earlier date must be accepted if the document be put into Syria. His arguments against a time before 120 do not seem at all conclusive. The one based upon a higher and lower grade of morality carries the most weight with it, but this is drawn from chap. vi., which is found only in part in the Constitutions, and, like section i. 3-ii. 1, may be a later interpolation.

¹ H. E., iii. 25; Migne, ii., col. 269. Nicéphorus Callistus follows Eusebius in using the plural. *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 46; Migne, i., col. 888. So Anastasius Sinait., Patriarch of Antioch, at the end of his *Questiones*, according to a Paris manuscript quoted by Cotelierius in his *Patres Apost.* i. 197.

original "Two Ways," or "Didache," as it too was called.¹ On the other hand, against an Egyptian origin is the fact already noticed, that Athanasius, in referring to the "Didache," could have meant only the first half. That he could not have included more is proved not only by the utter inapplicability of the latter half for the instruction of catechumens, but also by the fact that its position in regard to church organization is utterly at variance with the principles and practice of Athanasius's time. The seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which belongs probably to the same century, shows the changes which a compiler of that age thought it necessary to make in order to render the book appropriate for church use. And further, Athanasius's use of the singular proves that this was the only work of that name known to him and to those for whom his writings were intended, and precludes absolutely the possibility of the existence in Egypt in his time of a document of greater length and of a different nature, such as our present "Didache."²

Before turning to the internal evidence for our position we must discuss some supposed quotations from the latter half of the "Didache" which might be claimed to favor an Egyptian origin for the whole. Barnabas in chap. iv. is said to have used chap. xvi. 2 and 3 of the "Didache." Upon examination we find that the parallel narrows itself down to a single sentence. Comparing chap. iv. of Barnabas and chap. xvi. of the "Didache," sentence by sentence, we cannot fail to receive an impression that neither drew directly from the other; each contains so much which the other utterly ignores, and the two go their way apparently so perfectly unconscious of and so entirely uninfluenced by the course of the other. The "Didache" chapter is based upon Matt. xxiv.; Barnabas bears not the slightest resemblance to it. And yet Barnabas, as elsewhere, is made up throughout the chapter almost wholly of borrowed matter. No one pleading for the priority of either has yet been able to find any good reason in the passage itself for holding the originality of one in preference to the other. The conclusion, then, seems clear — as clear as in the case of the Barnabas appendix compared with the first chapters of the "Didache" — that both took the passage in question from a common source. We might throw out the suggestion (space forbids a discussion of it) that the original "Two Ways" may have possessed a hortatory, eschatological conclusion containing the passage in question.

Our attention is next called to Clement of Alexandria (De Divite Servando,³ chap. xxix): "He who hath poured out the wine, the blood of the *vine of David*;" cf. "Didache," ix. 2: "We thank thee our Father for the *holy vine of David* thy servant which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant." The parallel is brief, but the peculiarity of the expression renders it striking. The representation of Christ as a vine was very common in the early church; Clement himself in another

¹ That Eusebius, although writing in Syria, may have been thinking of Egypt, and of the *Didache* current there, as well as of Syria, is of course possible, and yet the fact remains that his plural must have been meant to include two different works. Athanasius's singular admits of only one work known to him. If the *Didache* as a whole, then, is to be thrown into Egypt, the original source which furnishes ground for Eusebius's plural must be thrown out of Egypt, and we are then involved in all sorts of absurdities.

² The singular *Διδαχή* occurs twice in Athanasius's works: in his *Fest. Ep.* 39 (see above, p. 432 note); and in Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ*, § 76, ed. Montfaucon, ii. 202.

³ Potter's ed., p. 952.

place (Paed. i. 15) speaks of the wine of the vine as allegorically signifying the blood of the Logos. The only thing to be accounted for then in the present case is the use of the compound phrase "vine of *David*." In regard to this we may remark that there is every reason to suppose that the second half of the "Didache," as well as the first, is a compilation from older sources. Many internal indications, into a discussion of which we cannot enter here, point that way.¹ No portion is more likely to have existed before the compilation than the liturgical forms. It is not probable that the individual compiler should himself have composed these; he undoubtedly recorded prayers already in general use. That Clement should know them, even though he did not know the "Didache," is not only possible, but probable. But, even if these words should be supposed to have originated with the "Didache," yet they might very speedily have become separated from that document, and, as liturgical forms spread both rapidly and widely, might well have been known in Egypt before Clement's time.

Let us turn now to the arguments for our position furnished by the "Didache" itself. All who have contended for a Syrian origin have done so solely on internal grounds, and in the face of what they have considered strong external testimony for an Egyptian authorship. Their arguments have all been met at the start by a counter-presumption, and have therefore received less consideration than many of them merited. Having established, as we think, a presumption upon external grounds in favor of an Asiatic origin for chapters vi.-xvi., we approach the question from an entirely different standpoint. Do internal indications, then, go against our presumption, or do they favor it?

We need not repeat the sound arguments urged by Dr. Schaff (pp. 123-127); the resemblance of the theology to that of James, the Jewish Christian tone (cf. Bryennios, p. 8'), and the significant phrase in the eucharistic prayer (ix. 4). We wish, however, to lay especial stress upon the great use which the "Didache" makes of the Gospel of Matthew.² It is a significant fact that of some eighteen clear references to that Gospel — or to Matthew in connection with Luke — every one of them belongs either to the latter half of the "Didache" or to the section i. 3-ii. 1, which we have assumed to date from Syria or Palestine. The bearing of this fact cannot be mistaken. Such a profuse use of a single Gospel at so early a date, and a use which is confined to certain well-defined portions of our document, portions which, upon other grounds, are shown to be of later and different origin, certainly argues very strongly for their origination in a region where that particular Gospel was especially known and used, and where was that but Syria or Palestine?

Still further, the designation of the prophets as "High priests" (xiii. 2), while pointing to the influence of Jewish rites and customs, shows at the same time that development in hierarchical views from which grew in the same part of the world, but a little later, the Epistles of Ignatius, with their great emphasis (betraying a transition state) upon the three orders of the ministry.

¹ For some evidences of this see Gordon, *Modern Review*, July, 1884.

² Compare the sparing use which Barnabas makes of the Gospel of Matthew. In the entire Epistle, so much greater in length than the *Didache*, we find but two clear quotations from Matthew; Barn. iv. 14, cf. Matt. xx. 16 and xxii. 14; and Barn. v. 9, cf. Matt. ix. 13. Even these two show an advance over the original *Two Ways*, which illustrates the difference in date.

Finally, Lucian's "Peregrinus Proteus" furnishes at least a presumption in favor of a Syrian or Palestinian origin for chapters xi. and xii.

Let us consider next the arguments which have been urged against our position. The argument for Egyptian authorship based upon the use of the "Didache" by Egyptian writers applies, as we have shown, only to the original "Two Ways." For the Egyptian origin of the remainder of the "Didache" is urged the fact that traveling teachers and apostles were numerous in Egypt. But from Eusebius (H. E. iii. 37)¹ we learn that such traveling evangelists were to be found everywhere during the first and second centuries. The directions in chapter xi. remind us of the sending out of the seventy in Palestine (a direct reference to the Gospel is made in xi. 3), and xi. 4 recalls the words of Matt. x. 40. Again it is urged that the "Didache" agrees with the Sahidic version of Upper Egypt in the form of its doxologies, which omit βασιλεία. But Gregory of Nyssa's use of the same form² destroys the force of this. And on the other hand the presence in so old a document of the doxology with the Lord's Prayer points toward Syria where (according to Westcott and Hort) the doxology originated.

The only argument of weight which has been urged against a Syrian origin is drawn from the undeveloped character of the ministry in the "Didache" as compared with the Epistles of Ignatius. In regard to this we may remark, first, that we assign the "Didache" to a date earlier than that of the Ignatian Epistles. In the second place the emphasis which Ignatius puts upon the episcopal office and his reiteration of the duty of obedience to the bishop betrays clearly a transition state, and prove that the office was neither so old nor so widely established as to stand undisputed. In his time the new office may not have been established even throughout the whole of Syria. Again, the "Didache" itself, as mentioned above, shows, in the designation of the prophets as "high priests," an advance in hierarchical views leading to though not reaching the position of Ignatius. And, still further, in chapter xv. there may be, as claimed by Gordon,³ traces of this same progress toward a hierarchy.

We conclude, therefore, both upon external and internal grounds that our completed "Didache" belongs to the region of Syria or Palestine.

To sum up briefly the main results of our investigations, we hold that an earlier and as yet undiscovered source underlies the common matter of our parallel documents; that this source had its origin in Egypt; was used in the composition of Barnabas, and formed the basis of the Latin translation; was augmented somewhat and afterward quoted by Clement; was used by the Canons and referred to by Athanasius. As thus augmented it was carried to Syria, and became the basis of the first five chapters of our present "Didache," the compilation of which was the work of a Syrian or Palestinian writer.

Finally, we believe that the first five chapters of the Bryennios "Didache," with the omission of the sections i. 3-ii. 1, and iii. 1-6, are, though not indeed an exact, yet the best known representative of the original source.

✓
Arthur C. McGiffert.

BERLIN, GERMANY, December, 1885.

¹ Migne, ii., cols. 292-293.

² *De Oratione Dominica*, V. Migne, i., col. 1193. See Schaff, p. 124 note.

³ *Modern Review*, July, 1884, p. 474.

quality of a book, known upon other grounds to exist, and cannot rightly be regarded as a word from which, by a deductive process, the qualities of the book can be determined." For this reason he believes with Bishop Goodwin that "we have no other means of knowing what the inspiration of a book means, besides an examination of these very (*i. e.* the inspired) writings." Accordingly he uses the inductive method in seeking the specific quality of Scripture, and sums up the results obtained by it in his statement about the Bible. This statement, into which are condensed the inferences drawn from a vast and complex mass of facts, cannot in the nature of the case be as brief and simple as an *a priori* definition. It is not unlikely that some member of the Council or Association receiving the statement, who has never thought of any other way of determining what the Bible is than of making a definition of the inspiration which is needed to produce a book containing an infallible revelation, will complain that the statement is complicated in structure and obscure in its details. "Why these inquiries concerning the human element in the sacred books?" he may ask. "Why the examination of the place the writer held in the historical development of revelation? Why this subtle talk about an inspiration in the community from which that of the sacred writer is inseparable? Why did not the candidate use a simpler method of finding the truth; that of taking the book as God's word, and drawing out a conception of the inspiration to which, as the one sufficient cause, the book is to be attributed?"

The answer is that the candidate did not do this because he believed that the truth could not be found in this way, and that those who criticise him for not employing their method need to reëxamine the grounds on which they cling to it. Until they are fully convinced that the reasons often urged of late for abandoning it are invalid, they should hesitate at least to measure by it the results produced by another with which they are unfamiliar.

No. 12

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

THE DIDACHE AND ITS KINDRED FORMS.

(WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PAPER OF DR. MCGIFFERT.)

Two very interesting discussions of the original form and the transmission of the Didache have been published during the last few months, and operate naturally to attract our attention anew to these important problems. One of them, by Dr. Bratke, appeared in the "Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie" (1886, ii. 302-311), and the other by Dr. A. C. McGiffert, in "The Andover Review" (April, 1886, pages 430-442). I should like to call attention to the results and methods of these two papers, not without the hope that in doing so I may be able to bring some new material to the support of the theory which I have elsewhere

advanced with reference to the original text and the transmission of the "Two Ways."

Dr. Bratke's paper bases itself on Holtzmann's interesting discussion published in the same journal for 1885 (i. pages 154-167), and takes its start from that scholar's finding that the Bryennios MS. furnishes the matter common to its chapters i.-vi. and the parallel passages in other documents, only in relatively the oldest form. Bratke is convinced that our Didache as it lies in the Bryennios MS. has arisen from a redaction which brought together an old treatise on the "Two Ways" and a later addition. He undertakes to prove, first, that the various writings that represent or have drawn from the "Two Ways" cannot have borrowed from one another, but must all have drawn from a common source; and then proceeds to find this common source most closely represented by the Latin version unearthed by von Gebhardt, while its range of matter is represented by chapters i.-vi. (with the omission of i. 3-6) of our Didache, to which are to be added, perhaps, the moral elements of chapters vii.-xvi. This original Didache, called from the point of view of its origin the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and from the point of view of its contents the "Two Ways," was intended for the instruction of individual Christians, and was written in Egypt before Barnabas. It was later enriched by the addition of a church order, — essentially chapters vii.-xvi., — called The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles, and this addition was made in Syria some time before Clement of Alexandria.

With the main outlines of this conclusion I am in entire agreement. I, too, believe that the original Didache was made in Egypt, while the text that has come down to us in the Bryennios MS. is due to a redaction in Syria. I, too, believe that the various documents that represent our Didache are co-witnesses to the original common source (or, better, *text*) rather than borrowers from one another. But I cannot accord with all of Bratke's contentions, and especially find myself unable to attune my thinking to the occasional rigor of his statements. For instance, when he tells us (page 304) that the absurdity of the order in which Barnabas gives us the common matter forbids our maintaining that he had our Didache before him and forces us to believe that he used only a similar text, he proves either nothing or too much. Again, when he tells us that Clement (Strom. i. 20, 100, ed. Potter) cannot be quoting our Didache iii. 5, because the words are not exactly enough taken from this passage, few of us will be able to follow him. Most irritating of all is the mixed truth and exaggeration of what he says of the Latin version: in rightly recognizing its value, he allows himself to exaggerate the difference between it and the Bryennios MS., and even to say that it brings together in the fullest completeness the thoughts and figures which are found separately in Barnabas, the Bryennios MS., the Canons, and the Constitutions! This is certainly a difficult statement to support from the phenomena of some fifteen lines all told; and the actual fact is, that except the phrase "light and darkness," and the clause concerning the angels, both of which are found in Barnabas, the fragment contains absolutely nothing which will justify the terms in which it is described. Holding, as he does, that the Latin version is the truest representative of the original Didache, Dr. Bratke surely does not mean what he says when he declares that Hermas, Mand. ii. 4-6 = Did. i. 5, is the sole trace of relationship between these two documents (page 310). Surely the parallel, Mand. vi. 2 = Did. (Lat.) i. 1, is even closer.

Two points of much greater importance to the theory itself need more extended consideration. Why does Bratke hold that the original *Didache* contained no part of the church order? and why does he hold the type of the *Didache* represented by the Latin (and Barnabas) to be the original *Didache*? I shall not deny the possibility of the first of these conclusions being right; but who can deny the possibility of its being wrong? Bratke depends on the absence of this ecclesiastical matter from Barnabas, the Canons, and other early witnesses; the use, as Athanasius and Rufinus witness, of the *Didache* for the catechumens, for which the portions on church order are but little suitable; the short compass of the book as described by Nicephorus; and internal difficulties (which, however, all concern the section i. 3-ii. i.). But the fact still remains that our earliest witnesses appear to have known also the latter portion of the *Didache*. Bratke is constrained to admit that Barnabas, for instance, quotes in chapter iv. the sixteenth chapter of the *Didache*, and on this ground supposes that *some parts* of vii.-xvi. were found in the original "Two Ways." But if some parts, what parts? The moral parts, such as were suitable for catechetical instruction, says he. But can we thus decide the matter, just that it may fit our theory? Certainly there is a problem here not to be too hastily cut through, to which we may return again.

On the other matter, I wish to speak with the caution that becomes one who has fallen into the same error himself. In my first essay on this subject,¹ after having shown that the Latin and Barnabas draw off to one side, with the general support of the Canons, against the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, I carelessly took it for granted that the former text, because the most anciently attested, — *and in the form the most anciently attested*, — was therefore the original. I was not long in finding out my error, and have corrected it in various places since.² Dr. Bratke has, however, fallen into the same snare. In what way does the recension witnessed to by the Latin approve itself as relatively original? Only in its omission of i. 3-ii. 1. The insertion of the conflate reading in i. 1 or of the angel-clause in the same verse certainly is not commended by internal evidence; and the special peculiarities of the Latin version, or of Barnabas, alone, are very specially condemned by internal evidence. There is no good reason for supposing that Barnabas + Latin is a less corrupt text than that which Bryennios + Constitutions furnishes, except in the one omission of i. 3-ii. 1, where we have the witness of the Canons adjoined. We must have, in other words, the testimony of the whole Egyptian text, and not only of that subsection of it which is represented by Barnabas and the Latin, before we can speak of its greater originality. And even then the true, that is, the original, text of the *Didache* is not to be sought in either recension separately, much less in any one sub-recension, but in the combined testimony of both.

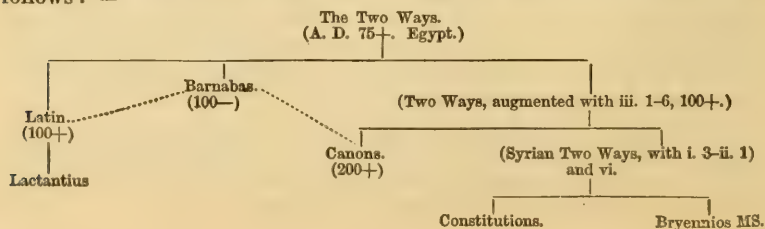
The reader thus cannot fail to be disturbed by occasional positions taken up by Dr. Bratke, not all of which are unimportant parts of his theory. But the main outlines of his theory, whether arrived at by a happy divination or by a careful collation, appear to be sound. That the *Didache* has undergone a recension which has brought it into the textual

¹ Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual*, p. 220 sq.

² *The Andover Review*, December, 1885, p. 596; the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1886, p. 102 sq.; *The Presbyterian Review*, January, 1886, p. 176; *The [New York] Independent* for March 4, 1886; and, so far as the stereotyped plates allowed, in Schaff's *Oldest Church Manual*, 2d edition.

form presented in the Bryennios MS.; that it originally lacked i. 3-6; that its birthplace was Egypt and the place of its greatest growth Syria; that the Egyptian form is represented by Barnabas, the Latin, and the Canons, and the Syrian by the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, — all these are points which I have elsewhere tried to establish, and which Bratke explicitly recognizes. And these constitute the essence of his theory.

In these main outlines Dr. McGiffert fully accords with Bratke, although he has reached his conclusions not only independently, but apparently by a more thorough and careful study of the documents. Dr. McGiffert has done me the honor of laying a paper of mine — the five and a half pages that I contributed to Dr. Schaff's volume — at the base of his discussion. And in the main criticism which he passes upon my paper I have nothing to do but frankly to allow that he is right and I was wrong. As I have already explained, I erroneously pointed to the Latin version and its close congener, Barnabas, as representing the text of the Didache as it was originally given to the world; it is with perfect right that Dr. McGiffert opposes to this his own contention that the first chapters of the Bryennios Didache are, when certain omissions have been made, though not, indeed, an exact, yet the best as yet known representative of the original text. Dr. McGiffert begins by proving that Barnabas is not his own original, and next shows that the Bryennios MS. cannot be, as it stands, the original of Barnabas's quotations, and thus reaches the conclusion that a common original source underlies the common matter of the various witnessing documents. He next argues that the place where this original source was composed is Egypt, and that the date of its composition must be pushed well back into the last quarter of the first century. Its contents he confines to chapters i.-v. of the Didache, with the further omissions of i. 3-ii. 1 and iii. 1-6. He follows this determination of the nature of the original "Two Ways" with a very interesting sketch of the history of the transmission of the treatise, as "first used in a very loose and illogical way by Barnabas," next translated into Latin, not without suffering admixture from Barnabas, then, after having been augmented by iii. 1-6 (though whether this took place before or after the Latin translation was made is left undecided), quoted by Clement and worked up by the Canons, and then, again, after being transmitted to Syria (which took place as early as A. D. 110), receiving the final addition of i. 3-ii. 1 and getting united to a series of ordinances concerning church matters, and thus becoming our complete Didache. Evidently, there is an element of fact and an element of interpretation of the facts in this historical sketch; and if we sift out the facts of transmission as read by Dr. McGiffert from the interpretation he has put upon them, we may obtain his theory of the attestation of the "Two Ways." This may be graphically represented as follows: —



With the main outlines of Dr. McGiffert's theory I have already expressed my hearty agreement. The details in which I find it impossible to fully agree with him are made visible in the above-given table, and may now claim our consideration.

First, I find it impossible to believe with him that the Latin has borrowed from Barnabas, rather than that their similarity has arisen from common inheritance. It is to be observed that the alternative is not that the Latin either followed Barnabas or preceded him; I have not intended to put the Latin itself, but only the type of text represented by it, before Barnabas. A careful reëxamination of the relations of the two documents only serves to confirm me in the opinion that the Latin is taken from a peculiar text which also underlies Barnabas. I have elsewhere pointed out the likelihood that Barnabas drew his disorganized account of the angels that preside over the two ways from the source represented by the Latin, rather than that the Latin borrowed from him, and I must continue to hold to this opinion despite Dr. McGiffert's explanation of how Barnabas was led to insert the clause. For, after all, this explanation does not account for the matter; it is not so much the origin of the clause, or what induced either writer to put or retain it in his text, that we are investigating (satisfactory account of this might be given whichever was supposed to have originated it) as the relation between the two documents. And this relation is very much complicated by the fact that the same clause occurs in *Hermas* (*Mandate vi. 2*), and that in a form much closer to the form found in the Latin than to that given by Barnabas. After arguing that Barnabas was here the original of the Latin, Dr. McGiffert adds somewhat strangely: "Whether the conception originated with him or with *Hermas* matters not." There is some truth in this, but it seems fatal to the general contention. It is equally difficult to believe that *Hermas* originated it, Barnabas disorganized it, and then the Latin reorganized it (accidentally?) back to *Hermas*'s form from Barnabas; or that Barnabas originated it and both the Latin and *Hermas* reduced it independently to order in such similar ways. Yet *ex hypothesi* we are confined to these two views: and the two other views that would otherwise be possible, namely, that *Hermas* originated it and both Barnabas and the Latin drew independently from him, or Barnabas originated it and the Latin drew from him and *Hermas* from the Latin (or *vice versa*), sin equally with the others against the law of parsimony. Above all, none of these views are as natural, considering the manner of Barnabas and the apparent hints in the matter itself, as the simplest of all views, namely, that the type of the "Two Ways" which underlies the Latin and Barnabas had this clause, and both have inherited it, — the Latin in the form that lay before it, and Barnabas in as wildly disjointed a form as the rest of his inheritance from the same source has taken. The fact that the Latin does not insert it at the point where Barnabas has it is a strong further evidence that it did not get it from Barnabas.

Dr. McGiffert relies for his view, however, chiefly on the "significant phrases," "life and death," "light and darkness." "Had the original," he asks, "contained both expressions, how can we explain the agreement of the other witnesses in the single phrase 'life and death,' and their absolute silence as to the 'light and darkness?'" Here the word "original" is the misleading one: "original" of what? As a polemic against the position which I had taken up with regard to the originality of the Barnabas + Latin recension, this remark is final: it is very unlikely that

this conflate reading stood in the original "Two Ways." But as an effort to determine the relations of Barnabas and the Latin to each other it is inoperative. For although it cannot be contended that the original *Didache* contained both expressions, yet it may be that they stood side by side in the original of Barnabas and the Latin, which form a closely related sub-recension. In this view of the case, Dr. McGiffert's question has no bearing on the matter, which depends for its decision solely on the probabilities that arise from the internal phenomena. Now put side by side the two sentences, —

Viae duae sunt in seculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum ;
 'Οδοι δύο εἰσι διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἡ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους, —

and ask as a mere matter of probability which is relatively the more nearly original text. Does the Latin look as if it came from Barnabas, or Barnabas as if it came from a Greek represented by the Latin? There is no question, of course, that the Latin gives a conflate reading; the question is, Did it make it by conflating *Didache* + Barnabas, or does Barnabas draw from the already conflated reading? Let us note that the Latin is not a conflation of *Didache* + Barnabas, but of *Didache* + part of Barnabas. Further, that the duplex phrase in Barnabas, preserving in some sort the rhythm of the conflated reading, looks as if Barnabas had the double reading before him. Further, that this is borne out by the fact, drawn from Barnabas xx. 1, that Barnabas knew also the other reading. The penchant which Barnabas elsewhere shows for the phrase "light and darkness" does not prove that it was original with him, but only that he loved it, which does not seem inconsistent with its having been borrowed by him, even if it came to him out of the *Didache*. On the whole, is it not rather more likely than not that both Barnabas and the Latin had a conflated Greek text before them — especially when it is otherwise certain that both had a Greek *Didache* before them which has furnished most of their common matter?

It will not be possible to go thus in detail over the whole of the matter in which these two documents coincide. And it is not necessary. A few general propositions may be asserted, which seem sufficient to determine the coordination of the two. The Latin contains too few of Barnabas's supplements to be easily held to have drawn supplements from him; out of all his multitude it has only "light and shade" and the angel-clause. Barnabas does not furnish all the supplements which the Latin takes, for example, "in seculo" and "aeternum." Barnabas's very disturbed order is never followed by the Latin; it does not place even the angel-clause in the same position, and this alone is enough to throw grave doubts on the theory that it borrowed this clause from Barnabas. Where the Latin is disordered (as in ii. 2 *sq.*) it is not from Barnabas that it gets its disorder. In the face of such strong facts as these I submit that it would require very direct evidence indeed to make us believe that the Latin borrows from Barnabas; and on account of them I feel constrained to continue to believe that these witnesses are independent descendants of one common original recension, which, old as it is, was already corrupt.

Next, I am forced to remain unconvinced when Dr. McGiffert denies the close affiliation of the Canons with Barnabas and the Latin (page 437). As against Bratke, who follows Holtzmann in asserting that the Canons do not depend directly on Barnabas, I agree with Dr. McGiffert in believing that their author was evidently acquainted with Barnabas and

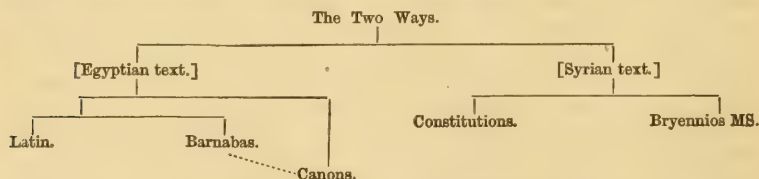
occasionally inserts clauses taken from him. This does not, however, destroy the evidence of the close affiliation of the texts that underlie the two; both because I hold thus far with Holtzmann, namely, that we cannot explain all of the agreements as borrowings, and because they have common omissions as well as insertions. Dr. McGiffert is excusable in suspecting that my opinion was "the result of a too superficial generalization," seeing that he wrote without knowledge of the paper (in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," January, 1886, pages 102 *sq.*, especially pages 107 *sq.*, notes) in which I gave a sample of my reasons for it. But if I am in error I cannot claim indulgence on this ground. It is as the result of exhaustive collations most minutely compared that I have reached and yet hold to this classification. I shall not repeat those reasons here, but shall content myself with referring the interested reader to them as stated in the paper which I have already named. Certainly, the reasons brought by Dr. McGiffert in rebuttal will not stand much pressure: "The Canons," says he, "follow very closely the substance and arrangement of the augmented source over against Barnabas." And again: "The Canons stand against Barnabas and with the Didache and the Constitutions in two very important particulars: the general arrangement of the matter, and the insertion of the section Didache iii. 1-6." It must be by a slip of the pen that the arrangement of the matter is thus reiteratedly dwelt upon in this connection. Dr. McGiffert has very explicitly recognized that the arrangement in Barnabas is due to him, not his source; and we are now discussing the affiliations of the Canons not with Barnabas himself, but with the source which Barnabas used. "Barnabas," he tells us at page 431, "is a confused and disordered mass," "a confused and sporadic copy," and he very justly says on page 434-35:—

"The document, originating in Egypt in the latter part of the first century, was first used in a very loose and illogical way by Barnabas, who quoted probably in great part from memory, or, as suggested by Zahn, changed the order intentionally with the design of appearing independent, and thus produced an arrangement totally different from that of the original."

What bearing, then, can the arrangement or substance of this sporadic and disarranged copy have on the question now in hand? Nor is the second point of more weight. Suppose we admit that because Barnabas does not quote iii. 1-6 therefore it was not in his copy. Still, the Canons would class with him over against the Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions; as the presence of i. 3-ii. 1, for instance, in the latter pair advertises to even the reader who runs. The formula which we present is not Barnabas + the Latin + the Canons; but (Barnabas + Latin) + the Canons; and a document does not have to agree *verbatim* with all the members of its class. The absence of iii. 1-6 from the source of Barnabas might raise a presumption that it was absent from the source of the Latin too, perhaps, but none at all that it was absent from the source of the Canons, on my arrangement of the class affiliations. Indeed I may go further; although Dr. McGiffert formally opposes my arrangement, his own is practically the same with mine. On page 442 he tells us that the Egyptian form of the Didache is witnessed in one form by Barnabas and the Latin, and in another by the Canons, Clement, and Athanasius; while the Syrian form is witnessed by the Bryennios MS. and (as we learn from page 437) with less completeness by the Constitutions. This is just my contention; and although I have drawn out the scheme of Dr. McGiffert's theory differently above, it may just as well be put in a

form which would place the Canons in a great group including it and the sub-group Barnabas-Latin and opposing the Syrian group, which separates itself from this whole group in this: that it excludes i. 3-ii. 1, and vi. The effect of this new arrangement would be, however, to make it plain to the eye that iii. 1-6 was part of the original text. For whether we adopted Dr. McGiffert's theory about the relation of the Latin to Barnabas or my own, by this slight and purely formal change in the manner of presenting the facts of transmission it would be seen at a glance that iii. 1-6 are supported by a cross-attestation which could not exist unless these verses were in the original "Two Ways." The fact of the matter is that iii. 1-6 fail to be witnessed to by one document only, namely, Barnabas, who has borrowed "sporadically;" and when Dr. McGiffert infers that because absent from Barnabas they were therefore not in the original "Two Ways," he has simply fallen himself into the snare into which I fell at first, and into which Dr. Bratke has fallen, — he has mistaken the oldest attestation for the oldest text. However, as a matter of fact, the documents be arranged, it is impossible to accept the testimony of Barnabas against the combined evidence of all other witnesses, especially when no internal considerations come to Barnabas's aid. The case is very different with i. 3-ii. 1, which is lacking in all the Egyptian group (Latin, Barnabas, the Canons), and which is so cried out upon by internal evidence that it almost might be excluded on the credit of it alone.

It is not my purpose just here, however, to argue the originality of the section iii. 1-6. That I hope to take up a little later. Here it is enough to show that the presence of iii. 1-6 in the Canons is no disproof of the justice of the arrangement which puts the Canons in the great Egyptian group which includes with it the strongly marked but no less plainly closely affiliated sub-group Barnabas-Latin. If the two contentions thus far made (namely, that the Latin does not borrow from Barnabas but their affiliations are to be accounted for as common inheritances, and that the Canons are closely related to them as a somewhat intermediate text between them and Bryennios-Constitutions but more nearly related to them than to the latter) be deemed to be made good, we shall have to introduce some slight changes into the graphic form of Dr. McGiffert's theory of transmission, and it will stand now thus: —



And this is the form which I have elsewhere arrived at as the true form, after a careful study of the detailed relations of the various documents, as any one may see by consulting the "Bibliotheca Sacra," January, 1886, pages 102-110.

On attaining such a conclusion it is evident that we have an engine of text-criticism in our hands which will enable us to come to very definite conclusions on points which might otherwise have troubled us considerably. We are, therefore, prepared now to discuss Dr. McGiffert's theory as to the scope of the original "Two Ways." That it did not contain i. 3

ἐὺλογεῖτε—ii. 1 (Dr. Bratke less accurately says i. 3–6; the first clause of i. 3 is always included, and the heading ii. 1 always omitted, in members of the Egyptian group), I shall take for granted with Dr. McGiffert, and I have, on more than one occasion, endeavored to prove. But Dr. McGiffert has taken up two positions with some confidence which it may be well for us carefully to consider before we accede to them. These are, that the original “Two Ways” lacked also iii. 1–6 and vi. of our present Didache, and that it circulated for some time apart from the remainder of our present treatise as an independent catechism. In the former matter he stands alone; in the latter he has the valuable support of Dr. Bratke as well as some earlier writers.

Before we attempt the necessary testing of these positions, however, it will be well for us to broaden our basis of witness. For, not only have we the testimony of Barnabas, the Latin version, the Canons, and the Constitutions, and of those ecclesiastical writers who have chanced to quote a clause or two from the “Teaching,” like Clement, Origen, Lactantius, or Hermas, to reckon with, but we have a considerable body of rather abundant quotation which may bear important witness for us. 1. The earliest writing to furnish such is the Pseudo-Phocylides, the parallels of which, with our “Teaching,” have been very fully drawn out by Mr. J. Rendel Harris (“The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books.” Cambridge, 1885). I have gone carefully over the parallels, and feel prepared to express, as an independent but consentient opinion, that it cannot easily be doubted that the author has versified many sentences from our “Two Ways,” from i. 1 to vi. 3 inclusive; and that there appears fair reason to suspect that he had before him what I have called the Egyptian text. Mr. Harris has adduced parallels from him with i. 3–ii. 1, indeed, but I am not able to allow them. Lines 29 and 30, —

πλοῦτον ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεζον
ὦν τοι ἔδωκε θεός, τούτων χρήζουσι παράσχου, —

which Mr. Harris assigns to Did. i. 5, seem sufficiently satisfied by iv. 5, 6, while lines 23 and 24, —

πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ δίδου μὴτ' αὐριον ἐλθέμεν εἴπης
πληρώσας σέο χεῖρ' ἔλεον χρήζοντι παράσχου, —

rest markedly *not* on i. 6, but on iv. 6, 7. 2. Another important trace of the Egyptian Didache has come to light in parallel passages found in two tracts of the Pseudo-Athanasius, — the “*Syntagma Doctrinae*” and “The Faith of the 318 Holy Nicene Fathers” (cf. Migne xxviii., col. 837 *sq.*, and 1639 *sq.*).¹ These two documents both draw from the same source, and not from one another, as appears from each preserving passages which do not occur in the other. For instance, the “*Syntagma Doctrinae*” alone has Did. iii. 4, and “The Faith of the Nicene Fathers” has Did. ii. 4–iii. 6 and vi. 1 the more fully represented. Yet they not only present substantially the same matter, and in the same form, but unite in the same otherwise unknown additions, as, for example, from Acts xv. 29. It is plain that the source from which they directly draw is neither the Didache itself nor any reworking of it hitherto known; we seem, therefore, to be put into possession by them of a fragment from a reworking not known before, or from a considerable quota-

¹ Professor Harris draws attention to the parallel in *Syntagma Doctrinae*. I am indebted to Professor Orris for knowledge of that in *The Faith of the Nicene Fathers* (*The Independent* for April 15, 1886).

tion from the Didache not heretofore known. That the source of these documents itself drew immediately from the Didache, and not from any of its known reworkings, is clear from the preservation by them of clauses not found in any known reworkings, for example, *διὰ παντός* in Did. iii. 8, and the very characteristic phraseology of vi. 1. The type of text is so pointedly Egyptian that we can with confidence place it by the side of the Canons as preserving traces of a text nearer to that used by the Canons than any other known source. Not only does it, for example, omit i. 3-ii. 1, but it gives the sins (in "*Syntagma Doctrinae*") of lust, in ii. 2 *init.* in the exact order in which they are found in the Canons, and nowhere else. 3. Next we have the second book of the Sibyllines, which not only drew freely from the Pseudo-Phocylides, but also knew the Didache for itself, and took additional matter from it, — among other places apparently from i. 3-ii. 6 (line 78, see Harris, page 7). It thus appears as a witness to the Syrian text. The clearness with which these new sources of information are found to range themselves within the lines of the two recensions pointed out already, and to take their places either as Egyptian or Syrian, is a strong evidence of the correctness of that distribution of the documentary transmission. The evidence of these new sources must be taken account of in our determination of the scope of the original Didache.

Let us look in the face first, then, the question whether iii. 1-6 was a part of the original document. And here we have only to give in detail the evidence which we have already hinted at in the mass. After the external and internal evidences there is no other. But the external evidence briefly stated in a negative form is simply that every witness of the "Two Ways" extant in this portion of the document testifies to iii. 1-6, with the single exception of Barnabas. Drawn out positively in detail, this is to say not only that all the witnesses of the Syrian type (Bryennios MS., Constitutions, second Sibyl) witness to it, but also equally those of the Egyptian type. The author of the Pseudo-Phocylides versified this section (lines 57, 63, 76, 78 — see Harris, "*The Teaching and the Sibyllines*," page 11). The Pseudo-Athanasian fragment has it, as is sufficiently evident from the "*Syntagma Doctrinae*" (see Harris, *l. c.*, page 16, note, where, however, the reference is only partially given), and overwhelmingly proved from "*The Faith of the Nicene Fathers*," which preserves many of the items brought together only in iii. 1-6. The Canons, it is needless to say, witness to these verses in full. It is precisely one of these verses which Clement of Alexandria quotes as Scripture (Strom. i. 20, 100). Are there, then, internal considerations adverse to these verses which will avail to silence this array of external evidence? Dr. McGiffert does not offer any. And, indeed, the internal evidence is all the other way. These verses are, in type of vocabulary and style, of a piece with the rest of the treatise; they contain matter that ranges with that in the rest of the treatise; they fall readily in with the scheme of thought and plan of the treatise; they are quite at one with the rather peculiar arrangement of the moral precepts in the parallel passages ii. 2 *sq.* and v.; nay, they actually furnish the key to the arrangement in these parallel passages (cf. "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," January, 1886, pages 133 and 145). Dr. McGiffert's sole plea for their omission is (page 434): "Barnabas omits them, which can be explained, as shown already, only by their omission in the source from which he drew." It is obviously impossible for us to omit them on such a ground;

and we can only say that Dr. McGiffert's omission of them can be explained, as shown already, only by his lapse for a moment into a mistaking of the oldest attestation for the original text. This, even if we are as sure as Dr. McGiffert is that Barnabas "would certainly have used these verses had he known them" (page 432). For my part, I do not see anything in Barnabas like them in style or matter, and so cannot feel with Dr. McGiffert that "the conclusion seems inevitable that they were unknown to him." On the contrary, the balanced and carefully preserved parallels of these verses would seem very strange to me amid the confused and turgid periods of Barnabas, and especially in the very sporadic and disordered mass of his borrowings from the "Two Ways." Perhaps he has not quoted these verses, just because they were so compacted into artistic form that he could not easily take them up by bits. This need not be insisted on, however; the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment did disorganize them and borrow from them in disjointed detail, and Barnabas could have done so too. And the failure in him of all trace of them may be due to the fact that he did not know them, so that we may have here another proof (along with the angel-clause, the conflate reading in i. 1, and certain of the peculiarities common to him and the Canons) that the "Two Ways" of Barnabas was already a corrupt text. This early corruption would furnish a parallel to the very early widespread circulation of the corrupt Western text of the New Testament itself.

The case is somewhat similar with regard to chapter vi. The internal evidence here is less decisive, but I believe sufficient. But the external evidence is certainly all that can be desired. We lack no single witness to the sixth chapter, who could be justly expected to testify to it. Barnabas seems to hint at vi. 2 in xix. 8: "As much as thou art able, thou shalt make purification for thy soul;" and at xxi. 1 — at just the appropriate place — he appears to have vi. 1 in mind, although he gives its essence positively instead of retaining its negative form. The Pseudo-Phocylides appears to hint at vi. 3, in line [32] (cf. Harris, page 13), and the second Sibyl follows him in this; though no doubt the parallel would not bear any weight if we lacked other evidence that these writings rested on the Didache. The Pseudo-Athanasian fragment, on the other hand, not only gives us in the "Syntagma Doctrinae" a reference to vi. 1, but in "The Faith of the Nicene Fathers" quotes this whole very characteristic verse. The Canons in the ordinary text fail as a witness at Did. iv. 8, and even in Codex Ottob. at iv. 14, and, therefore, give us no witness one way or the other; the close affiliation with the text underlying the Canons of the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment, however, renders it somewhat probable that they also knew vi. The Bryennios MS. and the Constitutions, of course, also contain the chapter. The only internal objections which can be brought against this chapter must turn on the objective look of vi. 1 and the heading of vi. 3 (cf. vii. 1 sq.). Perhaps "this way of teaching" is not the true reading in vi. 1; the Constitutions read τῆς εὐσεβείας here, and the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment, "this faith." And Harnack's representations concerning vi. 3 (page 40) appear sufficient. Certainly he who denies that vi. was part of the original "Two Ways" must reckon with this evidence, at least in the way of determining whether the "Two Ways" ever circulated separately.

And this brings us to the consideration of this important and, I am free to confess, to me very puzzling question. Both Dr. Bratke and Dr.

McGiffert, while differing as to the extent of the "Two Ways," seem to find no difficulty in supposing that it circulated separately until it was redacted into connection with a "Church Order" in Syria; and they base this opinion on very similar grounds. The contention is an attractive one, and has much to recommend it. The "Two Ways" constitutes literarily a complete whole, and this is recognized by the Didachographer himself (vii. 1). Athanasius when he speaks of it as a suitable book for catechumens must have had reference only to the moral parts. Nicephorus assigns to the book a compass considerably less than our Didache. Eusebius, Anastasius, Nicephorus Callistus, Pseudo-Cyprian may speak of a plurality of "Teachings." And the ethical portions reappear in re-workings like Barnabas and the Canons apart from those that treat of church order. But there is far more of a problem here than Drs. Bratke and McGiffert appear to have recognized. If the Didachographer represents i.-vi. as a complete whole in vii. 1, this may well be, because he has made it such; and certainly his whole treatise is well and freely ordered, as by one who was master over his material. Athanasius may well have recommended a treatise to catechumens, only a part of which was adapted to their purposes, especially if he considered this part peculiarly well suited for them. The plurals of Eusebius and others are susceptible of other explanations. The stichoi of Nicephorus are an edged tool which no one yet knows how to handle with safety to himself. Bryennios first caught at it, but cut his fingers badly. If Nicephorus, he argued, says that the Didache contains 200 stichoi, he *must* have meant my document, for behold! it occupies just 203 lines in the manuscript. But Nicephorus was not measuring his lines by Leon's codex! And that the lines of the two were not the same was easily demonstrable from the fact that Nicephorus assigns 2,600 stichoi to the two Epistles of Clement, which in Leon's codex occupy only 1,120. By parity of reasoning, Nicephorus's Didache should occupy but 86+ of Leon's lines; and Leon's Didache is more than twice as long as this. Gordon next took up the matter ("Modern Review," July, 1884, page 455), and has led others to adopt the conclusion that Nicephorus had before him a Didache of this relative length. And if we assume that Nicephorus's figures for Clement and the Didache have both been accurately transmitted to us, it must be admitted that we may very accurately calculate the length of his stichos on the one hand, and of his Didache on the other. Our Didache would be 455 of his stichoi; and his Didache would be 139-140 lines of Hitchcock and Brown's edition, which brings us just to the end of the "Two Ways" = chapters i.-vi. In this case it would be little less than demonstrated that Nicephorus's Didache was our chapters i.-vi., and this is where Dr. McGiffert takes his stand. But what kind of stichos is this that Nicephorus is measuring with? Here Professor J. Rendel Harris comes into the discussion ("Journal of Christian Philosophy," April, 1884, page 368), and takes his starting point from the standard hexametric stichos. He finds that our Didache contains 292 of these stichoi, which means that chapters i.-vi. would contain about 124 of them, and this is as much too short for Nicephorus's 200 as the whole Didache is too long. The matter is but little bettered if we assume that he used the alternative pentametric (12-syllable) stichos; in this case chapters i.-vi. would give 165+ and the whole treatise 389+, both unmanageable numbers. Thus, on no known method of calculation does Nicephorus's measurement fit either the "Two Ways" or the Didache;

and on the assumption, natural in itself, and apparently made good in general for Nicephorus (see Harris, "American Journal of Philology," iv. 3, page 330), that he used the hexameter standard, we can only say that our present Didache (292 stichoi) is too large by a third for Nicephorus. Here Dr. Bratke sees his opportunity; and he does not fail to plead that Nicephorus supports his view that the original Didache consisted of chapters i.-vi. and certain moral and eschatological portions of vii.-xvi. In such a state of the case who will decide what the testimony of Nicephorus really is? "The whole subject," says Professor Harris, with great justice, "is cloudy; and, in reality, no one knows what was the exact verse measure used by Nicephorus." It seems clear only that he gives round numbers rather than accurate measurements, and that his text has not been over-well preserved. If he said 2,600 for the stichoi of the Clementine Epistles he was certainly not counting on a hexametric basis, for these Epistles, occupying 1,120 lines in Leon's MS., ought to contain approximately 1,611 stichoi. As a matter of fact, 600 stands in the Bryennios MS. after 2 Clement (which itself, as occupying 267 lines, ought to contain about 384 stichoi), and Bryennios corrects it to 2,600, to accord with Nicephorus. Perhaps it ought to be rather corrected into 1,600; which accords with the estimated 1,611 very closely. The matter, then, stands thus: If Nicephorus counted by hexameters, the two Clementine letters should have 1,600 stichoi, and his text may be corrected to this; in that case Dr. McGiffert's support fails, for Nicephorus's Didache would have occupied 140 lines in Leon's Codex, and about 229 in Hitchcock and Brown's edition, — and this favors rather Dr. Bratke. If, on the other hand, Nicephorus's figures are to be trusted as transmitted to us, he counts by a method hitherto wholly unknown, but the length of his Didache would be as nearly as possible equal to our chapters i.-vi. Must not the question rest *sub judice*?

The strongest ground for withholding judgment as to the originally separate circulation of chapters i.-vi. is, however, yet, to be named. Wherever chapters i.-vi. are known, something from the latter part of the Didache seems to be known also. It is in recognition of this that Dr. Bratke walks charily, and wishes to include in the "Two Ways" certain parts of vii.-xvi. Dr. McGiffert, on the other hand, stoutly denies the fact. "Barnabas and the Canons," he says uncompromisingly, "who use these chapters (that is, i.-vi.) freely show no knowledge of the remaining chapters" (page 432), and on page 440 he argues at length that Barnabas iv. does not betray dependence on Did. xvi. In this, however, he seems to me to be certainly mistaken. As he does not consider directly the very clear dependence of the Canons, chapter 12, on Did. x. 3, it may be enough to simply point it out here with a reference to Harnack, page 211, notes 34, 35. With regard to the parallel with Barnabas, I cannot understand how Dr. McGiffert has spoken in the exact way he has: "The parallel narrows itself down to a single sentence," — "we cannot fail to receive an impression that neither drew directly from the other," — "no one has yet been able to find any good reason in the passage itself for holding the originality of one in preference to the other." The parallel does not seem to me to narrow itself down to a single sentence. The whole of chapter iv. of Barnabas appears rather to be affected by chapter xvi. of the Didache; this culminates in § 9 = Did. xvi. 2, 3, but that is all. Indeed, if I could venture to find serious fault with Dr. McGiffert's method at any point, it would be in his tendency to deal with the phenomena of

literary dependence in a hard and dry way, which proceeds by cutting up the depending passage into pieces, and dealing with it clause by clause.¹ A literary reminiscence, on the contrary, acts by *staining* the work it falls on, — it runs into its fibre like a drop of fruit-juice on a cloth; and the *corona* is as important a part of it as the central body. Dr. McGiffert's method would succeed in explaining away any literary allusion as distinguished from express quotation; and, above all, fails to catch the force of the cumulative probability which arises from the many minute points of contact. To deny on his grounds the existence of quotations would be the same as to insist that a series of gentle pushes by which a man was sent over a precipice does not constitute sufficient ground to charge guilt, and to demand that the deed be done by one great blow, or else not be accounted murder. In the present case this cumulative argument is very satisfactory: As the sixteenth chapter of the Didache opens concisely with a call to watchfulness, because we know not the hour in which our Lord comes, so Barnabas opens his fourth chapter (1-8) diffusely, by demanding diligence in seeking knowledge and watchfulness over our souls, because the final offense is at hand; and the exaggeration by which he transmutes the motive into an assertion that the last day is actually upon us is characteristic of him, and reappears in other parts of the chapter. Then he declares that he is not writing as a διδάσκαλος (wherein there is possibly a hint of the source he is drawing from), but only in a manner that beseemeth one that *loveth*, and adds at once, in the words of the Didache: "Wherefore let us take heed *in the last days* (Did. xvi. 3); *for the whole time of your [or our] faith [or life, or both] will profit you [or us] nothing unless* (Did. xvi. 2) *now,*" (note the renewed exaggeration as to the time of the advent) "*in the lawless time* (cf. Did. xvi. 4 ἀνομίας), we resist as becomes sons of God, that the Black one gain no loophole or entrance. 10. Let us flee from all vainness; let us hate perfectly the *works of the evil way*" [τῆς πονηρίας ὁδοῦ]. Thus the quotation includes adumbrations from Did. xvi. 3 and 4, as well as the striking sentence from 2; and opens with an apparent hint that he was conscious of a διδαχή beneath him, and closes with a reference to the "evil way!" As if this were not enough, Barnabas goes on

¹ This is illustrated by Dr. McGiffert's treatment of the quotations from Matthew found in c. i.-v. (excluding i. 3-ii. 1). Each is treated by itself, and clause by clause. Did. iii. 7 = Matt. v. 5, for example, is assigned to Ps. xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 11 in total neglect of the first clause, which is essential to a right estimate. The view stated to be "far more probable" than even this proceeds by counting an omission of a piece of a verse by Barnabas (note that it is the piece *not in the Psalm* only that Barnabas retains) as fatal to its genuineness, although of iii. 8a Barnabas retains only the one word ἡσυχίος! Did. i. 23 = Matt. xxii. 37-39 is assigned to the O. T. and Christian commonplace; but again, the *main point* is the collocation of the two clauses, which is not an O. T. matter. One disposed to cavil might ask why something is not made here too of the omission of the second clause by Barnabas. On Did. i. 2b = Matt. vii. 12 I may be permitted to refer to *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1886, page 142; and on the whole matter, to page 139 sq. Dr. McGiffert does not seem to feel that, as each of his explanations is in the highest degree doubtful, it is very improbable that all three can be true, and each explaining away is an argument against the whole contention. He does not notice Did. ii. 3 = Matt. v. 33 (*Bibl. Sacra*, page 144), or Did. vi. 2 = Matt. xi. 29 (which, indeed, is outside his limits). It may be added that whether Did. i.-v. quote or do not quote Matthew has absolutely no bearing on the point in hand. The earliest known Egyptian Christian writing quotes Matthew, and that as Scripture.

at once to refer to Did. xvi. 2a: "Go ye not privily one with another," we read, . . . "but coming together to the same place, seek ye together concerning that which profiteth the whole." Then he warns against the coming judgment and the approaching authority of the evil prince (cf. Did. xvi. 4), and ends with a reference to signs and wonders (cf. Did. xvi. 4), and a hint that "many may be called but few chosen" (cf. Did. xvi. 7). Unless we are prepared to affirm that there is no form of literary allusion but a verbal one, I cannot see but that we must say that Barnabas iv. is saturated with cloudy reminiscences of Did. xvi.; certainly I cannot say that "the two go their way apparently perfectly unconscious of and entirely uninfluenced by the course of the other." Had Dr. McGiffert had Sabatier's note (page 65) in mind he could not have added the last sentence which I have cited from him above. For though Sabatier is far from urging all that might be said, he does state enough to make it perfectly evident that there is literary dependence here, and that Barnabas is the borrower. It is not here exactly in point, but I cannot forbear to add that Barnabas elsewhere apparently betrays dependence on the Didache. In x. 11 he seems to have Did. iii. 9, iv. 1-2 very sharply in mind; in i. 4 he seems dependent on i. 1, ii. 7; in iv. 2 he appears to hint at iii. 1; and if these be allowed, in the light of them we may see in v. 4 a reminiscence of i. 1, and perhaps understand what he means by his anxiety to disclaim originality on the one hand (i. 5), and to deny that he speaks as a "teacher" (for example, i. 8) on the other. Acquaintance with and use of the Didache becomes thus another mark of the genuineness of xviii.-xxi. rather than the contrary.

It is not only Barnabas and the Canons, however, that come under discussion here. The other early witnesses to chapters i.-vi. also seem to know somewhat of chapters vii.-xvi. Thus the Pseudo-Phocylides, in which, I think, I can trace (with Mr. Harris's help) i. 1; ii. 2, 3, 5, 6; iii. 1, 2; iv. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; vi. 3, seems also (line 154 sq.) to know Did. xii. 3. "For every idle man (ἀεργός)," we read, "liveth from thievish hands. A craft (τέχνη), truly, nourisheth men, but hunger oppresseth the idle one. But if any one has not learned a trade, let him dig with a hoe." No doubt there is nothing like demonstration of use here; and I can find it in my heart to doubt whether use is inferable; but I also doubt whether it be not inferable. In like manner the Pseudo-Athanasian fragment appears to know not only Did. i. 2; ii. 2, 4, 6; iii. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8; vi. 1, but also viii. 1, and xiii. So Clement of Alexandria, who quotes i. 5, ii. 2, iii. 5, quotes also ix. 2 (in "De Servando," c. 29); and Origen, who may quote iii. 10 (at "De Principiis," iii. 2, 7; cf., however, Barnabas xix. 8 end) quotes also ix. 2 ("Hom. 6 in Jud.," Migne xii., col. 975). To these ought possibly to be added that part of the third book of the Sibyllines (1-96), which Alexandre assigns to the middle of the third century (Ewald to the opening of fourth century), which seems to know Did. ii. 4 (= lines 37-40, Harris, page 9) and xvi. (= lines 86-87, Harris, page 17) alike. The Pseudo-Athanasian tract, "De Virginitate" (Harris's "The Teaching and the Sibyllines," page 28-29) is more doubtful, inasmuch as although it seems certain that it depends on the prayers of Did. ix. 3, 4, yet the reference in col. 273 to the two ways can only with the greatest insecurity be referred to our treatise. For my own part, I should add Hermas, who seems to me dependent (not verbally, but in matter) on Did. xi. at his Mandate, xi.; but Dr. McGiffert disputes the fact

(page 435), and I have no wish to press the matter.¹ Certainly enough has been said to justify the remark that there is an appearance of knowledge of the latter part of our *Didache* wherever the first part is certainly known.

Two or three of the witnesses which I have summoned (Clement, Origen, "De Virginitate" of Pseudo-Athanasius) are liable to the objection that they quote, in the latter half of the *Didache*, only from the prayers, — which may not be of the *Didache*, although in it. Others of them are liable to the doubt whether they may be much depended on as quotations at all (Pseudo-Phocylides, third Sibyl, Hermas). But two things must be remembered. First, this body of quotations does not stand alone; they come in the train of the practically certain quotations of Barnabas and the Canons, and of the significant fact that the *Didache*, as we know it (Bryennios MS. and Constitutions), actually possesses a second part from which these seeming allusions may be explained. And, secondly, it is a sad thing for any theory to be under the necessity of explaining away many appearances. Every appearance that needs explaining is an argument against a theory; and the effect of each is cumulative to all the rest, — so that the presence of many adverse appearances, each of which may be pretty fairly set aside separately, may, in conjunction, raise a strong presumption against a theory. A third thing may be added: the presence of these "appearances" prevents us from finding a single indisputable positive argument in favor of the separate circulation of the "Two Ways." We can only adopt it as a not unlikely hypothesis which we may hope to show is not necessarily inconsistent with the facts as known. This is not a strong foundation.

It is not to be inferred that I am controverting this hypothesis. I am only concerned to show that it is an hypothesis, and that a serious problem faces it, which must not be pushed aside, but really unloosed. I have thus far tried and still wish to speak of this matter as a wholly unsettled question, with much to say in its favor, with much to say against it. It is too early yet to decide it.

It is, perhaps, unavoidable that writing in the interests of what is yet differently understood between us, and in the hope of bringing this into narrower limits, I should seem to be mainly interested in controverting Dr. McGiffert's very valuable paper. I should be sorry to have it so appear. I agree with him far more than I disagree with him; it is in the essence of the matter that we see eye to eye, and only in certain

¹ Dr. McGiffert discusses the very vexed question of the relation of Hermas to the *Didache* at some length. He is not always able to come to a decided conclusion, but seems to prefer the opinions, that Hermas borrows from v. 1 of the *Two Ways*; and i. 2 (angel-clause) from the Latin or Barnabas (surely not, however, from Barnabas, seeing that elsewhere Dr. McGiffert believes the Latin got it from Barnabas; for thus both the Latin and Hermas would be made independently to make the same sense out of Barnabas's confusion); then, the Syrian *Didache* borrowed i. 5 from Hermas. Thus Hermas is the daughter of the *Two Ways* in v. 1, granddaughter in i. 2 (through Latin), great-granddaughter (through Latin and Barnabas) in i. 2, and wife of it in the matter of begetting i. 5-6. Earthly relationships are usually not so complicated. But, if we allow that the Latin and Barnabas both witness to a form of the *Didache* which contained the angel-clause, it is very simple to look upon Hermas as borrowing directly from the *Two Ways* in i. 2 and v. 1, and either borrowing from or lending to the Syrian interpolation at i. 5. The simplicity of this result is one proof of the truth of its assumptions.

details that we have not yet come to be in accord. Let me emphasize this as I close. We are at one in seeing that the Didache has behind it a very important textual history; in finding its birthplace in Egypt; in assigning the Latin version and Barnabas and the Canons to this Egyptian form; in perceiving that it was perfected to its present form in Syria; in seeing that the chief distinction between the Egyptian and Syrian forms resides in the absence or presence of i. 3 εὐλογεῖτε—ii. 1; and in recognizing that the text of our present Didache, after the omissions that are necessary have been made, gives us, in its earlier chapters, a substantially accurate representation of the original "Two Ways." That is to say, we are at one in all that is of the real substance of the theory. That Dr. Bratke, Dr. McGiffert, and I were all three simultaneously contending for this exact theory is not fully accounted for by our common dependence on the hints of Krawutzcky, Gordon, Hilgenfeld, and Holtzmann, — who are in this matter the fathers of us all. I submit that this threefold, independent broaching of essentially the same conclusions is a *primâ facie* evidence of their truth.

Benjamin B. Warfield.

ALLEGHENY, PA.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

SOME of our readers will remember that, after giving such information as we could then get, a call was made in this "Review"¹ for a better statistical investigation of the religious conditions of our country, especially in rural districts. A beginning has been made. Though on a comparatively small scale, it possesses a scientific value and has a Christian significance not easily overestimated.

At the General Convention of the Congregational churches and ministers of Vermont last year, some general facts were given concerning the expenditures of the various churches of the State, and their apparent inadequacy to the work before them, notwithstanding evident wastes in the use of men and money. The suggestion was made that the entire work of the next annual convention be spent upon the subject, and that it be based upon as careful and complete a survey of the State, or a considerable portion of it, with maps, diagrams, etc., as could be made with the means at our disposal. The timidity of some permitted the convention to adjourn with the assignment of only two or three hours to the subject. But the mistake was afterwards largely corrected by the kind coöperation of all parties concerned.

The Rev. Henry Fairbanks, Ph. D., of St. Johnsbury, who had been stirred by his observation and reflections, and who spoke earnestly on the subject at the convention, promptly though privately entered upon the most difficult work of collecting the needed information, and spent weeks of labor and hundreds of dollars with the generosity characteristic of himself and his family name. As soon as the statistics had been sufficiently gathered to guide to intelligent action a conference of those most interested was held, and the meeting carefully planned. The results were

¹ *Andover Review*, January, 1885, pp. 38-41.

brought before the convention three weeks ago. A sketch of some of them and the material by which they were exhibited follows, with considerable additions from our own study.

Statistics were carefully gathered from forty-four towns in all, including Caledonia and Lamoille counties entire, fifteen towns in the adjoining counties of Washington and Orange, and two in Windsor County. This region lies east of the Green Mountains and a little north and east of the centre of the State, and contains about one sixth of the territory and nearly one fifth of the population of the State. It is fully on an average with the State for intelligence and Christian vigor. It is a hilly country as a whole, but not often mountainous. Some towns are comparatively level and some are little more than great swells of excellent land. Only one town, St. Johnsbury, has above 5,000 inhabitants. Probably over ninety per cent. of the inhabitants in these towns were born in Vermont. There are generally two or three villages, occasionally more, in each town, which is commonly six miles square. Each of the two or three villages in a town has one or more churches, except in very rare instances. One or two towns have no church. About one third of the towns fall below one thousand inhabitants. Only three have less than five hundred.

Nearly all the statistics were gathered by a young man who was trained for the purpose, and who worked along the line of a single plan under the immediate direction of Mr. Fairbanks. The canvas was made by school-districts, of which there are from a dozen to twenty-five or more in each town. All persons who attended some public worship four or five times in a year, aged and infirm people whose custom formerly had been that of regular attendance, the infant children of such and the children whose religious habits are better than those of their parents, were included among the "regular attendants" upon religious services in the churches or, in some instances at least, neighborhood meetings. Of these towns, the population whose religious status was ascertained is 53,148, or ninety per cent. of the actual population by the last census, which was 58,916. Most of the deficiency is explained by the fact that transient laborers were not included, as was done in the official census. One hundred and forty-seven churches of ten or twelve denominations, including four Roman Catholic churches reporting 4,500 adherents and fourteen Universalist churches reporting 670 families, occupy these towns, or a church to every 400 inhabitants. Of these, forty-one each belong to the Congregationalists and Methodists, nine to the Baptists, thirteen to the Free Baptists, four to the Christians, eight each to Adventists and Presbyterians of various sects, and five to the Episcopalians. The salaries of pastors and the incidental expenses amount to \$92,602, or \$1.58 per inhabitant; of which nearly one third is expended by the Congregationalists and one fourth by the Methodists. The churches in all report an average congregation of 16,039, or nearly twenty-seven per cent. of the entire population, of which the Catholics supply 3,500. But the total is probably an overestimate. The Protestant churches have a membership of 9,231, of which 350 are in Universalist churches. The Sunday-schools enroll about the same number. Of the 53,148 people whose status was defined, 25,923 are classed as church attendants according to the rule given, while 27,225 do not attend church. In the twenty-seven towns reporting on the item, 4,618 children of legal school age do not attend any Sunday-school.

Some particulars are instructive. One town of 2,910 inhabitants in

the development of this remarkable State into something like its present proportions. However important the first decade was, California without any reference to the three decades closing with the present year cannot be said to be satisfactorily presented among its sisters of the Union.

No doubt, there is reason to answer that it would be difficult to give in the compass of five hundred pages a life-like account of the full course of events to the present time. Besides, it is so much easier to state what would be more desirable in a literary work than it is to be appreciative of the task the author has set himself to execute. Taken as a monograph regarding three leading aspects of early California, Mr. Royce's book is full of interest. He has the advantage, as respects freshness of delineation, which comes of having been born and bred in the State he describes. The advantage is also his of the larger view which comes of later residence in Europe and in the Eastern States. Besides, being a philosopher by nature and special studies, he escapes the risk of a merely provincial habit of thought. While he is not of the stuff of which historians are specially made, he shows here industry in the gathering of materials and no ordinary measure of insight and judgment in the use of them. His style is full and fluent, but it is also bright and vivacious, with a tinge of humor. The humor is apt, to be sure, to be at the expense of the object under observation.

It cannot be said that the admiring spirit abounds in Mr. Royce's volume. He pays out a compliment now and then, but he has the habit of taking it back pretty thoroughly afterward. If this book is to be taken, as the title page says, for "a study of American character," the study has not yielded much to increase our national complacency. The policy of the United States government in the acquisition of this region from Mexico, the conduct of its agents, the character of those agents, the attitude of the pioneers towards the native Californians and towards foreigners, the tone of society in the mines, are exhibited in a light which would hardly justify a very boastful memory. Take the treatment of the Vigilance Committee's work. In the opinion of some of our best people the vigor with which the committee acted in restoring order is a matter of pride. But that is not the view which is made prominent by Mr. Royce. He regards those scenes as just retribution for the municipal inefficiency of the good citizens in previous years. No doubt, that is a way of looking which has truth in it. But it is not the most agreeable, certainly. Of the two methods of depicting California, the boastful and the critical, the latter is likely to be truer and more wholesome. Our author has done a good service in the endeavor to give us the hard facts. Of romancing we have had enough. Still, the true founding of a State is in the hands of the few who represent its best life. It seems to us, therefore, that more information concerning the men and women who did represent the best life of the early days, who went, many of them, on purpose to create high moral and Christian sentiment, would have been in place. It is evident that the author recognizes the value of this element in the beginnings of the State. But he does not give it its due space in his picture. If, for example, the altogether over-argued chapters about Fremont had been reduced at least one-half, in the room vacated might fitly have been placed some memorials of other laborers besides Father Taylor, and of other citizens more potent in the forming of the real Commonwealth than Givin, or Broderick, or even James King, and Williams. But while we have felt these and other defects in this volume, we are grateful to

the author for his contribution to our early history. He has not hesitated to speak plainly, even if he have not flattered the "49ers." He has called men and things by their right names.

George Mooar.

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The Andover Review.

THE TEACHING AND THE TALMUD. [The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, with Illustrations from the Talmud. Two Lectures, given at the Royal Institution of Great Britain on May 29th and June 6th, 1885. By C. TAYLOR, D. D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1886.]

THIS long expected book announced by Dr. Schaff¹ has just appeared. The fact that the author shows no knowledge of American work on the "Teaching," with the long interval between the delivery of the lectures and their publication, renders a portion of the book less novel than its author supposes. For example, all said about interpolations, etc. (pages 18 ff.) has been far more thoroughly worked out by Professor Warfield and Mr. McGiffert.² He mentions only Harris's Cambridge pamphlet and Sabatier's treatise, but he elsewhere uses materials found in these without acknowledgment (for example, pages 9, 58, 98, 71, etc.). These may be due to his own research, but he certainly read them in Sabatier and Harris. He asserts without any proof in detail that one form of an idea is older than another — Hillel's than Tobit's (page 10); Teaching's (xvi. 6) than 1 Thess. iv. 16 [though he does not assert relation (page 111)]; 2 Pet. ii. 13–15 than Jude 11, 12 (page 99); "debt" than "debts" (page 63). It is a hazardous style of argument. The lectures are ill arranged. Page 48 contains a note which should supplement pages 8–11. The relation of the "Teaching" to Barnabas may be inferred by comparing pages 33, 39, 43, 53, 61, 88, 102, 104, etc. The style both of argument and quotation is loose and slipshod. Indeed, the author writes so much like the Talmud, in which he is profoundly versed, that it is often difficult to decide what is quotation, what inference; what Talmud and what Taylor.

Nevertheless, the book adds to our previous knowledge (from Sabatier mainly) of the Jewish affinities of the "Teaching."

1. *Negative golden rule* ("Teaching," i. 2; Taylor, pages 8–11). From the argued currency of this as an ancient Jewish saying he urges, —

"Its occurrence in the first part of the 'Teaching' may be taken as evidence of the antiquity of that document, of its independence (in its original form) of our written Gospels, and of its Jewish character."

This negative golden rule is interpolated in D. and other New Testament MSS., Acts xv. 20, 29 (page 48).

2. *Let thine alms sweat*, etc. (i. 6; pages 11–18), Dr. Taylor explains: —

"It is not enough that a man should give without effort of his abundance. . . . He should fill his hands with his sweat, . . . make provision out of the produce of his labour, whilst ever on the watch for fit persons to whom to give."

He proceeds to illustrate this with not very cogent parallels from the Talmud and the Fathers, the best being the one already given by Harris.

¹ *Teaching*, p. 149.

² Schaff's *Teaching*, pp. 220 ff.; *Andover Review*, December, 1885, April, 1886.

But this explanation can only be harmonized with the context as *Dr. Taylor garbles it* (page 12).

3. *Flee from evil and all that is like it* (iii. 1 ; pages 23-26). This and its context are well illustrated from Jewish sources as examples of "fences about the law."

4. *Lying leads to theft* (iii. 5 ; pages 27-33). This is ingeniously referred to the Rabbinical correlation of the first and second tables of the commandments. "The 8th is opposite to the 3d as lying comes before stealing, Hos. iv. 2."

5. *Where the Lordship is proclaimed, there the Lord is* (iv. 1 ; pages 34-40), may rest on the Jewish "Where the law is studied there is the Shekinah."

6. The Hebraic form of chapter v. favors its Jewish origin, and there are some (slight) traces of a similar Jewish tradition (pages 40-45).

7. *Baptism* (chap. vii. ; pages 50-58). Jewish strictness is contrasted with the liberty of the "Teaching" as regards immersion, and kinds of water. Sabatier (who is much fuller here) asserts that Jewish proselytes received baptism (page 88, note 1), Dr. Taylor that (unless children) they baptized themselves (page 51). The antiquity of proselyte baptism and its inclusion of children is dwelt on by both.

8. *Lord's Day of the Lord* (xiv. ; pages 58-62) seems "a formula at once Jewish and anti-Jewish" as contrasted with "Sabbaths of the Lord" (Lev. xxiii. 38 ; Ex. xx. 10 ; cf. Ignat. Magn. 9).

9. *Eucharist* (ix., x., xiv. ; pages 68-77). Dr. Taylor corrects with asperity Harnack's error (page 32) about *κατασκηνώω* [which Dr. Schaff had already silently eliminated (page 195)], and adds Ps. lxxviii. 60, Jer. vii. 12, as instances. He asserts that Socrates, H. E. v. 22, shows the separation of Agape and Eucharist did not come in Egypt till fifth century ; so, as far as that is concerned, the "Teaching" may be ancient only, if not Egyptian.

10. *Cosmic mystery* (xi. 11 ; pages 82-91). Adopting Harnack's translation, he gives Jewish illustrations of Harnack's explanation, especially Ben Azzai, who severely blamed the unmarried, yet put away his own wife that he might cleave to the law.

But Dr. Taylor would explain : "The prophet might give vividness to his teachings even by the use of symbols savoring of paganism," — for example, Moses and the brazen serpent ; cf. Barn. c. xii. ; Justin, Dial. 44, 94.

11. *No Prophet that orders a table in the spirit eats of it* (xi. 9 ; pages 95-98). Chrysostom (1 Cor., Hom. 27) says the Agape tables were made public on set days. This the Prophet might order, but not to sate himself like those in 2 Pet. ii. 13-15. This is a striking, and I think novel, juxtaposition of "Teaching" and 2 Peter.

12. *Saved by the very curse* (xvi. 5 ; pages 100 f.). Dr. Taylor would refer this to Christ, and gives various similar paradoxes.

Dr. Taylor regards the "Teaching" in its original form as Palestinian, founded on an anterior source wholly Jewish, as dating not after 100, anterior to Barnabas and Hermas, and finds traces of it in Justin Martyr.

C. J. H. Ropes.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Chautauqua Press, Boston. The Chautauqua Movement. By John H. Vincent. With an Introduction. By President Lewis Miller. Pp. ix., 308. 1886. \$1.50.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston. Four Miles from Tarrytown. By Fannie H. Gallagher. 16mo, pp. 202. \$1.00;—The Culture of Child-Piety: The Obligations of the Churches in respect to this Culture, with references to the Special Responsibilities and Opportunities of Pastors for its Oversight and Conduct. By Amos S. Chesebrough, D. D., author of "Home Work," and "Children trained for Discipleship." Pp. 235. \$1.25;—The Patchwork Quilt Society; or, Stories of Beasts, Birds, and Butterflies. By Mrs. Mary Spring Corning. Pp. 280. \$1.25;—Soundings. By Rev. Mortimer Blake, D. D. Edited by his daughter, Mrs. Evelyn L. Morse. With Prefatory Note by Rev. Jacob Ide. Pp. 226. \$1.25.

Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston. Thoughts. By Ivan Panin. Pp. 85. 1886. 50 cents.

Ginn & Co., Boston. The Rigveda: The Oldest Literature of the Indians. By Adolf Kaegi, Professor in the University of Zürich. Authorized Translation with Additions to the Notes. By R. Arrowsmith, Ph. D., Instructor in Sanskrit, Racine College, Racine, Wisconsin. Pp. vi., 198. 1886.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Wind of Destiny. By Arthur Sherburne Hardy, author of "But Yet a Woman." 16mo, pp. 307. 1886. \$1.25;—The Transfiguration of Christ. By Frank Wakeley Gunsaulus. 16mo, pp. 267. 1886. \$1.25;—The Diary and Letters of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., B. A. (Harvard.), LL. D. (Oxon.), Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of his late Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America; with an account of his administration when he was member and speaker of the House of Representatives, and his government of the colony during the difficult period that preceded the War of Independence. Compiled from the original documents still remaining in the possession of his descendants. By Peter Orlando Hutchinson, one of his great-grandsons. Volume II. 8vo, pp. viii., 488. 1886. \$5.00.

Pamphlets. *Joseph W. Hamilton, Printer, Boston.* The First Church of Christ in Wilmington. Charge to the People at the Installation of the Rev. Elijah Harmon, delivered by the Rev. Daniel P. Noyes. Together with some account of a Council of Dismission and Installation, held at Wilmington, December 15, 1885. Published by direction of the Church Committee. Pp. 12. 1885.—*Scribner & Welford, New York.* The Monthly Interpreter. Edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M. A. No. XV., January, 1886;—The same, No. XVI., February, 1886.—*Spangler & Davis, Book and Job Printers, Philadelphia.* Outline of a proposed School of Political and Social Science, read before the Philadelphia Social Science Association, by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., Professor of Public Finance and Administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania. Pp. 24. 1885.—*N. Murray, Publication Agent, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Fourth Series. I. Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River. By Irving Elting, A. B. January, 1886. Price 50 cents;—Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Herbert B. Adams, editor. Fourth Series. II. Town Government in Rhode Island. By William E. Foster. III. The Narragansett Planters. By Edward Channing. February and March, 1886. Price 50 cents.—*Southern Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn.* Studies in the Prophecy of Daniel. By the Rev. W. A. Crocker, author of "Studies in the Book of Revelation." Second thousand.—*Andrews & Witherby, Ann Arbor.* University of Michigan. Philosophical Papers, First Series. No. 1, University Education. By G. S. Morris, Ph. D., Professor of Logic, Ethics, and the History of Philosophy.

THE LAST CHAPTER OF "THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES," ILLUSTRATED FROM PASSAGES IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

THE criticism of "The Teaching" thus far affords a striking example of the almost insuperable difficulty of interpreting correctly any literary monument without knowing its setting in the current ideas of its precise time and its relations to other written memorials. This applies especially to the themes of the last chapter, namely, the apostasy of the last time, the return of Christ, the power of Antichrist, and the end of the world. We have drifted so far from primitive ideas on these themes that we are simply left in obscurity and perplexity.

The idea of Antichrist, for example, was not that of an apostate church, nor of an infidel power that scorned all religion. It was of a counterfeit Christ who should deceive the world, draw men to an idolatrous worship, and have power to subject true believers to a fiery ordeal until he should be destroyed along with his followers by the reappearance of the real Christ.

Then the early Christians' idea of the end of the world was not the modern notion of a cyclical winding-up of nature, to which science has accustomed us, but of a destruction of the race *because of its wickedness*, the faithful being separated from the evil and established in a new heavens and earth.

For the sake of brevity I shall illustrate these two points together, taking the authors in their order of time. "The Teaching" will be found to fall naturally between certain passages of Scripture (2 Thess. ii. 2 Peter iii. 7, 10, 12; 2 John 7), and their development in the writings of the Fathers, who make additions from the Revelation, which last hardly seems to have been known to the author of "The Teaching."

I employ the translations of the Ante-Nicene Fathers :—

Justin Martyr : "Wherefore God delays causing the confusion and destruction of the whole world. . . . Since if it were not so . . . the fire of judgment would descend and utterly dissolve all things even as formerly the flood left no one but him only with his family who is by us called Noah." 2 Ap. chap. 7.

Irenæus : "For when he, Antichrist, is come and of his own accord concentrates in his own person the apostasy, . . . sitting also in the temple of God so that his dupes may adore him as the Christ; wherefore also shall he deservedly be cast into the lake of fire. . . . And he shall perform great wonders, so that he can even cause fire to descend from heaven upon the earth in the sight of men, and he shall lead the inhabitants of the earth astray." V. 28.

Hippolytus, as illustrating $\delta \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omega}\varsigma \nu\iota\delta\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$: "For the deceiver seeks in all things to liken himself to a Son of God. . . . And in speaking of the horns being like a Lamb he means that he will make himself like the Son of God, and set himself forward as a king." *Christ and Antichrist*, chaps. 6 and 49.

Origen : "This also is a part of the Church's teaching, that the world was made and took its beginning at a certain time, and is to be destroyed on account of its wickedness." *De Princip. Pref.* 7.

Commodianus : "He himself (Antichrist) shall divide the globe into three ruling powers, when, moreover, Nero shall be raised up from hell, Elias shall first come to seal the beloved ones; at which things the region of Africa and the northern nation, the whole earth on all sides, for seven years shall tremble. But Elias shall occupy half the time, Nero shall occupy half. . . . And the

Latin conqueror shall then say: I am Christ whom ye always pray to," etc. *Instructions*, chaps. 41, 42.

Methodius: "For the whole world will be deluged with fire from heaven and burnt for the purpose of purification and renewal." *On Resurrection*, chap. 8.

Lactantius: "But in the midst of these evils there will arise an impious king hostile not only to mankind but to God, . . . for he will say that he is Christ, though he will be his adversary." *Epit. Div. Inst.* chap. 71. "He will constitute and call himself God, and will order himself to be worshiped as the *Son of God*. And power will be given him to do signs and wonders by the sight of which he may entice men to adore him. He will command fire to come down from heaven and the sun to stand and leave his course," etc. *Div. Inst.* vii. 17.

And as illustrating σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος:—

"When these shall so happen, then the righteous and the followers of truth shall separate themselves from the wicked and flee into solitudes. And when he hears of this the impious king inflamed with anger will come with a great army, and bringing up all his forces will surround all the mountain in which the righteous shall be situated that he may seize them. But they, when they shall see themselves to be shut in on all sides and besieged, will call upon God with a loud voice and implore the aid of heaven, and God shall hear them and send from heaven a great king to rescue and free them and destroy all the wicked with fire and sword." *Div. Inst.* vii. 17.

In a work on the end of the world appended to Hippolytus, though probably of later date, we find not only similar illustrations, but evidence of an attempt at elaboration of this chapter of "The Teaching" itself. In fact, as the designation of Antichrist as a Son of God seems now first to have occurred in "The Teaching," its appearance in Hippolytus and Lactantius must be accepted as evidence of the use of "The Teaching" by these authors.

The appended author says:—

"For in every respect that deceiver seeks to make himself appear like the *Son of God*." Chap. 20.

The elaboration spoken of is found in chapter seventh, where especially noticeable is 'Οι ποιμένες ὡς λύκοι γενήσονται, for στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους in "The Teaching."

Those interested can find a great amplification of the ideas of the time respecting Antichrist and his times in these last authors. They allowed their imaginations to run riot without any authority, unless derived from the imagery of the Revelation. But the point of critical interest is that what is so amplified in later works is but germinant in "The Teaching," which greatly confirms the early date of the latter.

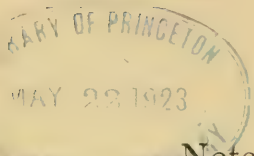
It will be seen that we refer κατάθεμα to Antichrist or his work. There is very little linguistic authority for giving it an abstract sense. If we recall now what Professor J. R. Harris has done for ἐκπέτασις, the difficulties of this last chapter seem pretty much to disappear.

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HARTFORD, Ct.

close social relations with foreigners, still the quiet, gnomic tone would seem to take us out of the period of sharp political conflict. In this regard the author may have been in a position not unlike that of the writer of the book of Ecclesiastes, — living in full view of social inequality and corruption, but looking on the social picture with the eye rather of the philosopher than of the prophet.

The psalmist's attitude toward the sacrifices is peculiar. He is not unfriendly, at least not hostile to the ritual, for his people are described as those who have made a covenant with him by sacrifice (ver. 5), and God is represented as declaring that their burnt offerings are continually before him. Yet the poet looks on all this elaborate system of sacrifice as something secondary and subordinate, since God, the Lord of all things, has no need of the flesh of bulls and the blood of goats, and rather desires the sacrifice of thanksgiving. We here again see a tone of thought not unlike that of Ecclesiastes, the emphasizing of the ethical over against the ritual: "He that orders his way I will show him the salvation of God." This psalm may have been written in Palestine or in any other Jewish community. We cannot separate it from Ecclesiastes and the later parts of Proverbs; it could hardly be earlier than the third century and may belong to the latter half of the second. Its most interesting feature is its non-sacerdotal, non-prophetic disposition to lay stress on the weightier matters of the law and demand mercy rather than sacrifice. Its separation from the other Asaph psalms is perhaps due to the difference of tone and content, though one would be disposed to believe that it originated in a different circle and had not come under the notice of the collector of the third book.


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Notes on the Didaché.

 BY PROF. B. B. WARFIELD, D.D.

I. *The Pseudo-Athanasius and the Didaché.*

THE very interesting parallels between the Pseudo-Athanasian tract, *Σύνταγμα Διδασκαλίας*,¹ and the Didaché, which Prof. J. Rendel Harris has adduced in his little pamphlet,² deserve some separate study. When attention has once been called to it, indeed, this whole tract appears an adaptation of the moral teaching of the Didaché to a different time and changed circumstances, as truly, if not as fully, as the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions itself: it is the Didaché calculated to another meridian. Its very name carries its character with it; it professes to detail the manner of life which ought to characterize the sons of the Catholic Church, although it has especially in mind its anchorets or monks. It opens by telling us that although we are saved by grace, yet grace itself desires its children to be willing sons of wisdom and of every good work; and calls on us to live worthy of our faith. The way having been thus prepared, the tract proceeds to set forth what requirements we must keep. We perceive at once that the author's rule of life corresponds to the "two ways" sections of the Didaché, for he opens his body of commandments thus: "The Lord thy God shalt thou love with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself. Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not corrupt boys; thou shalt not practice sorcery; thou shalt not be dissentious; abstain from what is strangled, and idol sacrifice, and blood." The wording of the command to love God here has been deflected into closer agreement with Deut. vi. 4 (or Mark xii. 29), and it has thus received a form such as stands in

¹ Cf. Migne, Vol. XXVIII., col. 836 sq.; although I have more particularly used the edition of Athanasius' works published by Weidmann at Cologne in (Vol. II.) MDCLXXXVI.

² *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*, Cambridge: H. W. Wallis, 1885, pp. 15, 16, notes.

no other witness to the Didaché. But the Didaché is clearly the source from which the whole has been drawn, and the Didaché in that form of its text, represented by Barnabas, the Ecclesiastical Canons and the Latin Version, in which i. 3 εὐλογεῖτε to ii. 1 is omitted, and the discourse passes immediately over from i. 3 to ii. 2. The order in which the first four prohibitions of Didaché ii. 2 are here reported is worth remarking in that they are very variously transmitted to us, and this exact order is found nowhere else but in the Ecclesiastical Canons. The addition at the end of the extract may be Jewish in origin, but is probably rather drawn here from Acts xv. 29, where, as well as in verse 20, the Western text adds the negative form of the golden rule as found in the opening verses of the Didaché.

Returning, however, to the *Syntagma*, it proceeds immediately with a probable reference to Didaché iii. 1: "These things are indeed plain sins; but the commandments which appear as if less than the least, an account of which also we shall give, are these." Here, first turning to the monks, the author gives counsels as to the care they must take not to sin with heart or eyes in looking at a woman, and then drops naturally again into the precepts of the Didaché: "Take care, too, not to be double-speeched, nor double-minded, nor a liar, nor a slanderer,"—where the relation to Didaché ii. 4 is unmistakable. The *Syntagma* prolongs the list freely from this point, now taking up items found in the Didaché ii. and iii., and now introducing new ones.¹ It next condemns oaths and immodesty, and proceeds again: "Take not part in the feasts of the Gentiles; keep not Sabbaths; use not witchcraft; practice not sorcery; nor [suffer] another to do these things for thee in sickness or pain of calamity; go not forth to an enchanter (ἐπαοιδόν), nor place a phylactery about thyself, nor be a purifier, neither of course do these things for thyself, nor let them be done for thee by another; keep thy body from every filthiness and lasciviousness," etc.² Amid much other matter, reference to Didaché ii. and iii. 4 is here plain enough. Next follow warnings against subintroduced women,—ἀγαπηταί men call them, but they quickly become μισηταί,—and against all hate, and then we come to a reminiscence of Didaché viii. 1-2: "Pray not with a heretic nor

¹ φυλάττεσθαι τε μὴ εἶναι δίλογον, μὴ δίγνωμον, μὴ ψεύστην, μὴ κατάλαλον, μὴ ἀκεροπερίσπαστον, μὴ ἀναίσχυντον, μὴ ῥίμβον, μὴ ἀναίσθητον, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ σαπρὸν λόγον ἐκ χειλέων προφέροντα, μὴ τε ὄρκον ὄλων τὸ παραίταν ἀλλὰ ναὶ ναὶ, οὐ οὐ κ. τ. λ.

² The main matters here run: μὴ μαγεύειν, μὴ φαρμακεύειν . . . μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπαοιδόν . . . μὴ τε περικαθαίρειν κ. τ. λ.

along with Gentiles ; omit not the fast, that is, the fourth [day] and the preparation (unless thou hast been weighed down somewhat by sickness), Pentecost only and the Epiphanies being excepted," etc., after which the yearly fasts are mentioned, of which, as will be remembered, there is no mention in the Didaché. The celebration of the Lord's Supper is commended next, and then money affairs receive a pretty full treatment—"sharing with him that hath not" being commanded, and money-lending allowed, provided no interest is taken ; and then once more we catch a glimpse of the Didaché (iii. 8) ; "Be humble and quiet, trembling continually at the oracles of the Lord," to which is immediately added, "Be not warlike, neither strike a man, or only thy little child for training, and that most circumspectly (*παρατετηγμένως*), considering lest mayhap murder come from thee : for many are the occasions of death," to which a rather odd parallel exists in the Pseudo-Phocylides.¹ Meat and dress next come in for treatment, but nothing else that recalls the Didaché in other than a general way except a single phrase parallel with vi. 1, towards the close of the tract, where also the tradition (*παράδοσις*) of the church is spoken of with the highest respect.

Now an interest attaches to all this that is greater than would be raised by the mere fact that the Pseudo-Athanasius has based his treatise on the Didaché. For he has preserved enough of the Didaché to enable us to perceive not only that his Didaché was of the general type of that text which was used by the author of the Canons, but also that it stood particularly close to the text used by the Canons,—closer than any other known form of the text. It might be suspected that the Pseudo-Athanasius has drawn from the Canons and not directly from the Didaché : but this is excluded by the presence in this tract of phrases from the Didaché which have not been abstracted by the Canons. For instance, its parallel with Didaché iii. 8 (Migne, col. 840) reads, *γίνου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος, τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου*. The passage involves a quotation from Isa. lxvi. 2, to which Pseudo-Athanasius conforms more closely than either the Didaché or the Canons. Thence is derived the *ταπεινὸς καὶ* and apparently the *τοῦ κυρίου* (cf. Isa. lxvi. 2, *μου* and verse 5, *αὐτοῦ* = *κυρίου*). But the *διὰ παντὸς* is found nowhere except in the Didaché itself and this quotation. It seems clear that the Pseudo-Athanasius thus gives us an additional witness to a Didaché text such as that from which the Canons drew its quotations.

¹ *Νηπίαχων ἀπαλῶν μὴ ἄψη χειρὶ βιάς κ. τ. λ.*

The matter cannot be fully elucidated, however, until we glance at another Pseudo-Athanasian tract, for knowledge of the relation of which to the Didaché I am indebted to Prof. S. S. Orris.¹ This tract, which is entitled *Faith of the 318 Holy Nicene Fathers*, has drawn practically the same matter from the Didaché which the *Syntagma Doctrinae* has. It requires only a glance at the two to see that there is close relationship between them. Not only does the extract in the *Faith of the Nicene Fathers* also pass from i. 2 directly to ii. 2, but it adds a similar reminiscence of Acts xv. 29;² and this is characteristic of the relation between the two throughout,—the same general borrowings and the same additions meet us everywhere. Yet it is equally clear that neither of the tracts has borrowed this matter from the other: amid their striking samenesses there are numerous petty divergences, and especially each tract has words of the Didaché which are not found in the other. For instance, the *Syntagma Doctrinae* has a part of Didaché iii. 4, and the *Nicene Fathers* draws several items from ii. 4–iii. 6, and in particular gives vi. 1 almost *verbatim*, without the support of the other tract. We appear, then, to be shut up to the hypothesis that these Pseudo-Athanasian tracts preserve to us knowledge, either of a new reworking of the Didaché hitherto unknown, from which they both quote independently, or else (less probably) of a considerable quotation from the Didaché in some lost book from which they both draw. In either case, when we put them together we get a new witness to the text and scope of the Didaché. I say “new” witness, for when we put them together the inferences at which we formerly hinted, when speaking of the *Syntagma Doctrinae* alone, receive new strength. The *Faith of the Nicene Fathers* preserves for us, for instance, in a completeness found nowhere else except in the Didaché itself, the opening of Didaché vi. 1: “See, O man, that no one seduce thee from this faith, since apart from God he teacheth thee” (ἐπὶ παρεκτός θεοῦ σε διδάσκει). So that we may be certain that the common source of the quotations in the two tracts is a hitherto unknown witness to the circulation and text of the Didaché.

It might be an interesting task to reconstruct so much of this

¹ *The Pseudo-Athanasius and The Teaching in The* [New York] *Independent* for April 15, 1886. The tract itself may be consulted in Migne, Vol. XXVIII., col. 1639 sq.

² In the *Syntagma* the words run, ‘Abstain from what is strangled and idol sacrifice and blood’; in the *Faith of the Nicene Fathers*, ‘We must abstain from what is strangled and from blood and from covetousness.’

common source as has been used by our tracts. This would, however, be difficult and in parts impossible; and it is not necessary for using its witness for reconstructing the original *Didaché*. We may be certain that it contained *Didaché* i. 2—ii. 2 in this form: *Κέριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις· ἀπέχε πικτοῦ, [καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου], καὶ αἵματος, [καὶ πλεονεξίας]*. The words, “thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness,” are witnessed by the *Faith of the Nicene Fathers* only, and the position of *false witness* at this point may be compared with the position given the same item in the Latin Version of the *Teaching*, though both deflections are probably independent and due to the natural reminiscence of the Decalogue in its Old Testament, or one of its New Testament forms. Then our document contained prohibitions of certain sins prohibited in *Didaché* ii. 4, ii. 6, and iii. 1–6. The items are “double-speech” and “double-mindedness,” from ii. 4; covetousness and haughtiness, from ii. 6; proneness to anger, from iii. 2; filthy talking, from iii. 3; lying, from iii. 5; self-will, from iii. 6. There is no certainty, however, that these items were arranged in the artistic form in which they appear in the *Didaché*; and there are other items connected with them, such as ‘slander’ (cf. *Didaché* ii. 3, *καταλογίσεις*) and ‘proneness to wine’ (cf. *Hermas*, *Mand.* viii. 3–5 : *Constt.* vi.) and the like which have no place in the *Didaché*. Next it contained the striking sentence in *Didaché* iii. 8; and at an earlier point, apparently, the opening words of *Didaché* viii. It also certainly contained *Didaché* vi. 1; and there is a hint that c. xiii. may have also been known to its compiler. Finally both documents hint, at beginning and end, that they are dealing with ‘tradition’ and ‘teaching.’

If we may sum up what we gain by the unearthing of this new witness in a word or two, we should say first that it gives us a new witness to the circulation of the *Didaché* in that form which is testified to by Barnabas, the Latin Version, and the Canons, and which we have elsewhere ventured to call the ‘Egyptian’ text. Next, in doing this, it gives a new witness to the spuriousness of i. 3, *ἐὶλογεῖτε* — ii. 2. Next, it assures us that the peculiar and most logical order in which the Canons arrange the sins of lust in ii. 2 is not an individualism of that document, but an inheritance. Perhaps a word here will not be out of place. There are four orders in which the first four prohibitions of ii. 2 have come down to us: —

1. 2. 3. 4. Bryennios' MS. and Apostolical Constitutions.
 [1]. 4. 2. 3. Barnabas and Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* ii. 10).
 1. 2. 4. 3. Ecclesiastical Canons and Pseudo-Athanasius.
 2. 1. [3]. [4]. Latin Version.

The Latin Version is in some confusion in this context, and that casts some doubt on its testimony. The original order is pretty sure to have been 1. 2. 3. 4. or else 1. 2. 4. 3., and now there is good reason to believe that the latter is the order of the Egyptian recension of the text; but which is the original order is more doubtful. It is worth noting, too, that the Pseudo-Athanasian source contained Didaché iii. 1-6 and vi., to both of which as parts of the original Didaché, objections have recently been raised; and further that its scope included more than chapters i.-vi., and embraced chapter viii. and perhaps also chapter xiii.¹

II. *The Book of Jubilees and the Didaché.*

A very strong tendency has developed itself among students of the Didaché to look for a Jewish form of it on which our present Didaché was based, and from which it was christianized by more or less interpolation or rewriting. The original incitement to this opinion was the difficulty of accounting for the complicated relations that exist between the *Teaching* and Barnabas; and as Barnabas's borrowings practically confine themselves to the first six chapters of the *Teachings*, the hypothesis has usually taken the form of supposing the pre-existence of a Jewish *Two Ways*. Dr. Lightfoot, at the Church Congress of 1884 (see *Expositor*, January, 1885, p. 8), in commending this hypothesis, says: "The idea of the *Two Ways* was familiar to Greek philosophers. May not some pious Jew, then, have taken up this idea and interwoven into it the moral code of the Old Testament, writing perhaps under the mask of a heathen philosopher, who thus was made an unwilling witness to the superiority of Jewish ethics? The adoption of a heathen pseudonym was not an uncommon device with the literary Jew before and about the time of the Christian era, as, for instance, in the maxims of the Pseudo-Phocylides

¹ The possible hint of chapter xiii. is found on col. 841, and runs, *δικαίως συνα-
γων καρπὸς καὶ μὴ ἔχων τι ἀδικίας πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρόσφερε.* It may be added that the *Syntagma* borrows from Did. i. 2; ii. 2, 4; iii. 3, 4, 6, 8; vi. 1; viii. 1; and possibly xiii.; and that the *Faith of the Nicene Fathers* borrows from Did. i. 2; ii. 2, 4, 6; iii. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8; vi. 1; viii. 1; and possibly xiii.

and the predictions of the Pseudo-Sibyllines." From this original Jewish work he supposes both Barnabas and the *Teaching* to have drawn. Dr. C. Taylor, in his two lectures on the *Teaching*, recently published, but delivered so long ago as the early summer of 1885, perceives that the document which Barnabas quotes is either the *Teaching* itself or a tradition or writing of which it has preserved the original form (pp. 7 and 44), but is led, on critical grounds, to "postulate the existence of an earlier form of the manual of the *Two Ways*, of Jewish character and possibly pre-Christian in date, on which our chapters 1-6 were framed" (p. 22). Similarly, Prof. J. Rendel Harris, in his pamphlet on the *Teaching* and the Sibyllines, while holding that the Pseudo-Phocylides has versified the *Teaching*, and wrote late enough to have had before him such a book as our *Teaching*, yet, because he "has omitted all references to the gospels which are found in the *Teaching*," and because his "morality is so often inferior," thinks "that we must either assume that the Phocylidist of the first century has produced a morality to be described in M. Sabatier's way, as *simplifiée pour les païens*, or we must fall back upon the existence of an earlier and more rudimentary *Teaching*, ethically more continuous with the Jewish schools, and perhaps somewhat earlier than the Christian era." "There is no reason, in the nature of things," he adds, "against the existence of a Jewish or Essene $\Delta\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}$, when we consider how actively proselytism was being carried on about the time of the Christian era, and reflect that our own apostolic *Teaching* must have been called into existence by somewhat similar circumstances. I see that M. Massebieau has made a similar suggestion (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, x. 2. p. 168). 'Dans ces prescriptions qui sanctionnent un certain nombre de coutumes juives j'ai cru pouvoir distinguer les traces d'un enseignement destiné aux prosélytes juifs avant d'être utilisé pour les catechumènes chrétiens.' I think we may be confirmed in this view by a study of the ethics of the works of Philo" (p. 25).

Now it appears to be perfectly manifest, that the affinities of our *Teaching*, especially if we will confine our attention to its first six chapters, are intensely Jewish. It seems equally clear that the roots of this treatise are set in Jewish soil, and that we may hope to trace back the matter here given us to a Jewish beginning. But I do not at all share the hopes of those who are seeking traces of a Jewish writing which could justly be called the source of our *Two Ways*, — which is sufficiently like it to have furnished the matter in Barnabas that gives to that epistle so much of what is also found in our *Two*

Ways, or to have furnished the precepts which the Pseudo-Phocylides has versified and so come to seem to have versified our treatise. The common source of Barnabas and the *Teaching* as given to us in Bryennios's MS., is a Christian, not a Jewish volume; as the character of the Latin version suggests, and as Dr. Taylor sees, when he says that the source of Barnabas was either our *Teaching* or "a tradition or writing of which it has preserved the original form." The Pseudo-Phocylides, too, had apparently our *Two Ways* and not a similar Jewish book before him; and his omission of the references to the gospels in i. 3-ii. 1, is due to the failure of that section in the earliest Christian *Teaching*—in other words, to its being a later interpolation into the Christian treatise itself. Neither do I think it accurate to describe our *Two Ways* as containing, after the omission of i. 3-ii. 1, nothing which is distinctly Christian. Its essence seems to me to be Christian; it appears to me to be still based on Matthew's Gospel in a real sense, and to be throughout the free composition of a hand that was at once Jewish and Christian. I look for the discovery of Jewish models on which this treatise was fashioned, of Jewish parallels by which it is illustrated, of Jewish nuclei, even, about which it has been deposited, but not of a Jewish form in which also practically this same treatise circulated. The true state of the case seems to me to be adumbrated in some words of Dr. Egbert G. Smyth, printed as long ago as April, 1884 (*The Andover Review*, April, 1884, p. 432, *note*), although I cannot agree that the diversity between Barnabas and the *Teaching* can be so explained. Dr. Smyth having spoken of the familiar use of the simile of the *Two Ways* among Jews and Gentiles alike, adds: "It looks as though a conception so readily adapted to didactic purposes early gathered about it appropriate materials, which were worked up on the basis of the Decalogue, and where the Christian spirit prevailed, by a free use of the Sermon on the Mount and other preceptive instruction, both oral and written." If this be understood in a purely general sense, it perfectly expresses just what seems to have taken place. There is no difficulty in finding traces of Jewish treatises on the *Two Ways*, but they very remotely resemble our *Two Ways*; and in Christian times, while our *Two Ways* alone seems to have had much circulation, it continued to be added to, and generally just from the material found in the Sermon on the Mount or other bodies of Christian precepts. The great interpolation which was so early intruded into chapter i. is one example; the various reworkings in Barnabas, the Canons, the Constitutions, and the Pseudo-Athanasius furnish others.

Certainly all traces of a Jewish use of the parable of the *Two Ways* which have been adduced heretofore, are illustrative of our treatise rather than basal to it. That there were "detailed descriptions (as in the *Teaching*) of the evil way" in circulation, seems to be often implied (cf. Taylor, p. 45); but not that there was this special detailed description of it. The canonical books gave the incitement to the formation of such treatises (Jer. xxi. 8, and Deut. xxx. 15 sq.), and the Jewish writers were not slow in following out the hint. How it was done may be seen as well as anywhere in the *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*, 'Aser' and 'Benjamin.' The former of these testaments is entitled, "Concerning the two faces, of vice and virtue," and begins: "Two ways God gave to the sons of men, and two minds and two doings and two places and two ends. On this account all things are two, one opposite the other. Two ways there are of good and evil; with respect to which there are two minds in our breasts distinguishing them. If, therefore, the soul desireth the good, its every act is in righteousness; and if it sin, immediately it repenteth. For considering righteous things and casting away malice, it overthroweth immediately the evil thing and uprooteth the sin. But if the mind inclineth to evil, its every act is in malice; and driving away the good, it taketh to it the evil and is ruled over by Beliar, and though it do the good thing, it perverteth it in evil. For whenever it beginneth as though to do good, it bringeth the end of its action to do evil; since the treasure of the devil is filled with the poison of an evil spirit." With this beginning, Aser makes his testament a development of the thesis that these two ways and two minds are opposite to one another in such a sense that the presence of the one vitiates the other. Its message is that good men are *μονοπρόσωποι*, and therefore we must guard against becoming *διπρόσωποι*, of goodness and wickedness, and cleave unto goodness only. There is much in the details with which this thesis is illustrated that stands alongside the *Teaching*, and the whole reminds us of it; as, e.g., in the stress laid on the sin of double-facedness (cf. Did. ii. 4); but we have here illustration, not a trace of a source. The ethical part of the testament of Benjamin, which is entitled "of a pure mind," opens (ch. iii), thus: "And you, my children, love ye the Lord, the God of heaven, and keep his commandments, . . . and let your mind be unto good. . . . Fear the Lord and love your neighbor; and even though the spirits of Beliar allure you into every wickedness of trouble, yet shall no wickedness of trouble have dominion over you. . . . Know ye, my children, the end of a good man?" And then follows a descrip-

tion of the end and character of the good man, full of beautiful conceptions, but not suggestive to us of anything beyond a rather remote illustration of the ethical teaching of our Didaché.

Whether these portions of the Testaments are the product of a Jewish-Christian or of a Jewish pen, their relation of resemblance to our *Teaching*, and yet of essential disconnection from it, is somewhat characteristic of the ethical teaching of Jewish writings of about the time of Christ. Much use, for instance, is made in the very meagre parenetic parts of the book of Enoch of the figure of the two ways of life and death (cf. *e.g.*, xii. 71, 16; xv. 82, 4; xviii. 91, 3; xix. 99, 10, and 105, 2). The most interesting passage, probably, is the following, which I quote in Professor Schodde's translation (xix. 94, 1 *sq.*, p. 247): "And now I say to you, my children, love justice and walk in it, for the paths of justice are worthy that they be accepted; and the paths of injustice are destroyed suddenly and cease. And to certain men of a *future* generation the paths of violence and of death will be revealed, and they will retreat from them, and will not follow them. And now I say to you, the just: Do not walk in the wicked path and in violence, and not in the paths of death, and do not approach them, that ye be not destroyed. But love and choose for yourselves justice and a pleasing life, and walk in the paths of peace, that ye may live and have joy. And hold in the thoughts of your hearts, and let not my words be eradicated from your hearts; for I know that the sinners will deceive men to make wisdom wicked, and it will not find a place, and all kinds of temptations will not cease." The way having been thus prepared to speak of individual sins, woes are next pronounced on certain classes of sinners, — those that build injustice and violence, and found deception; who build their houses in sin, and acquire gold and silver, and trust in riches; who revile and shed blood and pronounce curses, repay evil to their neighbor, and witness untruth, and pursue the just and tread down the lowly, and practise injustice and destruction and reviling, — a long and very interesting list, in which attention is also paid to abortion and child-murder and idolatry and the like, but again which only illustrates, and does not account for our *Teaching*.

A similar passage in the book of Jubilees stands somewhat nearer to our *Teaching*. Indeed, I have sometimes fancied that it might even suggest a reminiscence one way or the other, or possibly preserve knowledge of a nucleus out of which our treatise may have grown. It is found in the testamentary discourse of Noah (Jubilees vii. 16 *sq.*), and closes with a sentence which lays the strongest stress on tradition.

The peculiarity of it which suggests our *Teaching* is, that it connects the commands to love God and our neighbor with the simile of the two ways. Moreover, in several of its phrases it presents a rather odd resemblance to the *Teaching* in some of the forms in which it has come down to us. For instance, near the beginning Noah commands his children "that they should bless him that created them" — just the phrase in Did. i. 2. "And," it continues, "should honor father and mother"; and we are struck with the conjunction that occurs in Pseudo-Phocylides 8 (Orac. Sib. ii. 60): "First honor God and after that thy parents," — a conjunction of commandments which has probably arisen from the Jewish arrangement of the "ten words," by which the fifth commandment stood last on the first table; and these two might easily be considered the summing up of the first table of the Law. In accordance with this conception, Noah is made to proceed immediately: "and each should love his neighbor and should preserve their souls from fornication and from all uncleanness and unrighteousness," — the progress being from the first to the second table, which the following sentences deal with. Next, after a somewhat diffuse sanction to these demands, drawn from the fate of the Watchers, Noah proceeds: "Behold, I am the first to see your works, that ye do not walk in righteousness, for in the paths of destruction have you commenced to walk." Now, while we should not rashly draw conclusions from such parallels, they appear to me to be eminently worth noting, and at all events, unless we except Tobit iv., this is as close a parallel to our *Teaching* as has yet turned up in a Jewish writing. I quote the passage in full from Dr. Schodde's translation (in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1886, p. 358 sq.) :—

"And in the 28 Jubilee he [Noah] began to command the sons of his sons the ordinances and the commandments, all as he had learned them, and the judgments, and he testified to his sons that they should observe righteousness, and that they should cover the shame of their flesh, *and that they should bless him that created them,*¹ *and should honor father and mother,*² *and each should love his neighbor,*³ and

¹ Did. i. 2: "Thou shalt love God who made thee." Cf. Barnabas xix. 2 (also xvi. 1); and Canons: "Thou shalt love God who made thee and glorify him." . . . Justin, Apol. i. 16: 'The greatest commandment is, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart and with all thy strength, the Lord God that made thee."' Cf. also 2 Clem. xv. 2.

² Pseudo-Phocylides 8 (Orac. Sib. ii. 60): "First honor God and after that thy parents."

³ Did. i. 2: "Thou shalt love . . . thy neighbor as thyself." Cf. Canons 4 and Constt. vii. 2.

should preserve their souls from *fornication* and from all uncleanness and unrighteousness.¹ For on account of these three things the deluge came over the earth, namely, on account of *fornication* in which the Watchmen indulged against the commandments of their law with the daughters of men, and took to themselves wives from all whom they chose and made the beginning of uncleanness. . . . And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth on account of their deeds, and on account of the *blood* which was spilt over the earth. And we were left, I and you, my sons, and behold I am the first to see your works that ye *do not walk in righteousness, for in the paths of destruction have you commenced to walk*,² and are *separating yourselves each from his neighbor*,³ and are *envious* the one of the other, and are not in harmony, each with his neighbor and his brother.⁴ And yet, my sons, for I see and behold the Satans⁵ have commenced to lead astray you and your children; and now I fear on your behalf that after my death ye will spill the blood of men over the face of the earth and that ye too will be destroyed from its face. For every one that sheds the blood of any man and every one that eats the blood in any flesh,⁶ shall all be destroyed from the earth. . . . With regard to all blood over you which is in all the days that ye sacrifice an animal or a beast or whatever flies over the earth, and do a good deed concerning your souls,⁷ in your covering of that which has been spilt over the face of the earth. And ye shall not be like him that eats with blood,⁸ be strong that no one eat blood in your presence. . . . And now, my children, obey and practice righteousness and justice so that ye be planted in righteousness upon the whole face of the earth, and that your renown be elevated before

¹ Did. ii. 2 (cf. also iii. 1) and the following verses. Note here the distribution into fornication and murder especially, and the prominence of these points in Did. ii. 2. Cf. the order in the Latin version and also the Pseudo-Athanasius.

² Did. i. 1, v. 1; Barn. xix. 1, 2, xx. 1, etc.

³ Did. iii. 2, and iv. 3: "Thou shalt not make division." Barn. xix. 11, Canons 3. Pseudo-Athanasius: "Thou shalt not be dissentious."

⁴ Do., also Barn. xix. 2: "Thou shalt not cleave to those that walk in the way of death."

⁵ Barn. xviii: "But over the other [the way of darkness, are] angels of Satan"; xx. 1: "But the way of the black one is crooked and full of curse."

⁶ Pseudo-Athanasius *ad initt.*: "Thou shall not kill. . . . Abstain from blood." (*See above.*)

⁷ Cf. Did. iv. 6; Barn. xix. 11; also Barn. xix. 8: "As much as thou canst, thou shalt make purification for thy soul."

⁸ Pseudo-Athanasius, as above.

my God who has saved me from the water of the deluge. . . . And the first fruits¹ that they gather shall be brought before the Lord our God, the most high, who created heaven and earth and all things, so that they bring in fatness, the first of the wine and oil as first fruits upon the altar of the Lord who receives it, and what is left the servants of the Lord shall eat before the altar which he has accepted. . . . For this did Enoch, the father of your father Methuselah, command his sons, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things which his father commanded him ; but I command it to you, my children, just as Enoch commanded his son in the first Jubilee ; while he was alive, in his generation, the seventh, he commanded and testified to his sons and to the sons of his sons, until the day of his death."

¹ Did. xiii. 3, etc.

**Introductory Remarks by President Gilman at the
Opening of the Tenth Academic Year of the Johns
Hopkins University, October 1, 1885.**

Gentlemen and Ladies :

The Johns Hopkins University has invited you to participate to-day in the opening of the tenth annual session of this academic body. Since 1876, it has been the usage to meet in one of our own halls at this season of the year, without the presence of a public assembly; and to listen to words of counsel and instruction sometimes from members of the resident faculty, sometimes from gentlemen who have been connected with other educational foundations.

This place and this concourse are unusual. When we came to our posts a few days ago, after the summer's separation, it was apparent that the largest hall of the University was quite inadequate to receive the company who desired to see and hear the distinguished speaker who is soon to address you. I had written to the Archdeacon that in addition to the officers and students of the University, some of our friends would probably be present, but I had no idea how many such friends would be brought together by the mere announcement of the name of Farrar.

Under these circumstances I should prefer to be restricted to welcoming the speaker, but the Trustees have requested me to proceed with the usual brief review of the conditions under

which the new year opens. I shall not detain you long, postponing to another hour and place those announcements in which the faculty and students are alone concerned, and limiting my remarks to matters of public interest.

The year which began last October with the brilliant lectures of the great Scotch physicist, Sir William Thomson, came to a fitting close with a decision on the part of the Trustees, to proceed at once to the construction of a Physical Laboratory. Having secured a convenient site for a building which exacts peculiar exemption from the shaking of the earth, and ample exposure to the "serene influences" of the heavenly bodies, appropriate plans were next to be devised after a study of kindred laboratories recently built at Cambridge and New Haven, and a careful consideration of the particular requirements of our own investigators in physics, astronomy and mathematics. The plans which have been worked out by a combination of scientific purpose and architectural skill will soon be apparent to the passer-by as the walls rise and the edifice is made ready for occupancy before we open another annual session. This is the third and last laboratory required at present,—at least until we proceed, as we soon must, to the construction of the buildings for a school of medicine. We are still in great need of a large edifice for general academic uses, to include the library, already bursting its narrow walls; the assembly hall, always too crowded, and the class-rooms now distributed under so many inadequate roofs. Is it too much to hope that some friend of the university, some man of wealth who loves the place of his nativity or residence, and who desires to contribute toward the education of youth will come forward and perpetuate his name in the grateful and enduring remembrance of successive generations, by providing for the university such a building as I have sketched?

It is generally known that since the beginning of this university a medical school has been projected. Now that the large Johns Hopkins Hospital approaches completion, and

thirteen admirable buildings are being fitted for their humane purposes, the thoughts of the administration are constantly occupied with the provision here to be made for advancing those departments of knowledge which pertain to the relief of suffering, the prevention of disease and the promotion of physical well-being. It is for this reason that already so much attention has been given to the biological sciences, and to courses of study which may fit young men for the successful prosecution of their subsequent professional work. We are nearly ready to take the next steps forward. Two sorts of professors are called for in such a medical school as we propose to establish,—those who give all their time to the development of some branch of medical science without engaging in practice; and those who, by the constant observation and treatment of disease at the bedside, are best fitted for practical instruction and clinical advice. With the university professors of chemistry and biology, and the medical adviser of the hospital, a professor of pathology is now associated, and negotiations are in successful progress with a professor of therapeutics who may be expected to join the staff a year or more hence. On another occasion the trustees will have the opportunity of presenting these gentlemen to the profession of Baltimore. At the present time, I will only say that Dr. W. H. Welch, (the professor of pathology just referred to), is already here. To his previous acquisitions, which were of the highest order, he has added a year of observation and study in Europe,—a year when more than ever before the nature and causes of disease have been considered by the ablest physicians under circumstances most favorable for the ascertainment of truth; and we anticipate that he will contribute to the organization of our school of medicine wise counsel, wide knowledge, and the heartiest desire to promote the welfare of his fellow-men by laborious investigations upon the nature of human ailments.

Passing to a totally different department of study, I am able to announce that the chair of New Testament Greek,

unhappily vacated at the close of our last session, will probably be filled by a scholar of international fame who has favorably considered the overture made to him, and who will be nominated to the Trustees for their appointment at the earliest opportunity. I refer to Dr. Caspar René Gregory, an American now holding the position of a *privat-docent* in the University of Leipsic, who was selected to carry forward to completion the work of the great biblical scholar, Tischendorf, after his decease, and who has been engaged for a long while past in an arduous investigation of the manuscripts of the New Testament in the widely scattered libraries of Europe, and is soon to continue these studies in more remote oriental repositories. To some of us, it will be a great satisfaction if the Johns Hopkins University may be the means of encouraging these fruitful studies and of aiding an American of such rare qualifications to continue the work to which he has been called by the concurrent voices of European and American scholarship.

During the last few weeks most of the members of this University, in accordance with time-honored custom, have been engaged in that department of research which may be called in the language of physical science, "the storage of energy." On the mountains and by the sea shore we have been gathering strength for the winter's work. Not a few of our company have found time to labor while they have been at play. I could tell you of more than one book, more than one memoir, more than one scientific journal (let me name particularly two numbers of the American Journal of Archæology and two of the American Journal of Mathematics), which are the product of the summer's activity.

But the only organized work of the vacation has been that of our sea-side station for the study of marine life, which is commonly known as the Chesapeake Zoölogical Laboratory. A company of investigators has been engaged since June last, under the continued direction of Dr. W. K. Brooks, in the study of such life-histories as may be learned from

the abundant fauna of the seas near Beaufort, N. C. I shall not attempt to describe to you their work, nor to impart to you the enthusiasm with which I, who am no naturalist, have been infected by their devotion to study. To their usual privations and exposures, this company of zoologists has this year added the experience of a fearful cyclone, which came very near to the complete destruction of their summer's acquisitions. Fortunately, one line of inquiry, in which the public of Baltimore are particularly interested, was carried by Dr. Brooks to such a point, before the interruptions of the whirlwind, that he came within reach of new and significant results in the artificial culture of oysters. I merely whet your appetites by this announcement; you must look to him for further particulars upon this and upon other less popular, but I will not say less important, investigations upon which he has been engaged with his dozen associates. Others of our company have taken part in the various scientific and educational meetings which have been held during the summer. The teachers and the advanced students of the historical and political sciences were particularly active. The cooling waters of Saratoga appear to have raised them by a sort of reaction to a state of torrid fervor in the prosecution of their institutional and economic studies. Last year, the American Historical Association came into being as the child of the Social Science Association, and this year the American Economic Association has appeared upon the platform,—both due, I believe, to the impulses given by our industrious colleagues.

I will not continue these allusions, but I cannot close without saying that the university was never so well equipped as it is now for the instruction of its scholars. The system of undergraduate courses, which has here been established since 1876, combines freedom of choice with the enforcement of authority, so advantageously, that we see no reason to depart from it. Elsewhere,—in what I may call, without undue familiarity, a sister institution,—it has recently received the

name of "the group system" of studies, and under this convenient title is likely I think to gain recognition and approval. With increasing facilities for instruction, increasing companies of students are here assembled, and with these advances, come increasing cares and perils. We need, as a university, the constant sympathy and coöperation of the educated citizens of Baltimore; we need their material aid; we need the action of enlightened public opinion; we need the experience of the wisest and best counsellors of our own and other lands; and above all we need the divine blessing that here many generations may acquire wisdom and be taught to walk in the paths of righteousness.

You will perhaps allow me to conclude by reading a prayer for the university which has reached my hands from the eminent Patriarch of the orthodox Greek church in the city of Jerusalem. To a request which was made to him in the name of the Johns Hopkins University, that we might be allowed to have and publish exact copies of the celebrated *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*, he gave his consent, and added a benediction, which as it was addressed to me, officially, I share with you, if not by the right of apostolic succession, at least by the right of academic dispensation. I will read the concluding paragraphs of the epistle of His Blessedness, transmitted to us by one of our most valued friends, the Rev. Dr. Hale.

"We are greatly pleased at learning what an earnest desire ye show to possess photographic copies of the above-mentioned excellent manuscript, which is a very clear proof of the love of literature with which ye are filled, and of the honor which God-given Greek letters enjoy among you. And indeed rejoicing with your university, which is so honorably ordered, we come assuring your excellency that before long we will zealously fulfil your desire, by sending photographic copies of the manuscript in question, which according to our injunctions,—being about to be sent within a few days to Jerusalem,—will be photographed here. And no small joy did we feel

at the message that the authorities of your university, in support of our passionate desire for the education of the young, propose to send to us immediately a collection of studies, prosecuted on questions of philology, mathematics, history and other scientific subjects. These we will receive with favorable disposition, praying that the all-good God, the father of lights and the bestower of wisdom may maintain your university above all injurious treatment and may bestow upon it abundant fruits. May our Lord Jesus Christ evermore maintain your excellency above every painful occurrence, and grant you health and many happy years with everything that is desirable and to your mind.

“In the holy city of Jerusalem, August 10, 1885.”

NON-CANONICAL BOOKS.

A L E C T U R E

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

A Historical Introduction

TO THE STUDY OF THE

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

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THE following Lecture, which has been added to the Second Edition of my 'Lectures on the Introduction to the New Testament,' is here published separately for the use of purchasers of the First Edition.

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NON-CANONICAL BOOKS.

HAVING in Lectures XI. and XIX. spoken of Apocryphal Gospels and Apocryphal Acts, I now add a lecture on other books known to the early Church, but which did not find admission into the Canon.

The Apocalypse of Peter.—I give the first place to this work, because it claimed Apostolic authority, and because we infer from the Muratorian Fragment (*see* p. 268), that it had obtained a place, though not an undisputed place, in Church reading before the end of the second century. I mentioned (p. 270) that, at the beginning of the third century, the Roman presbyter Caius rejected, and ascribed to the heretic Cerinthus, a book of revelations purporting to be written by a great Apostle. Many have supposed that the 'great Apostle' was St. John, but it seems to me quite as likely that he may have been St. Peter; for if we are to identify the book rejected by Caius with either of the two Apocalyptic works mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment, it is more natural to think of the work which that Fragment describes as the subject of disputes at Rome. But the almost complete loss of the Apocalypse of Peter leaves us without any means of testing this conjecture. With regard to the contents of the book we have only positive information as to two passages, both indicating that the book contained a description of the Last Judgment. One of these is preserved by Clement of Alexandria in the *Prophetic Selections* (41, 48), which, ac-

according to the general opinion of scholars, formed part of his *Hypotyposeis*. Clement, who is habitually indiscriminate in his reception of books, cites this Apocalypse as a genuine Petrine work* and as Scripture; but the extract which he preserves gives us no favourable opinion of it. It deals with the future condition of abortive births, and of children born in adultery, exposed by their parents. The former, it says, will be handed over to an angel nurse (ἀγγελῶν τημελούχῳ) under whom they will receive instruction, and after suffering what they would have suffered if they had lived in the body, will attain the better abode. The exposed children receive like nursing and instruction, and grow to the condition of the faithful here of the age of a hundred. On account of the injustice done them they obtain mercy and salvation, but only so far as freedom from punishment. I should infer that the writer must have held the general necessity of baptism in order to salvation, a special exception being made in favour of these murdered infants, who, it may be remarked, were presumably the children of heathens. The passage goes on to tell that the bright shining of these children shall strike like lightning the eyes of their unnatural mothers, from whose unused milk shall be generated carnivorous little beasts which shall devour them. I have quoted these puerilities at length, because the passage furnishes proof that the Apocalypse of Peter retained high consideration so late as the beginning of the fourth century. Methodius (*see* p. 616) says: —‘We have received in the divinely-inspired Scriptures, that even those who are begotten in adultery are handed over to angel nurses (τημελούχοις ἀγγέλοις). For if they came into

* Lipsius, in his article APOCALYPSES, in Smith’s *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, states as on the authority of Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 14), that Clement reckoned this Apocalypse among the ‘antilegomena’. But it was Eusebius, not Clement, who so reckoned it. What the passage referred to says is, that ‘Clement in his *Hypotyposeis* gave short comments (διηγήσεις) on all the Canonical Scripture, not even omitting the disputed books, viz. Jude and the other Catholic Epistles and the Epistle of Barnabas, and what is called the Apocalypse of Peter’. With respect to Jude, *see* p. 561. Clement repeatedly quotes the Epistle of Barnabas, and appears to have no doubt of its apostolic origin; and there is no reason to suppose that he thought less favourably of the Apocalypse of Peter.

being in opposition to the will and decree of the blessed nature of God,* how should they be delivered over to angels to be nourished with much gentleness and indulgence? and how could they boldly cite their own parents, before the judgment seat of Christ, to accuse them, saying:—"Thou didst not, O Lord, grudge us thy common light, but these exposed us for death despising thy command"? (*Sympos.* ii. 6). There can be no doubt that what Methodius here cites as 'divinely-inspired Scripture' is taken from the passage of Peter's Apocalypse that is quoted by Clement of Alexandria.

The other extant passage of this Apocalypse is preserved by Macarius Magnes (see p. 193). We can infer that at the very end of the fourth century it had not quite lost its consideration. The heathen objector, as if the book were recognized by Christians as an authority, selects a saying of it for attack—"The earth shall present all to God in the Day of Judgment, and itself shall then be judged with the heaven that surrounds it." Macarius, in reply, remarks that it will not avail him to decline the authority of that Apocalypse, the same doctrine being taught in Is. xxxiv. 4, and Matt. xxiv. 35.

I quoted (p. 539) the formal judgment of Eusebius (III. 25) about this book. He places it with the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas in the second rank of disputed books (which he calls *νóθα*), or books not canonical, but known to most ecclesiastical writers, and which stand on a different level from books of heretical origin (among which he names the Gospel of Peter), which no ecclesiastical writer has deemed it fit to make use of. In an earlier passage (III. 3) Eusebius has with less discrimination lumped together all the Apocryphal books ascribed to Peter (the Gospel of Peter, the Acts of Peter, the Preaching of Peter, and the Revelation of Peter), as not received among Catholics, no ecclesiastical writer either of former days or his own having used testimonies

* The reader will note the Θεοῦ φύσις (see p. 649).

† Many critics think that Macarius has preserved portions of a lost heathen work directed against Christianity: I now incline to the opinion that Macarius has exercised his rhetorical skill in writing the objections as well as the answers, though no doubt the objections were such as he had really encountered in controversy.

from them. We have seen that the last sentence is too strongly worded, as far as the Apocalypse of Peter is concerned; but there can be no doubt that Eusebius is, in the main, right as to the weakness of external attestation for the book. And that it had generally dropped out of Church reading in his time may be inferred from his classing it not with the minor Catholic Epistles, but with the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. But a hundred years after the death of Eusebius its use was not absolutely extinct; for Sozomen in speaking (VII. 19) of singular local usages in different churches tells that in his time this Apocalypse, though regarded as spurious by the ancients, was still annually read on Good Friday in some Churches of Palestine. Its continuance for some time in Church use is also testified by its being included in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (*see* p. 210), where it immediately follows the Revelation of St. John, and in the list of the *Codex Claromontanus* (*see* p. 537). Both these authorities agree in making the length of the book something less than a quarter of that of the Apocalypse of St. John, the number of *στίχοι* being in the former list 1400 and 300, respectively; in the latter 1200 and 270. It has even been conjectured that this had originally formed part of the Sinaitic MS., of which six leaves have been lost, coming between the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. These leaves, no doubt, contained one of the disputed books; and the Revelation of Peter is not too long to have been included in them. But it is doubtful whether it was long enough to fill the gap, and Mr. Rendel Harris (*Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 1884, p. 54) has urged the preferable claims of the Psalms of Solomon*, which originally followed the Canonical books in the Alexandrian MS. Each page of the Sinaitic ordinarily contains four columns; but the poeti-

* As it does not fall within my plan to treat of Old Testament Apocrypha, I content myself with mentioning that these Psalms are 18 in number, and were probably written about 50 years before Christ. The list of the contents of *Codex A* shows that they formed part of that MS., following the Epistles of Clement; but these pages are now lost. These Psalms were edited from another MS. by Fabricius in his *Codex Pseudep. V. T.*, and more recently by Hilgenfeld in his *Messias Judæorum*.

cal books of the Old Testament are written in *στίχοι*, or verses divided according to the sense, and with only two columns on a page. Now, the Epistle of Barnabas ends on the third column of a page, and the fourth is left blank, contrary to the scribe's usual practice. This would be explained, if the book which was immediately to follow was poetical, requiring two columns on a page. Thus, the book of Malachi ends on the third column of a page, and the fourth is left blank, because the following book (the Psalms) is written *στιχῶδόν*.

It is barely worth while to mention conjectural attempts to discover traces of the influence of Peter's Apocalypse. The extant fragments of the treatise on the universe, by Hippolytus, contain a description of the unseen world and the intermediate state, which Bunsen imagined to have been derived from this source. With less probability, Hilgenfeld claims for this Apocalypse a passage twice quoted by Hippolytus (*De Antichrist.*, 15, 54) as a saying of a prophet, but not found in our text of the Old Testament. It is not likely that Peter would have been cited as 'the prophet', and, not to quote other instances, we have seen (p. 542) that early fathers sometimes read in their O. T. text passages not found in ours. From the assumption, however, that 'the prophet' means the 'Apocalypse of Peter', Hilgenfeld draws a startling inference. He finds further on (c. 68) in the same treatise of Hippolytus: 'The prophet says "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light"'; and he concludes that the original of this saying is also to be traced to Peter's Apocalypse, whence it was borrowed by the author of the 'spurious' Epistle to the Ephesians! Hilgenfeld's discussion is to be found in the last fasciculus of his *Nov. Test. ext. Can. recept.*, 2nd edition, 1884.

I will not speak at length of other Apocalypses, none of

In addition to the proof which the presence of these Psalms in *Codex A* affords that they obtained some amount of circulation among Christians, may be mentioned that they are included in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, and that they are made use of in the Gnostic work *Pistis Sophia*. That work contains several Psalms, some of which are adaptations of Psalms of David, others of these Psalms of Solomon.

which can be called really early. The most important is that of Paul, whose account, 2 Cor. xii. 2-4, of the revelations with which he had been favoured offered a temptation to a forger to atone for the Apostle's silence on the subject. Accordingly we hear from Epiphanius (xxxviii. 2) that the Gnostics had an ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου, which professed to be a secret record of the mysteries then revealed to the Apostle. All trace of this book has been lost. That which has actually come down to us as the 'Apocalypse of Paul' is much later. Sozomen, in a passage (vii. 19) already cited, tells that a work thus inscribed was in much esteem among the monks, and he reports that the book was said to have been found by divine revelation in the reign of the then present emperor (Theodosius the younger) buried in a marble box, under what had been the house of Paul at Tarsus. Sozomen ascertained from an aged presbyter at Tarsus that this story was not true. The same Apocalypse is condemned by Augustine (*in Johan. Evang.* c. 16, tract. 98). It is to be found in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphæ* (1863), and more recently has been the subject of an investigation by Brandes, *Visio Pauli*, 1855. I content myself with mentioning that the appearance in the book of an angel Temeluchus indicates that the author had studied the Apocalypse of Peter.

The Epistle of Barnabas.—A second work included by Eusebius in his list of disputed books bears the name of a member of the Apostolic company, the Epistle of Barnabas. It is found in the Sinaitic MS., beginning on the leaf where the Revelation ends, and placed, together with the Shepherd of Hermas, as a kind of appendix to the New Testament books. Its being found at all in a MS. intended for Church use seems to indicate that it had at one time been used in the public reading of the Church, while its position at the end shows that at the time the MS. was written it stood on a lower level than the Canonical writings. The same thing may be inferred from its inclusion among the 'antilegomena' in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus, where it follows the 'Revelation of Peter'. It is quoted several times by Cle-

ment of Alexandria,* who calls its author sometimes the Apostle Barnabas, sometimes the Prophet Barnabas. Elsewhere he states that he was one of the Seventy; and one passage is worth quoting as throwing light on the authority which Clement ascribed to the Epistle. It is taken by Eusebius (ii. 1) from the seventh book of the *Hypotyposeis*:—‘Our Lord after his Resurrection communicated the Gnosis to James the Just, John, and Peter: these communicated it to the other Apostles, and the other Apostles to the Seventy, of whom Barnabas also was one.’ Accordingly, Clement would regard the ‘Gnosis’, of which the Epistle under consideration is full, as really a divine tradition, though only reported second-hand. Origen also appeals to the ‘Catholic Epistle of Barnabas’ (*Adv. Cels.* i. 63), and cites it as Scripture (*Comm. in Rom.* i. 24). These two Alexandrian witnesses make up nearly the whole of the testimony favourable to the Epistle. If it were not for the existence of an early Latin translation, we might even doubt whether it was known at all in the West before the fourth century. One coincidence with Justin and Irenæus has been mentioned (p. 613); but in another place that admits of comparison, an allegorical interpretation of the law concerning clean and unclean animals, Irenæus (v. 8) seems to be quite independent of Barnabas (10). Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* iii. 7) appears to be clearly indebted to Barnabas (7) in describing the scapegoat as pierced and spit upon; yet if he knew our Epistle as that of Barnabas, it seems strange that he should ascribe the same authorship to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Jerome

* Lightfoot says (*Clement*, p. 12), ‘Clement of Alexandria cites the “Apostle Clement” as he cites the “Apostle Barnabas”, one of whose interpretations he nevertheless criticises and condemns with a freedom which he would not have allowed himself in dealing with writings regarded by him as canonical.’ I do not think that the passage referred to (*Strom.* ii. 15) quite warrants the inference drawn from it; and the phrase, ‘criticises and condemns’ is certainly too strong. Clement is engaged in showing that all sins are not equal, and he quotes, apparently with approbation, an exposition by Barnabas of the three classes of sinners referred to in Ps. i. 1. It is scarcely a ‘condemnation’ of Barnabas that he goes on to mention alternative, or even preferable, ways of making out the three classes. It is more to the purpose that Clement (*Paed.* ii. 10) corrects the natural history of Barnabas, but without mention of him by name.

(*De Vir. Illust.* 6; see also *Comm. in Ezek.* xliii. 16) makes no doubt that the author of the Epistle was the Barnabas of the New Testament, but says that the Epistle is counted among apocryphal Scriptures. Elsewhere (*Dial. Cont. Pelag.* iii. 2) he quotes from the Epistle a saying which had been previously quoted by Origen (*Adv. Cels.* i. 63); but he attributes it to Ignatius, probably through lapse of memory.

Turning to the internal evidence we find the contents of the book such as certainly would not make us wish to include it in our Canon of Scripture. To cite one oft-quoted passage, Barnabas misquotes the book of Genesis (*see Gen.* xiv. 14; xvii. 27), as recording that Abraham circumcised 318 of his household, a number expressed in Greek by the letters $\tau\eta\eta'$. It does not appear whether Barnabas called to mind that the book had been written not in Greek but in Hebrew. At all events he expounds that η' denote Jesus, and τ' the cross; and he is so satisfied with his exposition that he adds, 'No one has received a more genuine word from me than this; but I know that ye are worthy.*' He goes on to explain the meaning of the prohibitions against eating the flesh of the animals counted as unclean, of all of which he gives spiritual explanations, in which the natural history is quite as curious as the theology. These spiritual explanations constitute the 'Gnosis' which, in the mind of this author, gives him his chief claim on his reader's attention. One example will suffice. The prohibition to eat the hyena means that we are to avoid adultery and other such sins; for

* Many of the fathers have thought this exposition worth copying, *e.g.* Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 11, p. 782; Ambrose, *De Abraha*, i. 15; Prudentius, *Psychom.* 57; and even in our own times it has found a defender. Keble (*Tracts for the Times*, 89) says: 'In whatever measure the fact is made out, that the received Greek version of the Scriptures was under a peculiar providence, in the same degree it is rendered not improbable, that even in such an apparently casual thing as the number of Abraham's servants, there was an eye to the benefit and consolation which the Church should long after receive, on recognizing, as it were, her Saviour's cypher, in the account of the one holy family triumphantly wrestling against the powers of the world.' The Valentinians, whether deriving their method from Barnabas, or discovering it independently, found their 18 Aeons in the first two letters of the Saviour's name (*Irenæus* i. iii. 2.)

this beast changes its sex each year, being one year male, the next female. I remember that when I was a young student myself I heard some of these passages quoted in a sermon in our chapel by one whose memory we still hold in honour. The preacher's view was that the Epistle was a genuine work of the Apostle Barnabas, and he produced the passages in order to show what rubbish an Apostle was capable of writing when he was not inspired. He thought thereby to exalt the authority of the inspired Scriptures as being *sui generis*, and unlike not only the writings of other men, but the writings of the same men when not inspired. His object was to establish the supreme authority of Scripture, but in real truth he did just the reverse. For according to this view the authority of Scripture must yield to whatever authority it is that settles which of the Apostolic writings are inspired, and which not. I own I know no proof that the Apostles were inspired in a different way when they were writing and when they were speaking; and in a different way when they were writing some books and when they were writing others. And as I have said, if this view be correct, the supreme authority in the Church is that which brings Apostles to its bar, tests their writings, and assigns to some the attribute of inspiration which it denies to others. But what that authority is I don't know. I know that the general sense of the Christian Church has refused to put the Epistle of Barnabas on a level with those of St. Paul; but if you ask by what tribunal, or by what formal act this conclusion has been arrived at, I should be as much puzzled as if you asked me by what tribunal it has been decided that Shakespeare is a greater poet than Beaumont and Fletcher. Without saying anything about the Church's claim to expect Divine guidance, we can hardly refuse to yield at least as much deference to her decisions as we pay to received opinion in matters of taste. And so, no matter who wrote the Epistle we are considering, we shall not accept it as inspired. But if we believe the Apostle Barnabas to have been the author, since he was a man who in his lifetime had claims, like those of St. Paul,

to be God's inspired messenger, we require a theory to explain the grounds on which we are to maintain that the writings of one are more above our criticism than those of the other.*

It is perhaps not preparing you to judge with quite unbiased minds of the question of the authorship of the Epistle that I have allowed you to see what consequences are likely to follow if the apostolic authority be conceded. But judges who are above being prejudiced by considerations of this sort, and who would have no difficulty in believing Apostles to have been guilty of any amount of error, have pretty unanimously decided that the Epistle was written at a later time than Barnabas is likely to have lived to, and that the author is a different manner of man from what the historical Barnabas is described as having been. The main argument is derived from the whole attitude of the writer towards Judaism. The historical Barnabas was a Levite, and was trusted by the Jerusalem Church, to whom he introduced Paul. In his only difference with St. Paul on the subject of Judaism he erred by too great concessions to the Jewish party. Now the writer of the Epistle does not show that acquaintance with Jewish rites which the Levite Barnabas must have had. I exemplified to you, in the case of the number 318, that he does not quote the Old Testament accurately. In fact gross inaccuracy is the rule with him; and in his account of Jewish rites (and on the symbolizing of Christ by these rites he builds many arguments) he deviates widely from the Old Testament. Nor can we have recourse to the supposition that the rites traditionally practised in Jerusalem at that time differed from those prescribed in the Old Testament; for the Talmud, which may be supposed to have preserved Jewish traditions, gives the so-called Barnabas as little countenance as the Old Testament does.

But more remarkable even than his inaccuracy in speaking of Jewish institutions is his total want of respect for them. He does not look on the performance of the Jewish rites as

* Westcott, for example, holds (*N. T. Canon*, p. 41) that Barnabas can in no case be ranked with the Twelve, or St. Paul, not having received his Apostolate directly from our Lord, as they did.

introductory and preparatory for Christ, but as a gross sin—a misconception of the true meaning of the law. He has a spiritual exposition for the Mosaic precepts, and he holds that the Jews, by taking them literally, excluded themselves from God's covenant. He even represents the Jews as deceived by an evil angel. Paul forbade the Gentiles to be circumcised; but, in Acts xxi., the statement is repelled as a calumny that he taught the Jews to forsake Moses, and not to circumcise their children nor walk after the customs. This writer, under the name of Barnabas, would seem to condemn the Jews for having observed such customs even before our Lord's coming. And his whole tone of feeling towards the Jewish nation is such, that when I balance the probabilities that a born Gentile should acquire as much knowledge of the Old Testament as this writer displays, or that a born Jew should come to feel towards his own nation so completely as an outsider, I prefer to embrace the former probability.*

A less formidable difficulty in the way of ascribing the authorship to the Apostle Barnabas arises from the date of the Epistle. There is a range of some forty or fifty years within which the date may lie; but it is certain (*ch.* 16) that it is later than the destruction of Jerusalem. Now (see p. 528), we should not expect to find the Apostle Barnabas in activity so late; and the silence of Paul's later Epistles about him might lead us to think he had died before Paul. But this is only a presumption which must yield to any good evidence on the other side; and Paul's silence would be accounted for if Barnabas had gone off to work in a completely different sphere—for example, Egypt. A limit in the other direction to the date of the Epistle is furnished by its complete silence as to any of the Gnostic theories which caused so much controversy in the Church quite early in the second century. The anti-Judaism of the Epistle might make us think of Marcion; but the Epistle is distinctly pre-Marcionite, there being not the least

* It is worth while, in this point of view, to compare this Epistle with the Gospel according to St. John, which has been characterized by some critics as 'anti-Jewish' (see pp. 28, 320), but which will be seen to be intensely Jewish as compared with Barnabas.

trace of any of the notions peculiar to that heretic.* On these grounds the Epistle cannot be dated later than A. D. 120. There are two passages which have been used to determine more precisely the date of the Epistle. In *ch.* 4, in proof that the last days are at hand, he quotes Daniel's prophecies (vii. 8, 24) of ten kings, and of one king overthrowing three others. He does not enter into the question how the ten kings were to be made out, but merely remarks, 'ye ought therefore to understand'. The brevity of this comment indicates that Barnabas found the fulfilment of the prophecy in some patent fact, and not in one requiring historical or chronological studies to discover it. I therefore know no explanation of his words so natural as that the Epistle was written in the reign of Vespasian. It is true that a historical student might discover that, counting Julius Cæsar, Vespasian was only the tenth emperor, while Daniel's words would lead us to think of his 'little horn' as representing an eleventh king; but Barnabas is one of the last writers from whom minute accuracy of interpretation need be expected. If he lived in the reign of Vespasian, the rapid overthrow in succession of three emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, might naturally make him think that he was witnessing a fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy of one king subduing three. I know no other time when his language would be natural. On this account, though some other considerations would induce me to push down the date of the Epistle to the second century, I find it hard to resist the inference that we must ascribe it to the reign of Vespasian, A. D. 70-79. In the other passage (16) he quotes the prophecy 'They that destroyed this temple shall themselves build it up again',† and adds, 'and so it comes to pass. Through their making war it was destroyed by their

* With regard to the suggestion, thrown out p. 516, that this may be the Epistle to the Alexandrians rejected, on account of its Marcionite tendencies, in the Muratorian Fragment, it must be borne in mind that even if our Epistle was really addressed to the Alexandrians, there is no evidence that it ever bore that title; and that it is even doubtful whether it was known in the West at the date of that Fragment.

† A free quotation from Isaiah xlix. 17 (LXX.): *ταχὺ οἰκοδομηθήσῃ ὑφ' ὧν καθρέθῃς, καὶ οἱ ἐρημώσαντές σε ἐξελεύσονται ἐκ σοῦ.*

enemies, and now both they and the servants of their enemies shall build it up again.' It has been supposed that this refers to some attempts to rebuild the Temple in the reign of Hadrian; but I find no evidence of anything of the kind to give a probable explanation of the language of Barnabas; and it seems to me plain from the rest of the chapter that it is in the building up of a spiritual temple that he finds the fulfilment of the prophecy. The argument, therefore, for the earlier date, drawn from the former passage, remains undisturbed.

There is nothing in the letter itself to determine the place to which it was addressed; but since it is from Alexandria we first hear of it, it seems probable enough that it was sent to that city. Alexandria contained a large Jewish population, and thus the conflict with Judaism would there occupy much of Christian attention. Possibly, too, some Jewish rites may have been different in Egypt and in Palestine. The name Barnabas, found in the title of the letter, does not appear in the letter itself. All that we discover from it is that it was written by a Christian teacher, to a Church in which he had himself laboured, and to which he was accordingly well known. We are not forced to suppose that it was written from a distance: the author may have merely wished to leave his people a written record of his teaching. If the author was not the Apostle Barnabas—and I find it hard to believe he was—the question will be asked how the letter came to bear his name. The best conjecture I can make, setting aside the guess that the author's name may really have been Barnabas, is that the Church of Alexandria was founded, if not by Barnabas himself, by men of Cyprus, who owed their knowledge of the Gospel to him, and that so his name came to be attached to a venerable record of early teaching preserved in that Church.

The Epistle of Clement.—This venerable document has clearly a right to be next considered. It is true that although Eusebius calls the Epistle *μεγάλη, θαυμασία, ἀνωμολογημένη παρὰ πᾶσιν* (III. 16, 37), he does not include it in his list of ecclesiastical books (see p. 456); and even if the omission arose from

inadvertence, the possibility that the book could be forgotten shows that it had no serious pretensions to canonical authority when Eusebius wrote. But it had evidently made a profound impression on the earlier Church. It was written in the name of the Church of Rome* to the Church of Corinth, and was intended to appease a sedition in the latter Church, ending in the unwarrantable deposition of some presbyters from their office. The letter, which is framed on the model of the Apostolic Epistles, is mainly taken up with enforcing the duties of meekness, humility, and submission to lawful authority. The reception it met with in the Church to which it was addressed is evidenced by a letter written about A. D. 170, by Dionysius, then bishop of Corinth, to Soter, bishop of Rome, to acknowledge a gift of money which the Roman Church had sent, exercising their 'hereditary custom' of liberality. Dionysius states that the letter accompanying this gift had been read at their meeting on the Lord's Day, and would continue to be so read for their edification, as also the former letter of the Roman Church, written by Clement (Euseb. iv. 23). The public reading of Clement's letter spread to other Churches; and Eusebius (iii. 16) says that he knew of the practice existing in very many Churches, both formerly

* Not in the name of Clement, which is not once mentioned, and which we only learn to connect with the Epistle by independent tradition. In fact, it is remarkable how all through the first two centuries the importance of the bishop of Rome is merged in the importance of his Church. In the subsequent correspondence mentioned above, Dionysius of Corinth writes to the Church of Rome, not to Soter, its bishop. Ignatius, when on his way to suffer at the wild-beast shows at Rome, writes to deprecate intercession likely to be there made for his release; and he addresses the Church, not the bishop. And it is curious, that from this writer, who is accounted the strongest witness for Episcopacy in early times, we could not discover that there was any bishop at Rome. No mention is made of the bishop of Rome in the Shepherd of Hermas. And in the account which Epiphanius, evidently drawing from an older writer, gives of the intercourse of Marcion with the Church of Rome (*Haer.* 42), the dealings of Marcion are represented as being entirely with the Roman presbyters; and it may be doubted whether Epiphanius found in his authority the solution which he suggests, that at the time the see was vacant. At the very end of the century, when Victor attempted to enforce uniformity of Easter observance, it was still in the name of his Church that he wrote, asking that provincial councils should be assembled in order to report on the matter. This is evidenced by the plural *ἡξιώσατε* in the reply of Polycrates (Euseb. v. 24).

and in his own time (*see* also Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 15, Photius, *Cod.* 113). With this agrees the fact that it is found (together with a second Epistle) in the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, but coming as a kind of appendix after the Apocalypse. The scribe, however, has included it among New Testament books in his table of contents; and in a Syriac version, to be mentioned presently, it is even joined to the Catholic Epistles. On the other hand, in the list of Nicephorus it is not even placed with the ‘antilegomena’ in company with the Apocalypse of Peter and the Epistle of Barnabas, but among the ‘Apocrypha,’ with the Acts of Peter, John, and Thomas. It seems to have been scarcely known to the Western Church, and there is no evidence of any early translation into Latin. The second-century attestation to the Epistle is copious. It is clearly referred to by Hermas in a passage which will come under consideration in the next section; it is recognized by Hegesippus (Euseb. iii. 16, iv. 22), who speaks of it in connexion with his visit to Corinth, and probably found it in use there; it is cited by Irenæus (iii. 3), and several times by Clement of Alexandria, who once (*Strom.* iv. 17, p. 609) gives Clement the title of Apostle, and another time (vi. 8, p. 272) cites by mistake a passage of Clement as from the prophet Barnabas. Probably Clement found the two Epistles of Clement and Barnabas together, appended to his ‘Apostolus’, or collection of Apostolic letters. But the impression made by Clement’s revival of the Apostolic method of teaching distant Churches is testified even more strongly by the indirect evidence of the use made of his letter. It is a matter of dispute whether certain coincidences in the Epistles of Ignatius are sufficient to prove acquaintance with Clement’s letter, but there can be no doubt as to the constant employment of it in the Epistle of Polycarp. The beginning and ending of the letter of the Church of Smyrna, relating to the martyrdom of Polycarp, are both fashioned after the pattern of Clement’s Epistle; and his form of address, ‘the Church *sojourning* in Rome (*παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην*) to the Church *sojourning* in Corinth’, became an established formula, which was adopted in the letters of Dionysius of

Corinth (Euseb. iv. 23), and of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (v. 1). And further evidence is furnished by the legendary stories, having Clement for a leading personage, which gained so much circulation by the end of the second century, or the beginning of the third. There can be no doubt that it was the celebrity which his widely-circulated Epistle had given to the name of Clement which recommended that name to the inventors of these legends.

The letter begins by explaining that it would have been written earlier if it had not been for repeated calamities in which the Church of Rome had been involved. It used to be supposed that the persecution under Nero was here referred to, but the best critics are now agreed that all the notes of time in the letter oblige us rather to refer it to the reign of Domitian,* during which the Roman Church had to suffer a severe trial of persecution. The date would thus be about A. D. 96. This date well agrees with the statement of Irenæus (iii. 3), probably derived by him from Hegesippus, that the Apostles Peter and Paul, having founded the Church of Rome, committed the government of it to the Linus who is mentioned in the Epistle to Timothy; that to Linus succeeded Anencletus, and to Anencletus Clement. Thus Clement is separated by two Episcopates from the time of the Apostles. This corresponds very well with the interval between the reigns of Nero and Domitian, but cannot be reconciled with the fiction which made Peter first bishop of Rome, and Clement his immediate successor. When this fiction came to be accepted as historical truth it was attempted to mend the chronology by a theory that Linus only held office as Peter's deputy, and dying during that Apostle's lifetime, was succeeded by Clement; Anencletus, who has left no mark on history, being degraded to the third place. But there is every

* This date has the authority of Eusebius (iii. 16), and, apparently, also the earlier authority of Hegesippus. What Eusebius says is, that in the twelfth year of Domitian Clement succeeded to the bishopric of Rome; that he was the author of an admirable Epistle still extant, written in the name of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, to appease a sedition in the latter Church; and that Hegesippus testifies that the sedition took place in the time of the afore-mentioned.

reason for adhering to the account of our oldest witness, Irenæus. The names Linus, Cletus, Clement, have from the earliest times been commemorated in that order in the Roman Liturgy. What inducement could there have been for thrusting the unknown name of Cletus before that of Clement, unless it had a chronological title to precedence? If we have found reason to think that Clement belongs to the reign of Domitian, we cannot attach much value to a guess of Origen's (*In Johann.* i. 29), that he was the same as the Clement mentioned by Paul (*Phil.* iv. 3). The name is far too common a one to allow of our disregarding the difficulties of place and time which stand in the way of an identification.

In modern times it has been imagined that Episcopacy had not arisen before the end of the first century, and that Linus, Cletus, Clement, were but the names of leading presbyters. But if so, we may ask, how came it that the letter of the Roman Church should be universally known as the letter of Clement, whose name is not once mentioned in it? I know no good explanation of this but the old one, that this was because Clement was generally known to be at the head of the Roman Church at the time the letter was written. We are not to suppose, however, that the name bishop was then distinctively used to denote the head of the Church, nor are we bound to think that the line of separation between him and other presbyters was as marked as it became in later times. The words bishop and presbyter are used interchangeably by Clement, as in Paul's Pastoral Epistles. It has been thought, however, that although Clement's letter exhibits the prominence of a single person as chief in the Church of Rome, it affords evidence that there was no such prominence in the Church of Corinth, whose bishop is not mentioned in the Epistle. But this inference is not warranted; for it is plain from the letter itself that if Corinth had ever had a bishop, he was out of office at the time the letter was written. The letter was occasioned by the deposition of certain 'presbyters'; and it has been just said that Clement would use the name 'presbyter' in speaking of what we now call the 'bishop'. Now, it is to be observed that the state of things at Corinth

is not adequately described by such phrases as 'schism,' 'feuds,' 'dissensions'. Clement calls it (*ch.* 1) an 'abominable and impious sedition' (*μιαρῆς καὶ ἀνοσίτου στάσεως*), which he compares (*ch.* 4) to the sedition which Dathan and Abiram made against Moses.* Accordingly he does not attempt to heal the Corinthian schism by exhortations to mutual concessions; but he rebukes those whom he addresses, and exhorts them to unequivocal submission to the authority which they had resisted. He tells them of the necessity of order in things temporal and in things spiritual; he tells them that those whom they had deposed held an office instituted by, and handed down from, the Apostles themselves. And he says: 'It is shameful, dearly beloved; yes, utterly shameful and unworthy of your conduct in Christ that it should be reported that the very steadfast and ancient Church of Corinth, for the sake of one or two persons, maketh sedition against its presbyters.' 'Ye, therefore, that laid the foundation of the sedition submit yourselves unto the presbyters, and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees† of your heart.' The letter throws no light on the question whether the presbyters deposed were all equal in rank, or whether one was superior to the rest.

It bears on the question of Roman supremacy that we should understand the amount of disorder in Corinth. If there had been merely a schism there, we might wonder that Rome should undertake to arbitrate between rival claimants to office in a distant city. But if it be understood that the Corinthian Church had distinctly violated what was elsewhere recognized as Apostolic order, the letter ceases to give evidence of Roman supremacy, for the enormity of the offence would give to a distant Church

* I make a suggestion in the next section as to the possible origin of the sedition.

† The phrase is taken from the Prayer of Manasses, and seems to afford the earliest instance of its use. This document, which is included among the Apocryphal Books of the Authorized Version, was not admitted into the Canon by the Council of Trent. But there is some evidence of early Church use of it. It is found in the Alexandrian MS., in the collection of hymns appended to the Psalter. It had been used by Julius Africanus (fr. 40, Routh. *Rel. Sac.* ii. 288), and it was copied into the Apostolic Constitutions, ii. 22.

the right of expostulation. Clement's language: 'If certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger'; but we shall be guiltless of this sin', does not appear to me to indicate any official superiority of his Church, but only to be such as any Christian preacher might use in rebuking known sin. No Church was better entitled to use expostulation with another than the Church of Rome, which exercised liberality towards the rest, not only in hospitable treatment of the strangers whom business was continually drawing to the great capital, but also, as we have just seen, in direct gifts to foreign Churches. But, no doubt, this early example of successful interference must have done much to increase the *prestige* of the Church by whose exertions peace had been restored.

In Clement's Epistle such copious use is made of the Old Testament, that it may be probably inferred that the author was a Jew by birth, familiar with the book from childhood. In citing it the ordinary formulæ of Scripture quotation are used; but the books of the New Testament are treated differently. Clement shows his acquaintance with them by weaving their language into his discourse; but he does not formally quote them as authoritative Scripture, except that he uses in this way sayings of our Lord, which, however, would seem in his use of them to derive their authority from having been spoken by Him, rather than from the book in which they were recorded.

Until lately Clement's Epistle was only known as preserved in one MS. (viz., as already stated, the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament): and there not complete, for a leaf of this part of the MS. had been lost. But a few years ago notice was taken that a manuscript book in a library at Constantinople contained, among other early writings, a copy of Clement's Epistles. Its text was made known to scholars in 1875, in an admirable edition of Clement, published by Bryennius, metropolitan then of Serræ, now of Nicomedia, a prelate whose learning does honour to the Church to which he belongs. And,

strange to say, almost about the same time a third authority for the text was recovered in a Syriac version, contained in a Syriac N. T. acquired by the University of Cambridge. In this MS. Clement's Epistles regularly take the place of New Testament books, coming as part of the Catholic Epistles, after Jude, and before the Pauline Epistles, and even furnishing lessons for Church reading.

Although I professed to treat of the Epistle of Clement, I have just used the plural number, 'Epistles', for our MS. authorities give us two Epistles ascribed to Clement. Eusebius, who usually speaks of Clement's Epistle in the singular number, mentions (III. 38) that there was a second Epistle which bore Clement's name, but that it had not as much circulation as the former, and that it had not been quoted by the ancients. And internal evidence shows that the second, though an early document, is later, by at least a generation, than Clement's genuine Epistle. Indeed, now that we have the document complete (for the mutilation of the Alexandrian MS. had until lately deprived us of the conclusion), we learn that it is not an Epistle at all, but a written homily, intended to be publicly read in Church. The writer is distinctly a Gentile, and contrasts himself and his readers with the Jewish nation in a manner unlike the genuine Clement. And instead of confining his quotations to the Old Testament, he has many citations from the Gospels, giving in one place the name Scripture to the source of his quotation. He used Apocryphal Gospels besides: one of his quotations we can trace to the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Yet he appears to have written before the great conflict with Gnosticism began, so that we may confidently ascribe the document to the first half of the second century.

The 'Shepherd' of Hermas.—Returning now to Eusebius's list of disputed books, I come to treat of the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. The passage quoted from the Muratorian Fragment (p. 59) testifies the high consideration in which the book was then held. Although the writer refuses to the 'Shepherd' a place in public Church reading, he lays down

that it not only *might*, but *ought* to be read in private, and his language plainly indicates that, in some places at least, the Church use of the book had been such as to cause danger of its being set on a level with the Canonical Scriptures. Irenæus (IV. 20) actually quotes a passage from the book, with the words, 'Well said the Scripture'. Clement of Alexandria quotes the book several times, and to all appearance fully accepts the reality and divine character of the revelations which it contains. Origen, commenting on Rom. xvi. 14, says, 'I think that this Hermas is the author of the book which is called the 'Shepherd', a writing which seems to me very useful, and, as I think, divinely inspired.' But his references to the book elsewhere clearly indicate that it did not then stand on the level of the Canonical Scriptures; and he several times owns that it was not received by all.* In fact, the rise of Montanism made the Church much more cautious in the use of non-Canonical writings. It was felt that the prerogatives of Scripture were infringed on, when the utterances of modern prophets were circulated as having like claims on the acceptance of Christians. An opponent of the Montanists (Euseb. v. 16) declares that he had abstained from writing against them, lest *he* should seem to desire to add anything to the word of the Gospel of the New Testament, to which no one who is resolved to walk according to the Gospel can add anything, and from which he cannot take away. This state of feeling led to a severer scrutiny of the claims of books which had been admitted into public Church use; and it is intelligible why the Muratorian writer should deprecate the Church use of a book which he believed to be not more ancient than the Episcopate of Pius. The change of feeling as to Hermas took place in the lifetime of Tertullian. In an early treatise (*De Oratione*) he disputes against certain persons who thought themselves bound to sit down at once after prayer, because Hermas is recorded to have done so. The book must evidently have enjoyed high authority when its narrative statements could thus be turned into rules of dis-

* ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ τινων καταφρονουμένῳ βιβλίῳ τῷ Ποιμένι (*De Princ.* IV. 11).

cipline. Tertullian, in reply, says nothing to disparage the authority of the book, but only contends that such an inference from it is not warranted. That the book then existed in a Latin translation may be inferred from Tertullian's describing it by its Latin name, *Pastor*, contrary to his practice in speaking of books which he knew only in Greek. In a work written several years later, and after the rise of Montanism (*De Pudic.* 10), Tertullian contemptuously repudiates the authority of the 'Shepherd', declaring that it was not counted worthy of being included in the Canon, but had been placed by every council of Churches, even of the Catholic party, among false and apocryphal writings.* But that the book still continued to enjoy *some* consideration appears from Tertullian's going on to speak (*c.* 20) of the Epistle to the Hebrews as *more* received in the Churches than 'that apocryphal "Shepherd" of the adulterers'. It is worth while to copy what Eusebius says of the book (iii. 3): 'It is to be observed that this book has been disputed by some, on whose account it cannot be placed among the *homologoumena*; but by others it has been judged most necessary for those who have especial need of elementary instruction. Hence, also, we know that it has been publicly read in Churches, and I observe that some of the most ancient writers have employed it.'† With regard to what is here said about introductory instruction, it is to be remarked that the feeling grew up that the books of Scripture were the property of the Church, and therefore could not so fitly be used in teaching those who had not yet been admitted to it. And so Athanasius (*Ep. Fest.* 39) classes the 'Shepherd', with the teaching of the Twelve Apostles and with some of the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, as not canonical, but useful to be employed in cateche-

* 'Si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur.' We can infer from the 'vestrarum' that the councils which condemned the Shepherd were later than the time of separation of Tertullian from the Church.

† 'Ἰστέον ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς μὲν τινῶν ἀντιλέλεκται, δι' οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις τεθείη, ὑφ' ἑτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαϊότατον οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς κέκριται, ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατέληφα.

tical instruction.* The 'Shepherd' forms part of the appendix to the Sinaitic MS.; it is also included in the list of the *Codex Claromontanus*, and some twenty Latin MSS. survive to attest that it had some circulation in the West.

The book, the history of whose reception I have sketched, consists of three parts. The first part, called Visions, relates different revelations with which the author had been favoured, stating particularly the occasion and place of receiving each vision. The scene of each of these visions is laid in Rome or its neighbourhood, so that the document clearly belongs to the Roman Church. This part concludes with a narration of the vision which gives the name to the book. A man comes to Hermas in the garb of a shepherd, and tells him that he is the angel of repentance, and that he has come to dwell with him, being the guardian to whose care he has been intrusted. This 'Shepherd' then gives him, for his own instruction and that of the Church, the 'Commandments', which form the second, and the 'Similitudes', which form the third part of the work. With regard to the general purport of these revelations, it will suffice here to state briefly that they are intended to rebuke the worldliness with which the Church had become corrupted; to predict a time of great tribulation as at hand, in which the dross should be cleared away, and to announce that there was a short intervening time during which repentance was possible, and would be accepted. The question as to the possibility of forgiveness of post-baptismal gross sin was then agitating the Church. The solution which Hermas offers is, that during that short respite the then members of the Church might obtain forgiveness. But only once: for this was an exceptional favour, and those who joined the

* Having enumerated the books of Scripture, and declared these to be the only fountains of salvation, to which none may add nor take away, he goes on to add, 'for greater accuracy', ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν Πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἔρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομώντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ, καὶ Ἑσθῆρ, καὶ Ἰουδίθ, καὶ Τωβίας, καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ Ποιμήν. And he proceeds to distinguish the two classes of books which he has enumerated from apocryphal books, which are only the invention of heretics.

Church afterwards must expect no other forgiveness than that which they obtained in baptism.

Concerning the date of the 'Shepherd,' received opinion still accepts the statement of the Muratorian Fragment; that the author was brother to Pius, bishop of Rome, and wrote during his Episcopate: that is to say about the middle of the second century. I have said (p. 62), that I myself believe that statement to be erroneous; but, before discussing this point, it will be convenient to say something on some preliminary questions about which there is less room for dispute. If you consider these questions in order, you will be able to judge how far you can travel in my company.*

(1.) Did the author wish his readers to believe that he had actually seen the visions, and received the revelations which he relates? Donaldson (*Apostolic Fathers*, p. 326) thinks that if Hermas fancied he saw the visions he must have been silly, and if he tried to make other people believe he had seen them, he must have been an impostor. He prefers to think he was neither one nor other; and therefore he looks on the book as belonging to the same class as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which edifying lessons are conveyed through the medium of allegorical fiction, which no one is supposed to take as a record of actual facts. It is to me amazing that anyone with ordinary powers of literary perception could read the book of Hermas, and doubt that the author, impostor or not, intended his readers to take him seriously. The judgment I have quoted illustrates what I said (p. 379), that a man incapacitates himself for his-

* The early date of Hermas was in recent times first seriously maintained by Zahn (*Der Hirt des Hermas*, 1868). Zahn is an authority whom it may not be safe always implicitly to follow, but who, at least, cannot be treated with disrespect. When he came forward to maintain the genuineness of the Ignatian letters he was regarded by many as the advocate of a hopeless cause; but Bishop Lightfoot's great work attests that he has won the verdict. I think he would have been more successful in gaining adherents in the present case, if the author with whom he deals were more generally read; for it appears to me that many scholars simply hold fast to the traditional opinion about a not very interesting book which they do not care to study for themselves. My own opinion was formed as the result of investigations commenced with a strong prepossession against the conclusion which I ultimately adopted.

torical criticism, if he so takes up the modern attitude of mind towards the supernatural, as not only to disbelieve in it himself, but to be unable to conceive that men in former times felt differently. A man might now publish an edifying fiction in the form of a vision, and without taking any special precaution feel sure that his readers would not imagine he wanted them to take it as real. But in the second century a writer was bound to calculate on a different state of feeling on the part of his readers. And, in point of fact, the 'Shepherd' was for a time very generally accepted as a record of real revelations. And no critic of early times, whether he accepted the book or not, dreamed that its author wished to convey any other impression.

(2.) What, then, are we to think of what Hermas, when relating the circumstances of his visions, tells about himself and his family? If the story be fiction and allegory, we have no right to suppose any of these details to be more real than the angels and towers which he sees in his visions. Nor are we even warranted in assuming that the name Hermas, ascribed to the recipient of the revelations, is that of the author himself. But both the story itself, and the manner of telling it, prove that this is no work of fiction. The author of such a work would strive to give some intelligible account of the hero of his narrative; but here Hermas, as if writing to people who knew him, gives no direct account of himself, and his story has to be deduced by piecing together several incidental notices. What we gather from them is, that Hermas had been brought to Rome as a slave; that Rhoda, the lady to whom he had been sold, set him free, and loaded him with many benefits; that he had acquired some property, and been engaged in trade, which he owns he did not always carry on honestly; that he married a not very handsome wife, who unfortunately was not able to govern her tongue; that he had other trouble with his children, who in time of persecution denied the faith, and betrayed their parents; that he thus lost house and property, but remained steadfast in the faith, and supported himself by agricultural labour. Some have imagined that the 'Shepherd' was a romance written in

the middle of the second century, but intended to have as its hero the Hermas mentioned a hundred years before in the Epistle to the Romans. But it is not credible that the author of a romance would invent for his hero such a history as I have described, representing him not even as a clergyman but a layman, an elderly married man, with an ill-conditioned wife and children. I have dwelt at length upon this point because I am persuaded that the key to all sound criticism on the 'Shepherd' is to understand thoroughly that the Hermas who tells the story is no fictitious character, but a real person, who published his visions for the edification of his contemporaries.

(3.) But did he invent these visions, or did he himself believe in them? I have no hesitation in saying that he did believe in them. It is not merely that the whole book impresses me with belief in the narrator's good faith in this respect; but the stories themselves, when examined, show every mark of being, not arbitrary inventions, but attempts to record the imaginations of a dream. I take, for example, the first vision. Hermas relates that he had one day seen his former mistress, Rhoda, bathing in the Tiber, and had assisted her out of the water. And, admiring her beauty, he thought what happiness it were for him had he a wife like her in form and in disposition. Further than this his thought did not go. But soon after he had a vision. He fell asleep, and in his dream he was for a long time walking and struggling on ground so rugged and broken that it was impossible to pass. At length he succeeded in crossing the water by which his path had been washed away, and coming into smooth ground, knelt down to confess his sins to God. Then the heavens were opened, and he saw Rhoda saluting him from the sky. On asking her what she did there, she told him that she had been taken up to accuse him before the Lord, who was angry with him for having sinned against her. He asks her how? Had he ever spoken a lewd word to her? Had he not always treated her with honour and respect? She owns it, but accuses him of having entertained an evil thought, and tells him of the sin of evil thoughts, and their punish-

ment. Then the heavens were closed, and he was left shuddering with fear, not knowing how he could escape the judgment of God if such a thought as his were marked as sin. Then he sees a venerable lady sitting in a great white chair, with a book in her hands. She asks why he who was usually so cheerful is now so sad. On his telling her, she owns what a sin any impure thought would be in one so singleminded, and so innocent as he; but she assures him it is not for this God is angry with him, but because of the sins of his children, whom he, through false indulgence, had allowed to corrupt themselves; but to whom repentance was still open, if he would warn them. Then she reads to him out of her book: of the greater part he can remember nothing, save that it was severe and menacing; but he remembers the last sentence, which was mild and consoling. She leaves him with the words, 'Play the man, Hermas'.

Now, if we take this story as allegorical fiction, it is impossible to assign a meaning to it. There is not a word more about Rhoda through the whole book. Why has she been introduced? What is she intended to represent? Why should Hermas be first told that God was angry with him on one account, and then be told that it was really on another account God was angry? On the other hand, the want of logical connexion between the parts of the story is explained at once if we take his own word that it was a dream. There is no difficulty in believing that he had seen Rhoda as he tells, and that the thought he had entertained afterwards in his sleep presented itself to him as a sin. It is quite like a dream that Rhoda, as principal figure, should fade out, and be replaced by another; that sensations of physical distress in his sleep should suggest the ideas, first of walking on and on without being able to find an outlet; afterwards of mental distress at words spoken to him; and altogether like a dream, too, that he should imagine himself to have heard a long discourse, yet be able to tell nothing of it but the words heard just before awakening. It therefore seems to me quite false criticism to put any other interpretation on the story told by Hermas than that his 'visions' commenced in the manner

he describes, by his having what we should call a very vivid dream. He was much impressed by it, and when, in the following year, he dreamed again of the lady and her book, he regarded it as a divine communication, and set himself, by fasting and prayer, to obtain new revelations. More visions accordingly followed, and he made himself known to his Church as favoured with Divine revelations. I see no reason for doubting the truth of this story, though I naturally think that the visions of Hermas gained a good deal in coherence when he came to write them down. I believe, also, that the last two sections of his work contain records of his waking thoughts, which he regarded as inspired by an angel who, he had persuaded himself, had come permanently to dwell with him. The conclusion, then, at which I arrive is, that the work of Hermas is not to be classed with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, but rather with the revelations of St. Teresa, St. Francesca Romana, St. Gertrude, St. Catherine of Siena, and other literature of the same kind, of which there is such abundance in the Roman Catholic Church.

Are we, then, who do not believe in the revelations of Hermas, to set him down as a crazy person, and to regard those who believed in him as fools? The examples I have just cited may make us hesitate before coming to such a conclusion. St. Teresa, for instance, visionary as she was, did much useful work, and exhibited a large amount of practical good sense. In respect of sobriety, the visions of Hermas contrast very favourably with some of the other literature with which I have compared them. I will not discuss the vision of Col. Gardiner, which was accepted as real by Dr. Doddridge, nor need I remind you how many persons who can by no means be described as fools have thought it worth while to record remarkable dreams, under the belief that supernatural intimations might thus have been given. But if you think that the Church of Rome was in the beginning of the second century too easy in its reception of the revelations of Hermas, I will ask you to bear in mind that the men of that age are not to be scorned because their views as to God's manner of governing His Church were different from what

the experience of so many following centuries has taught us. We all believe that in the time of our Lord and His Apostles a great manifestation of the supernatural was made to the world. How long, and to what extent, similar manifestations would present themselves in the ordinary life of the Church, only experience could show. Again, if we are able to give a natural explanation of some mental phenomena which were once thought to indicate supernatural interference, it is no disgrace to men of early times that they were not acquainted with modern philosophy. Even in the Church of Rome, though we may think it gives credence too lightly to modern miracles, a visionary would now receive from her spiritual guides instruction as to the possibility of deception, and as to the need of caution, for which, in the second century, no necessity might be felt.

(4.) I come, then, to the question, Did Hermas see his visions in the Episcopate of Clement? He himself plainly intimates that he did. For he states that in his vision he received the following instructions:—‘You shall write two books, and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. And Grapte shall admonish the widows and orphans, and Clement shall send it to foreign cities, for to him that office has been committed. And you shall relate it to the presbyters of the Church.’ The natural inference from this passage is, that at the time of the vision Grapte was what we may describe as chief deaconess of the Roman Church, and that Clement was the organ by which it communicated with foreign Churches. And we have every reason to think that he was so described on account of the celebrity gained not long before by his letter sent to a distant Church. Different ways have been devised of escaping this inference. I really don’t know whether we are to count Origen as rejecting the obvious meaning of the passage, though he does manage to find an allegory in it. He treats (*De Princip.* iv. 11) of three modes of interpreting Scripture, corresponding to the tripartite nature of man—body, soul, and spirit. And he imagines that he finds them indicated in this passage, Grapte, who instructs those of lowest spiritual discernment, being the literal interpretation, and

Clement and Hermas himself representing the two higher methods of interpretation. A solution more acceptable to modern habits of thought is that a real Clement is intended, only not the Clement who wrote the Epistle to the Corinthians. But it must be pronounced extremely improbable that within a comparatively few years of the writing of that letter there should be another Clement, whose function it also was to communicate on behalf of the Church of Rome with foreign Churches, but who has left on ecclesiastical history no trace of his existence.* A third solution is that Hermas, no doubt, wished his readers to believe that he saw his visions in the Episcopate of the well-known Clement; but he was telling a lie. He really wrote forty or fifty years later. But we cannot adopt this solution unless we abandon the results we have already obtained. If the work is a mere fiction, the imaginary hero may have lived under Clement, and the real author when you please; and his name may or may not have been Hermas. But if he was a man who told his contemporaries of visions, real or pretended, which he claimed to have seen himself, it would be absurd of him to destroy his chance of being believed, by asserting that he saw the vision at a time when it was notorious that he had either not been born, or could have been only a child. It is to be remembered that the vision represents him to have been then an elderly married man, with a grown-up family. I must add, that Hermas had no motive whatever for antedating his work. His prophecy announced tribulation close at hand, and only a short intervening period for repentance. It would be absolutely contrary to his interest to pretend that the prophecy had been delivered forty or fifty years previously. All his readers would then know that the prediction had failed, for nothing had come of it. And the promise of forgiveness, which excluded all those baptized after the date of the prophecy, would not be applicable at all to the generation to which the book was offered. I therefore find it impossible to resist the

* On the method of solving historical difficulties by imagining for real characters duplicates unknown to history, the reader may consult S. R. Maitland's tenth letter on Fox. If he does not know it already, he will thank me for the reference.

evidence afforded by this passage, that Hermas must have attained to middle life before the death of Clement. I may claim Bishop Lightfoot as agreeing with me in this result; for he repeatedly speaks of Hermas as a younger contemporary of Clement (*Philippians*, p. 167; *Clement*, p. 1, &c.).

When this result has been adopted, the main question may be regarded as settled. For the remaining point in dispute concerns not the date of Hermas, but the credit due to the Muratorian writer.

(5.) If we admit that the vision was seen in the Episcopate of Clement, can we accept the Muratorian statement that Hermas wrote the 'Shepherd' while his brother, the Bishop Pius, sat in the chair of the Church of the city of Rome? Lightfoot thinks we can; and he suggests modes of reconciliation, which, indeed, I tried for a long time myself before I could persuade myself to abandon the Muratorian statement altogether. Hermas may have been considerably the older of the two brothers: perhaps we may give up half the Muratorian statement, and believe that he was the brother of Pius, but not that it was *during his Episcopate* he wrote the 'Shepherd'; perhaps if we had the Greek of the Muratorian fragment we might not find that assertion there. Then, again, we have not such certain knowledge of the dates of early Roman Episcopates as to forbid our manipulating them a little. Could we not screw up the date of Pius somewhat, and screw down the date of Clement? Possibly we could bring down the date of the death of Clement as late as 110; and perhaps we might bring up the accession of Pius earlier than 139, which Lipsius names as the earliest admissible date. But I abandoned these attempts when I saw that a real reconciliation with the Muratorian writer was in the nature of things impossible. His object was to prove Hermas to be quite a modern personage. How could he be that if he had attained the age of forty before the death of Clement?

Let us inquire, then, if we are bound to reconcile ourselves with this writer. Who was he? Had he any real knowledge of the events of the Episcopate of Pius? Critics confess themselves unable to answer the former question, and the majority

of those who accept his statement about Hermas answer the second question in the negative. He describes Pius as 'sitting in the chair of the Church of the city Rome' and evidently has no suspicion that the constitution of that Church was different in the days of Pius and in his own. But in Hermas the honour of a 'chair' is not confined to a single person, and the critics of whom I speak imagine that Episcopacy was only then struggling, against much opposition, into existence. If the Muratorian writer knew nothing of such a patent fact as the constitution of the Church in the days of Pius, he cannot be an authority as to the date of publication of a book which must have appeared, if not before, at the very beginning of that episcopate. I have elsewhere* given my reasons for thinking that the Muratorian Fragment is a document not earlier than the episcopate of Zephyrinus, that is to say, the beginning of the third century; and I will now mention my theory as to the discovery that the author of the 'Shepherd' was brother of Pius. This discovery is found also in a note appended to a very ancient catalogue of the bishops of Rome. Many good critics have thought that the earlier part of this catalogue was derived from a list made by Hippolytus of the bishops of Rome down to his time, which formed part of his *Chronology*. My theory, then, is, that Hippolytus, in the course of the investigations necessary for framing this list, ascertained that Bishop Pius had a brother named Hermas, and that he then jumped to the conclusion (as he was a man quite capable of doing) that this Hermas was the author of the 'Shepherd'. Whether this theory of mine be true or not, I hold that whatever conclusions as to the date of the 'Shepherd' we draw from a study of the document itself ought not to be laid aside, in deference to the authority of a writer concerning whose means of information we really know nothing. If no more be granted than Lightfoot has conceded, its date is quite early in the second century, and it therefore deserves the highest attention from the student of Church history.

* Smith's *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, articles, MURATORIAN FRAGMENT, MONTANISM.

And, if it be read without any prepossession to the contrary, I am persuaded that its contents will be found entirely to correspond with that early date, since it reveals an immaturity of development both in respect of doctrine and of Church organization.

The length of the discussion necessary to establish the date of Hermas precludes me from treating of many interesting questions raised by the contents of the book ; and I will only say something as to what we may gather from it as to Church organization. It has been the bane of ecclesiastical history that so many have studied it only in the hope to gain from it some weapon which might be used in modern controversies. It is natural to think that if priority of presbyters had been the Church's original rule, the government of a single head could not have been established without some resistance on the part of those who were dispossessed of their equal authority. It has been hoped to find some exception to the almost total silence of Church history as to such resistance, in the language in which Hermas rebukes the strifes for precedence among Christians. I think I am without prejudice in this matter ; for I find it much easier to prove from Scripture that individual Christians are bound to submit to the established order of the Church than to prove that the Church had been bound to develop its organization in one particular way. And for me it has only a speculative interest to inquire what was the process by which the Church arrived at the state of things that we find when Church history first comes into clear light at the end of the second century, at which time we find bishops everywhere, and no memory that there had ever been any other form of Church government. But as far as I can see, the question whether one presbyter had pre-eminence over others was one in which Hermas took no interest, and on which he tells us nothing. He clearly distinguishes himself from the presbyters, and makes no claim to be one of their body. But he has something to tell us about the ' prophets ', the class to which, I have no hesitation in saying, he himself belonged. The Church had then its authorized teachers and rulers ; but we learn from *Mandat.* xi. that

there were, besides, 'prophets', or as we may call them, lay preachers. Such a prophet was permitted to give exhortation in the public meetings for worship.* After the intercessory prayer had been made, the angel of the prophetic spirit would fill the man, and he would give exhortation to the people as the Lord willed. It is a mark of the antiquity of our document that it indicates that 'gifted' persons were still permitted, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 26, to speak in the Church. It can readily be imagined that the interference of the rulers of the Church would sometimes be necessary to suppress indiscreet or erroneous teaching. It strikes me as possible that the rebellion in the Church of Corinth, where, even in St. Paul's time, spiritual gifts had been exercised without due regard to order, may have originated in an unsuccessful interference of authority with some leading prophets. It was [soon found expedient to confine the work of exhortation to the Church's authorized teachers. When, towards the end of the second century, the Montanists brought prophesying again into prominence, precedents in their favour were neither numerous nor then very recent; and it was found that the inspired authority which these prophets claimed threatened to be subversive of all Church order and fixity of doctrine. Hermas belonged to an age when the exercise of prophetic gifts was not discouraged by the Church authorities; but he is distinctly pre-Montanist. I have already mentioned how repugnant his teaching was to the Montanist Tertullian. Hermas occasionally gives indications of some little jealousy† of the superior dignity of the presbyters. Thus, in one vision, the Church, who appears to him in the form of a lady, bids him sit down. 'Nay,' he modestly answers, 'let the presbyters be seated first.' 'Sit down, as I bid you,' the lady replies. But his chief anxiety is to guard the office of prophet from being intruded on by unworthy persons. Some, it would appear, claimed to be prophets in the modern sense of the word: per-

* In Hermas, as in St. James's Epistle, the Christian community is ἡ ἐκκλησία, the assembly for worship, ἡ συναγωγή.

† Those who take Hermas for a fictitious character are blind to the amusing little touches of human nature which constantly show themselves.

sons would visit them, ask them questions about their private affairs, and pay money for their advice; and Hermas states that their predictions would occasionally turn out right. But he urges that the Spirit of God does not speak in answer to questions; that is to say, when man wishes Him to speak, but when He Himself chooses to speak. These false pretenders, so ready to prophesy in a corner, are dumb when they come into the Church assembly. Their whole manner of life must distinguish the true prophet from the false: the one is meek, humble, easily contented; not talkative, ambitious, greedy, luxurious, like the other.

The circulation which the work of Hermas obtained gives us reason to think that his own claims as a prophet were admitted by his Church, and that the record of his visions was sent to foreign Churches as he desired. But I can well believe that there had been some hesitation as to recognizing him, and thus that a little soreness of feeling on his part may have arisen. For, though a pious man, he does not appear to have been a well instructed one; and some of his doctrinal teaching, which is not accurate when judged by the standard of our own day, may well have been thought unsatisfactory by the presbyters of his own. He does not formally quote the scriptures either of Old or New Testament; nor does he make much use of either, his coincidences being closest with the Epistle of St. James. It is very possible that he came from the Jewish section of the Church; but, in his work, there is not a trace, not to say of anti-Paulinism, but even of Judaism. In his teaching, the Jewish nation has no special prerogative; and even the 'twelve tribes' are only the various nations which make up the Christian Church.

Hermas and Theodotion.—Something, however, must be said as to the use made by Hermas of one Old Testament passage; because it has been imagined to afford an argument subversive of the conclusions I have arrived at as to the early date of the work. In the visions of Hermas (IV. ii. 4) he sees a terrible wild beast, from which he is delivered by the protection of 'the angel who is over the beasts, whose name is Thegri.' This Thegri, of whom no one else makes mention,

had been a puzzle to commentators until not long since, when the solution was obtained by Mr. Rendel Harris (*Johns Hopkins' University Circulars*, III. 75). He compares the words in *Hermas*, ὁ κύριος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ὄντα, οὗ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι Θεγρί, καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ σε λυμάνῃ, with the words of *Daniel* vi. 22, ὁ θεὸς μου ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνέφραξε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων, καὶ οὐκ ἔλυμηναντό με, when the use of *Daniel* by *Hermas* is seen beyond mistake. But, in the original, the verb corresponding to ἐνέφραξεν is ἑῖλε; and it becomes apparent that we must correct Θεγρί into Σεγρί, and understand 'the angel who stops the mouths of the beasts'.

This remark by Mr. Harris led to a further remark by Dr. Hort. He pointed out (*Johns Hopkins' University Circulars*, iv. 23) that the strong coincidence between *Hermas* and the book of *Daniel* only exists when Theodotion's version of the latter book is used. The corresponding verse in the LXX. merely has σέσωκέ με ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λεόντων. In another place, indeed, it has ὁ θεὸς ἀπέκλεισε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων; but it neither has ἐνέφραξεν, nor does it use the verb λυμαίνομαι. It follows that *Hermas* used, not the LXX. version of *Daniel*, but that of Theodotion; and, therefore, that we must take it as a fixed point in our discussions about the date of *Hermas*, that he is later than Theodotion; and Theodotion is commonly believed to have made his version not very early in the second century.

Now, let me say in the outset, that conclusions drawn from the study of the character of an entire book are not to be lightly displaced by an argument founded on a single passage. Thus, when treating of the genuineness of 1 *Thessalonians*, I did not think it worth while to discuss the ingenious little argument which Holsten (see note, p. 454) founded on *ch.* i. 3. In the present case we have in our hands the whole book of *Hermas*, containing many notes of time; but we have no trustworthy information as to the date of Theodotion's version, and (what will presently be seen to be of more importance) no information what other Greek versions there may have been antecedent to his. We are, therefore, on

much firmer ground if we use Hermas to throw light on the history of Greek translations of the book of Daniel than *vice versâ*.

Another preliminary consideration may be mentioned, which may lead us to suspect that there must be some flaw in this argument for the later date of Hermas. The argument proves a little too much: it proves that the Epistle to the Hebrews was also written late in the second century. When the writer of that Epistle uses the phrase (xi. 33), 'stopped the mouths of lions,' we can scarcely doubt that he had Dan. vi. 22 in his mind. We may also take it as certain that he used a Greek, not a Hebrew, Bible. But, if it was the Septuagint version of Daniel that he used, how came he to stumble on the word ἔφραξαν instead of the ἀπέκλεισε of the LXX.?

The knowledge which the Christian Church has possessed of Greek translations of the Bible was principally, if not exclusively, derived from Origen's great work the 'Tetrapla.' In the first column of that work he published the version of Aquila, noted for its slavish literalness and ruthless sacrifice of Greek to Hebrew idioms; in the second column the version of Symmachus, marked by greater purity of Greek; in the third column the Septuagint; in the fourth the version of Theodotion, who is said to have been less an independent translator than a reviser of former translations. These were not the only translations which had been made before the time of Origen; for he recovered and published fragments of two or three other versions; but these alone had reached him unmutilated. Of these four, the Septuagint alone is regarded as pre-Christian. Aquila's, which is accounted the oldest of the others, is said to have been characterized by an animus hostile to Christianity, and to have been intended to deprive the Christians of the use of certain O. T. texts on which they had founded arguments. Accordingly, the Septuagint was the Greek version which was used in the Christian Church, with one remarkable exception, the Book of Daniel. St. Jerome states repeatedly that the Christian Church used, not the Septuagint translation of the Book of Daniel, but that of

Theodotion. For example, in the preface to his translation of the Book of Daniel, he says: ‘Danielem Prophetam juxta LXX. interpretes, Domini Salvatoris Ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione; et hoc cur acciderit, nescio. Sive quia sermo Chaldaicus est, et quibusdam proprietatibus a nostro eloquio discrepat, noluerunt LXX. interpretes easdem linguæ lineas in translatione servare; sive sub nomine eorum ab alio, nescio quo, non satis Chaldæam linguam sciente, editus est liber; sive aliud quid causæ extiterit ignorans, hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet et recto judicio repudiatus sit’ (see also the Preface to the Commentary on the Book of Daniel, the Prologue to Joshua, and *Apol. cont. Ruf.* II. 33). Thus it appears that Jerome, who was acquainted with the Tetrapla of Origen, took notice that the version of the Book of Daniel in use in the Church of his day was that given in the Tetrapla, not in the Septuagint column, but in the column which presented the version of Theodotion. Jerome is a perfectly competent witness to this matter of fact, though he professes himself unable to offer any but conjectural explanations of it. It would appear that Origen said nothing to throw light on it; though Jerome quotes him as having, at least on one occasion, given, by his example, his countenance to the desertion of the Septuagint for Theodotion. ‘Judicio magistrorum ecclesiæ editio eorum (LXX.) in hoc volumine repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur; quæ et Hebræo et ceteris translatoribus congruit, unde et Origenes in nono Stromatum volumine asserit se quæ sequuntur ab hoc loco in Propheta Daniele, non juxta LXX., qui multum ab Hebraica veritate discordant, sed juxta Theodotionis editionem disserere’ (*in Dan.* iv. 5).

It is, accordingly, Theodotion’s version of Daniel which is ordinarily found in Greek Bibles; but the version which stood in the Septuagint column of Origen’s Tetrapla has been recovered from a single MS., preserved in the Chigi Library, and was printed at Rome in 1772. It will be found appended to Tischendorf’s second and subsequent editions of the Septuagint. An extant Syriac version, and the citations of

Jerome, fully establish its claim to be Origen's Septuagint.* The Roman edition contains a comparison of the variations between the two versions, and a comparison will also be found in the Appendix to Pusey's *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 606.

Now, to speak first of the date of Theodotion's version, there is one account which places it so late, that if Hermas used it, so far from living early in the second century, he could not even have lived in the episcopate of Pius. Harvey, for example (on Irenæus, III. xxi.), states that the version of Theodotion was put forth in the year A. D. 181. But here Harvey followed, and not very carefully,† a most untrustworthy authority, Epiphanius. When it was the custom to date an event by the year of the emperor's reign in which it occurred, it plainly would be impossible to know the interval between events which happened in different reigns without knowing the succession of emperors, and the length of the reign of each. Such knowledge was therefore a necessary part of the stock in trade of a skilled chronologer. In the passage referred to (*De Menss. et Pondd.*, 17), which treats of Greek translations of the Bible, Epiphanius goes somewhat out of his way to exhibit his possession of this knowledge; but his information was not very accurate, and whatever may have been the errors for which he is himself responsible, they have been so largely added to by his transcribers, that his Greek text, as printed by Petavius, exhibits a really stupendous mass of blunders. Dr. Gwynn was good enough to consult for me, at the British Museum, a Syriac translation, bearing date before A. D. 660. We are thus enabled to clear away the worst of the blunders, and of those that remain we may charitably believe that some had arisen through negligence of transcribers before the Syriac transla-

* The claim is made in the subscription: Δανιὴλ κατὰ τοὺς ὁ. ἐγράφη ἐξ ἀντιγράφου ἔχοντος τὴν ὑποσημείωσιν ταύτην· ἐγράφη ἐκ τῶν τετραπλῶν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ παρετέθη.

† Harvey got the date 181 by taking Epiphanius to have said, 'in the second year of the reign of Commodus'; but what Epiphanius says is, 'in the reign of the second Commodus'. The Paschal Chronicle, also following Epiphanius, places the publication of Theodotion's version in the consulship of Marcellus and Ælianus, that is, in the year 184.

tion was made. What we are here concerned with is, that Epiphanius means to say that the translation of Symmachus was made, not, as the Greek has it, in the reign of Severus, but in the reign of Verus, by whom Epiphanius means Marcus Aurelius, that being his paternal name; and that the translation of Theodotion was made in the following reign, which Epiphanius calls that of Commodus the Second; for he had previously mentioned a Lucius Aurelius Commodus, by whom he means the partner of Marcus Aurelius, commonly known under his adopted name of Verus.

It was, however, easier for Epiphanius to get authentic information as to the succession of Roman emperors than as to the history of Greek translations of the Old Testament. I need not inquire how many of his blunders arose from erroneous information, how many from a habit of supplying by invention the defects of his information. In the present case the latter cause seems to have been largely in operation. In Origen's columns the versions stood in the order, Aquila, Symmachus, LXX., Theodotion, from which Epiphanius jumped to the conclusion that Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, was the chronological order. So, having placed Symmachus in the reign of Aurelius, which is probably too early, he puts Theodotion in the following reign. We find additional reason for distrusting him when we read what he goes on to tell about Theodotion, who, according to his account, was a native of Pontus, and had been a disciple of Marcion until he became a proselyte to Judaism, when he learned the Hebrew language. But we learn from Irenæus that Theodotion was really an Ephesian; and we can have little doubt that Epiphanius has mixed up Theodotion with another translator of the Old Testament, Aquila, who was a native of Pontus, and of whom also the story is told that he had been a Christian before he became a proselyte to Judaism. And it would seem to be for no better reason than because he has placed Theodotion at Pontus, that Epiphanius makes him a disciple of the great Pontic heresiarch, Marcion. We must then dismiss Epiphanius's whole account of Theodotion as being absolutely without historical

value. It may not be all pure invention; but we have no means of disentangling the grains of truth it may possibly contain.

With respect to the date of Theodotion, we can say, with certainty, that Epiphanius has placed it too late in naming the reign of Commodus (180-192). For Irenæus, who wrote in the beginning of that reign, speaks (iii. 21) of the versions of Aquila and Theodotion, and as we shall presently see, his use of the latter translation is such as to show that it could not then have been recent. Irenæus does not mention Symmachus; and so it is probable that he, and not Theodotion, was the latest of the three translators just named. When we have rejected the testimony of Epiphanius, we are left without any precise information as to the date of Theodotion; but I have no wish to dispute the common opinion that he lived in the second century, because the question with which we are really concerned is whether he did more than revise a previous translation different from the Septuagint.

Though it is only within very wide limits we can tell when Theodotion lived, we can assign a later limit to the time when his version of the book of Daniel came into use in the Christian Church. Its use was not due, as some have supposed, to the influence of Origen, but is to be found in the previous century. Overbeck has carefully examined (*Quæst. Hippol. Specimen*, p. 105) the quotations from Daniel made by Irenæus in his great work on heresies, with the result of finding that Irenæus habitually uses the version of Theodotion, not that of the LXX. Since we know the greater part of Irenæus only through the medium of a Latin translation, it might be objected that the quotations only inform us as to the version in use in the time of the translator, and not that used by Irenæus himself. Overbeck, therefore, has pointed out three passages in particular where the argument of Irenæus turns on words peculiar to Theodotion's version. These are the quotations of Dan. xii. 7, in IV. xxvi. 1; of Dan. ii. 44, in V. xx. 1, and V. xxvi. 2. In a citation of Dan. xii. 9, 10, which Irenæus (I. xvi.) reports as made by the Marcosians, there is a conflation of the two versions. Overbeck has also studied

the citations in the work of Hippolytus on Antichrist, and finds, as might be expected from the fact that Hippolytus was a hearer of Irenæus, that he also used the version of Theodotion. This result is confirmed by Bardenhewer's study of the remains of the work of Hippolytus on Daniel, his report being that Hippolytus not only used the version of Theodotion, but seems ignorant of any other, and that his interpretation sometimes directly contradicts the Septuagint version.

Archbishop Ussher, in his *Syntagma de LXX. Interpret. Versione*, prints Justin Martyr's quotations from Dan. vii., and the quotations of Tertullian and of Clement of Alexandria from Dan. ix. On examining these passages, I found that Justin's quotations were taken from the LXX., the variations not being greater than are found on comparing with that version Justin's citations from other books of Scripture, but those of Tertullian and Clement from Theodotion. And in this result, as far as regards Clement, Overbeck agrees. But the case of Tertullian is curious. Ussher's citations are taken from the work, *Adv. Judæos*, of which chap. 9, and those following, have been suspected by Neander to be spurious.* But in Tertullian's other writings his citations are from the Septuagint. A single example will suffice as illustration. The words (Dan. x. 11) translated in our version, 'O Daniel, a man greatly beloved,' are rendered in the LXX. Δανιήλ, ἄνθρωπος ἐλεεινὸς εἶ; but by Theodotion, ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν. Now in *De Fejun.* 9, the passage is quoted in the form, 'Daniel, homo es miserabilis'; but in *Adv. Judæos* 9, 'Vir desideriorum tu es.' The treatise against the Jews, if written by Tertullian, must have been one of his latest works,

* Neander's main ground for suspicion (*Antignosticus*, ii. 530, Bohn) is that the treatise against the Jews has several passages in common with the third book against Marcion, which cohere with the context in the latter work, not in the former. It is clear, therefore, that the author of the former treatise borrowed these passages; but I hesitate to say that we can thence infer he was not Tertullian; for it is common with voluminous writers to save themselves trouble by turning to new account what they had written on a former occasion. I have myself pointed out (*Hermathena*, i. 103) that the use made (chap. 8) of the chronology of Hippolytus proves that the treatise against the Jews cannot be much earlier than A. D. 230, a time however when, there is reason to believe, Tertullian was still in literary activity.

and full forty years later than the treatise of Irenæus. It might seem more likely than not that in that interval of time Theodotion's Daniel, which was habitually used by Irenæus, would have been made by translation accessible to Latin-speaking Christians. Cyprian shows acquaintance with both versions, using, for instance, the LXX. form of Dan. ii. 35, *Test.* ii. 17; but ordinarily Theodotion: see, for example, Dan. xii. 4, in *Test.* i. 4. In any case, it seems to follow from what has been said, that the so-called Septuagint Daniel was accepted as such at the time that the early Latin translation used in Africa, was made; and that it was during the interval between Justin Martyr and Irenæus that it came to be superseded in the Christian Church by Theodotion's version. The latter version could scarcely have been very modern when it achieved so great a success: but how much older it was we are unable to say.

But I have my doubts whether, instead of propounding the question when and how the Septuagint version of Daniel came to be superseded by Theodotion's, we ought not rather to inquire how, when, and where the Chigi version came to be taken for the Septuagint. In fact, the received opinion of a silent rejection of the LXX. version is attended with great difficulties. The interval between Justin Martyr and Irenæus does not put much more than thirty years at our disposal in accounting for the change. Irenæus (III. xxi.) believed in the divine inspiration of the Seventy interpreters. Does it seem likely that he would cast away a portion of what he believed to be their work without a word of explanation? Is it not strange, too, that the upstart version should meet as much acceptance in Alexandria as in Gaul? And is it not strange, too, that it should be Theodotion, who of all the ancient interpreters followed most closely the lines of the LXX., and is supposed to have been least acquainted with Hebrew or Chaldee, who should have cast the LXX. completely aside, and made a totally independent translation? I am therefore disposed to believe that Theodotion followed the lines of an older version,* and that this was the one used by

* Dr. Gwynn has noted a verse (x. 6) in the LXX. Daniel, which affords ground

Irenæus. In fact, our common use of the phrase ‘the Septuagint’ attributes to that work greater unity than it really possesses. Critics are now agreed that the different books included in it were not all translated by the same hands or at the same time; so that it is really not a single version, but a collection of different versions. If a purchaser now asks for a copy of the Septuagint, the book that goes by that name, which the bookseller will offer him, will contain, not the Chigi version of Daniel, but Theodotion’s version. May it not be the case that Irenæus and Clement had no intention of superseding the Septuagint, but only that the collection to which they gave the name of Septuagint, instead of the Chigi Daniel (which was accepted as part of the Septuagint in Palestine, where Justin Martyr lived and where Origen made his Hexapla), contained a different version; probably not Theodotion’s, but the version which was the basis of Theodotion’s revision?

At all events, an examination of the Chigi Daniel will make it appear intensely improbable that this could have been the only version through which the book of Daniel was known to Greek-speaking Jews until the second century after Christ. For this version is not so much a translation as a free reproduction of its original, bearing to Theodotion’s version the same relation that the Apocryphal First Book of Esdras bears to the corresponding portions of the Canonical Scriptures. Dr. Gwynn’s conjecture seems to me well worthy of consideration, that the Apocryphal Esdras and the Chigi Daniel may have had the same author. There is one remarkable coincidence between them: ἀπηρέισατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλείῳ αὐτοῦ (1 Esdras ii. 10; Dan. i. 2). And the two works resemble each other, not merely in continual arbitrary changes

for a suspicion that it was based on a former version, in points at least approaching to Theodotion’s. There is nothing in the Hebrew corresponding to τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὥσει θαλάσσης; but this rendering might be accounted for as an editorial re-writing of τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ὥσει θαρσίς, a literal rendering of the Hebrew preserved by Theodotion. The rendering of Tharshish by θάλασσα, though quite exceptional in the LXX., is found once, Is. ii. 16, and has rabbinical authority; see also Jerome’s Commentary *in loc.*; but it seems impossible to account for στόμα, except as a corruption of σῶμα.

from the original, but in both containing ornamental additions. As the Greek Daniel adds to the Chaldee the stories of Susanna and of Bel and the Dragon, so the Greek Esdras adds the story of the three young men at the Court of King Darius. The latter even contains a hymn after the pattern of the 'Song of the three Children', though on a much smaller scale. And, though the Book of Esdras had not the good fortune to be admitted into the Canon of the Council of Trent, no part of the deuterocanonical books has received more extensive Patristic recognition than the story just cited. The Apocryphal Esdras may very possibly be an older translation than the Canonical Ezra; for the latter is a separate book from that of Chronicles; but to all appearance they had formed one book when the translation of the Apocryphal Book was made; and that this was the original form of the Hebrew may be gathered from the identity of the last verse of Chronicles with the first verse of Ezra. This difference of form of the two Greek books prevented them from being taken as different translations of the same book; and so, both passed as distinct books into the Greek Bible under the names of First and Second Esdras. But, if the range of contents of the two books had been the same, it might well have happened that the Apocryphal Esdras might have been placed by Origen in his Septuagint column, and the Canonical Esdras in the Theodotion column; and then we should have a parallel to what has happened in the case of the two versions of Daniel.

However, I hope that nothing that has been here thrown out as conjecture will be regarded by the reader as essential to my argument. We evidently cannot infer, from coincidence in a single verse, that Hermas was later than Theodotion, if it is possible that in that verse Theodotion followed the lines of an older translator. So the question is, Have we reason to think, as Dr. Hort's argument assumes, that if Hermas had been older than Theodotion he must have used the Chigi version? I have just said that it is more probable than not that, long before the second century after Christ, the Chigi version should have had to encounter the rivalry of a

more faithful translation. And an examination of the New Testament goes far to enable us to assert as a fact what has been here thrown out as a probability. Dr. Gwynn furnished me with a table of the New Testament citations of Daniel, compared with the corresponding renderings in Theodotion and in the so-called Septuagint. And, instead of the table's exhibiting an exclusive use of the latter version, I was really surprised how little evidence it afforded that that version was even known to the N. T. writers, though it must certainly have been in existence long before their time. I have already referred to the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Apocalypse is the N. T. book which makes most use of the Book of Daniel. In that book the result of the comparison is, that there are several passages in which St. John does not use the LXX., and does approach nearer to Theodotion; and that there is nothing decisive the other way. So that I actually find in the Apocalypse no clear evidence that St. John had ever seen the so-called LXX. version. The following are some of the passages in question:—

(1) Rev. ix. 20: τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ ξύλινα ἃ οὐτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὐτε ἀκούειν οὐτε περιπατεῖν. There is not a word of this in the LXX.; but Theodotion has, Dan. v. 23, τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς καὶ χαλκοῦς καὶ σιδηροῦς καὶ ξυλίνους καὶ λιθίνους, οἳ οὐ βλέπουσι καὶ οἳ οὐκ ἀκούουσι.

(2) Rev. x. 5: ὥμοσεν ἐν τῷ ζῶντι. So Theod. Dan. xii. 7; but LXX., ὥμοσε τὸν ζῶντα.

(3) Rev. xii. 7: Μιχαὴλ . . . τοῦ πολεμῆσαι. Theod. has also τοῦ πολεμῆσαι (Dan. x. 20); but LXX., διαμάχεσθαι without τοῦ.

(4) Rev. xiii. 7: πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων. So Theod. (Dan. vii. 21); but LXX., πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους.

(5) Rev. xix. 6: φωνὴ ὄχλου. So Theod. (Dan. x. 6); but LXX., φωνὴ θορύβου.

(6) Rev. xx. 4, and Dan. vii. 9. Apoc. and Theod. have κρῖμα: LXX., κρίσις.

(7) Rev. xx. 11: τόπος οὐκ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς. So Theod. (Dan. ii. 35); but LXX., ὥστε μηδὲν καταλειφθῆναι ἐξ αὐτῶν.

If the first or the last of these examples had been found in Hermas, instead of in the Apocalypse, it would certainly have been regarded as affording positive proof that Hermas used Theodotion. In the present case it may be said that St. John was not under the necessity of using any version, and could have translated for himself from the Chaldee. And so, no doubt, he could. And yet, I think nothing but a strong preconceived opinion that St. John could have used no other version than the LXX. would prevent the conclusion from being drawn that he actually does use a different version. The author of the Apocalypse did not write Greek with such facility that he should scorn to use the help of a Greek translation; and in fact, in the case of other books of Scripture, he shows himself acquainted with the Greek Bible. I think that some of the coincidences noted above, between St. John and Theodotion, especially the *τοῦ πολεμῆσαι* of No. (3), are more than accidental; but that St. John used a translation of some kind appears more clearly from the very numerous passages where Theodotion and LXX. agree, and St. John agrees with both—a thing not likely to happen so often if he was translating independently. But if St. John used a translation, that translation was not the LXX., with which he gives no clear sign of agreement. I find instances which may induce us to think that the version employed by St. John was not identical with Theodotion's, but scarcely anything to show that it was the Septuagint. I only notice two cases where, on a comparison of the Apocalypse with the LXX. and Theodotion, the advantage seems to be on the side of the LXX. These passages are:—

(1) Rev. i. 14: ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκόν, ὡς χιών, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρὸς καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ. Dan. vii. 9 (LXX.), ἔχων περιβολὴν ὡσεὶ χιόνα καὶ τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρόν (Theod.), τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών, καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρόν. Dan. x. 6 (LXX.), οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρὸς . . . καὶ οἱ πόδες ὡσεὶ χαλκὸς ἐξαστράπτων (Theod.), οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρὸς . . . καὶ τὰ σκέλη ὡς ὕρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος.

(2) Rev. xix. 16, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων. So LXX. (Dan. iv. 31), Θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων, to which there is nothing corresponding in Chaldee or Theodotion. The former example proves, if proof were necessary, that St. John was not dependent on Theodotion's version; but does not prove that he used the LXX. I do not know that any stronger proof of that can be given than whatever the latter example may be thought to afford.

Dr. Gwynn has also examined the use made of Daniel in other N. T. books, and still with the result that that use cannot be accounted for on the supposition that the N. T. writers used only the Septuagint version of Daniel. For example, the words κατασκηνοῦν and ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις, which occur Matt. xiii. 32, are found in Theodotion's version of Dan. iv. 7; but not in the LXX., which instead of κατεσκήνουν has ἐνόσσειον.

Again, Clement of Rome (c. 34) quotes Dan. viii. 10: 'Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, and thousand thousands ministered unto him'; and for 'ministered' he has Theodotion's word ἐλειτουργοῦν, not the LXX. ἐθεράπενον.

Further, the Apocryphal Book of Baruch contains several verses taken from Dan. ix.; Baruch i. 15-18, being nearly identical with Dan. ix. 7-10, and Baruch ii. 11-16, with Dan. ix. 15-18. Some critics bring down this book as late as the reign of Vespasian, but none bring it later. Now, on comparing the passages, Baruch is found to be considerably nearer Theodotion than the LXX. Thus, taking the latter passage:—

Bar. ii. 11. ὃς ἐξήγαγες τὸν λαόν σου ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

So Theod. But LXX., ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν τὸν λαόν σου ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

Bar. ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη.

So Theod. But LXX., κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην.

Bar. ii. 14. εἰσάκουσον κύριε. So Theod. But LXX., ἐπάκουσον δέσποτα.

Bar. ii. 16. κλῖνον τὸ οὖς σου. So Theod. But LXX., πρόσχες, instead of κλῖνον.

The instances adduced not only clearly prove all I want to establish, namely, that coincidences with Theodotion's version do not prove that a document is not as early as the first century; but they seem to point distinctly to the existence in that century of a version of the Book of Daniel having closer affinities with Theodotion's than with the LXX. If the latter was the only translation known to St. John, he must have deliberately rejected it, and preferred to render for himself. And such a course would certainly be adopted by any Jew who was able to read the original, and who at all valued faithfulness of translation. Is it then intrinsically probable that for centuries every Jew competent to ascertain the fact kept to himself his knowledge of the unfaithfulness of the current version; and that none had the charity to make a better version for the use of his Greek-speaking brethren? On the other hand, is it very improbable that such a version, if made, should now only live for us in its successors, as Tyndale's translation lives for us in the Authorized English version?

However, as far as the date of Hermas is concerned, it is not necessary that we should arrive at any certain conclusion, as to whether or not there existed in the first Christian century any translation of the Book of Daniel but the Hexaplar Septuagint. All I want is to establish that we really know very little on the subject of first-century Greek translations. If, then, it can be established on other grounds that the Book of Hermas belongs to the early part of the second century, no reason for rejecting that date is afforded by the fact that we find in the book a verse of Daniel quoted in a form for which the Hexaplar Septuagint will not account.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.—It would evidently be impossible for me to keep within reasonable limits if I were to attempt to speak of all the remains of early Christian antiquity which present interesting subjects for discussion. I have therefore taken as my guide the list of works whose claims to be included in the public use of the Church Eusebius thought it worth while to take into consideration

when making his list of canonical books (*H. E.* iii. 25). Of the books there mentioned there remains but one which I have not yet noticed. In company with the Epistle of Barnabas, Eusebius names ‘what are called the Teachings of the Apostles’ (τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί). I have already (see p. 23, *ante*) referred to the list of canonical books given some years later by Athanasius, in his 39th Festal Epistle; and there you find, excluded from the books of Scripture, but joined with the Shepherd of Hermas, as useful for employment in catechetical instruction, ‘what is called the Teaching of the Apostles’ (Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων): you will observe that the singular number is used. The Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων is also included in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (see p. 210). It is found there in an appendix giving a list of apocryphal books of the New Testament, viz., the Travels of Peter, of John, of Thomas, the Gospel of Thomas: then follows the Didaché, and then books to which the name ‘apocryphal’ can only be applied in the sense that they have no claim to possess the authority of Scripture, viz., the Epistles of Clement, of Ignatius, of Polycarp, and the Shepherd. In this list the length of the Διδαχὴ is given as 200 στίχοι,* by which we see that it was a short book, since in the same list the Apocalypse of St. John is said to contain 1400 στίχοι.

Until very lately we could only form a vague judgment that the work known to Athanasius and Eusebius must have been the nucleus round which gathered the institutions which form the extant eight books of *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is now agreed that this work, in its present form, is not earlier than the middle of the fourth century; and in recent times much has been done to trace the history of the growth of the collection. The subject is too wide a one for me to attempt to enter into it; but it is necessary to mention an ancient tract, the foundation of Egyptian Ecclesiastical Law, first published in Greek from a Vienna MS. by Bickell (*Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, 1843), but extant also in Coptic, Æthiopic, Syriac, and

* Harnack calculates that the Didaché published by Bryennius would make 300 στίχοι.

Arabic. Bickell called it *Apostolische Kirchenordnung*; and, in order to distinguish it from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which, in their present form, are certainly a later work, I shall refer to this under the name of the ‘Church Ordinances’. Its title in the Greek MS. is αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος, καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων. It may be divided into two parts: in the first each of the Apostles is introduced as giving a piece of moral instruction; in the second part the Apostles in like manner severally give directions about ordinations and other Church rites. I may mention that the number of twelve Apostles is made out in a singular way. Cephas is made an Apostle distinct from Peter: he and Nathanael take the place of James the Less and Matthias. Paul is not mentioned at all. Now, when this tract is compared with the seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the latter is found to begin with a large expansion of the moral instruction contained in the first part of the former; and the conclusion suggests itself that this tract was one of the sources employed by the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Further, this moral instruction begins with what we may regard as a commentary on Jer. xxi. 8, ‘Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death’, words which may themselves be connected with Deut. xxx. 15, ‘See, I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil’. The ‘Church Ordinances’ set forth in detail the characteristics of these ‘Two Ways’. One sentence of this exposition is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as Scripture (*Strom.* i. 20, p. 377), whether he got it in the ‘Church Ordinances’ themselves, or in an earlier document, from which they borrowed, ‘My son, be not a liar; for lying leads to theft’. The use of an earlier document is made probable by our finding elsewhere this teaching about the ‘Two Ways’. The Epistle of Barnabas consists of two parts. The first part, which contains the doctrinal teaching, is brought formally to a close in ch. 17, and then the writer abruptly says, Let us now pass to another doctrine and discipline (γνώσιν καὶ διδαχὴν). And then he proceeds to give the teaching of the ‘Two Ways’, presenting numerous coincidences with the corresponding section in

the 'Church Ordinances'. Now, a curious fact is, that this second section of Barnabas is not extant in the ancient Latin translation; whence suspicion has arisen as to the genuineness of this portion of the Epistle. But any hesitation as to accepting the testimony of the Greek text is removed by the fact that passages from this section are expressly quoted as from Barnabas by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 18, p. 471), and by Origen (*De Princ.* III. ii. 4). And it may be added, as bearing on the question presently to be considered, whether Barnabas was original in this part of his teaching, that Origen, at least, appears to consider him so, quoting him as the authority for the teaching concerning the 'Two Ways'. The probable explanation of the omission of this section by the Latin translator is that he left it out because the West was already in possession of the teaching concerning the 'Two Ways' in another form. Evidence of the existence of such a form is found in the commentary on the Creed by Rufinus, written towards the end of the fourth century. He gives (*cc.* 37, 38) a list of canonical and ecclesiastical books, founded on that of Athanasius; but whereas Athanasius couples the Didaché with the Shepherd, Rufinus has in the corresponding place, 'libellus qui dicitur Pastoris, sive Hermas; qui appellatur Duæ viæ, vel Judicium Petri'. Now, it is to be observed, that whereas Eusebius (iii. 3), enumerating the apocryphal books bearing the name of the Apostle Peter, gives the titles of four works, the Acts, the Gospel, the Preaching, and the Revelation of Peter; Jerome in his *Catalogue* adds a fifth, the Judgment of Peter. We cannot but think that the works mentioned by Rufinus and by Jerome are the same; and the second title, the 'Two Ways', leads us to think that it must have contained the same matter as is found in the second part of Barnabas, and in the 'Church Ordinances', only that instead of this teaching being, as in the latter book, distributed among the Apostles, it was apparently, in the Western book, put into the mouth of Peter.

The facts of which I have given a summary were discussed in an able Paper by a Roman Catholic divine, Krawutzcky, in

the *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, who drew from them the following inferences : that, as early as the second century, the section in Barnabas which treated of the 'Two Ways' was expanded and formed into a separate tract ; that it came into Church use, and was the work cited as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria ; that, to give greater weight to the teaching, it was put into the mouth of Peter ; that this work was made use of by the compiler of the 'Church Ordinances', who made the alteration of distributing the teaching among the twelve Apostles ; that the compiler of the seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, without any acquaintance with the 'Church Ordinances', made independent use of the 'Two Ways' ; so that by comparison of the 'Constitutions' and 'Ordinances', a restoration of the earlier work which furnished a common element to both might be obtained.

Within two years scholars found reason to think that it was quite true that the 'Constitutions' and 'Ordinances' had a common source, but that there was no need of conjectural restoration in order to recover it. I have related (p. 19, *ante*) the discovery by Bryennius at Constantinople of a complete copy of Clement's Epistles. The same volume contained other Ecclesiastical writings, and in particular a complete Greek text of Barnabas. The attention of the discoverer seems at first to have been quite absorbed by the use to be made of his volume in restoring the text of previously known documents ; and though he published his edition of Clement in 1875, it was not till the close of 1883 that he gave to the world a previously unpublished work contained in the same volume. This bears the heading 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων), and commences 'Teaching of the Lord by the twelve Apostles to the Gentiles'. It then goes on to give the teaching of the 'Two Ways', which occupies the first half of the tract. Then follows a second part, giving directions first about baptisms, then about Eucharistic formulæ, then about Church teachers, and in conclusion there is an eschatological passage treating of the Second Coming of our Lord. This work bears every mark of very great antiquity ; and it has been commonly accepted as belonging to

the beginning of the second century, if not to the latter part of the first. And it has been generally recognized as the work known to Eusebius and Athanasius, and as the common source of 'Ordinances' and 'Constitutions'. Krawutzcky, however, resists the temptation to regard the Didaché as the fulfilment of his critical anticipations. He maintains that the result of a comparison of the 'Ordinances' and the Didaché is not that the one book borrows from the other, but that both have employed a common source. And he holds that the Didaché displays Ebionite tendencies, and was probably not written before the close of the second century. And it is quite true that there is much in the book that not only a Roman Catholic, as Krawutzcky is, might naturally dislike to accept as orthodox teaching, but with which even a member of our own Church cannot feel satisfied.

I do not count among reasonable causes of offence that the book displays great immaturity of Church organization, but rather accept this as a proof of the great antiquity of the document. In that part which treats of Church teachers the foremost place is given to Apostles and Prophets. But the word 'Apostle' has not the limited meaning to which modern usage restricts it. The 'Apostles' are wandering missionaries or envoys of the Churches. Directions are given as to the respect to be paid to an Apostle, and the entertainment to be afforded him by a Church through which he might pass; but it is assumed that he does not contemplate making a permanent stay. On the contrary, if he demands lodging for more than two nights, or if on leaving he asks from his entertainers a larger supply than will suffice to carry him to his next lodging, he shows that he is no true prophet. Now, the word *ἀπόστολος* was in Jewish use applied to messengers sent by the rulers at Jerusalem with letters to Jewish communities elsewhere;* it is used in the New Testament of envoys or commissioned messengers of the Churches (2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25); but those are called in a special sense Apostles who derived their commission not from men, but from

* See references in Lightfoot (*Galatians*, p. 92).

Jesus Christ. Hermas, also (*Sim.* ix. 15), appears to use the word in a wide sense, representing the building of the Church as effected by forty 'apostles and teachers', and these as not holding the foremost place in the work. The use of the word, therefore, in the Didaché affords no cause of offence, but attests the antiquity of the document. The chief place in the instruction of the local Church is assigned to the 'prophets', whose utterances were to be received with the respect due to their divine inspiration, and who were entitled to receive from their congregations such dues as the Jews had been wont to render to the high priests. The possibility is contemplated that in the Church there might be no prophet. In that case the first-fruits are to be given to the poor. Mention is also made of teachers, by which I understand persons who gave public instruction in the Church, but who did not speak 'in the spirit', as the prophets did. The place assigned to the prophets corresponds very well with the state of things which I infer from Hermas, but with this notable difference, that in Hermas the prophets appear to be subordinate to the presbyters. Here, on the contrary, the first mention is only of apostles and prophets; then directions are given for Sunday Eucharistic celebration, and then is added 'elect, *therefore*,* to yourselves bishops and deacons'. These, we are told, are to be honoured with the prophets and teachers, as fulfilling like ministration. The inference then suggests itself that at the time this document was written the Eucharist was only consecrated by the president of the Church assembly, who held a permanent office, and who, probably, might also be a preacher; but that in the mind of the writer the inspired

* The Didaché fails to give any confirmation to the theory put forward by Mr. Hatch in his 'Bampton Lectures', that bishops and deacons were primarily appointed for the administration of the Church funds. Knowing that such administration was one of the bishop's functions in the time of Justin Martyr, we are rather surprised to find no mention in the Didaché that gifts intended for the poor passed through the hands of the bishops or deacons. Whatever may be meant by 'the gifts' in Clem. Rom., *ch.* 44, the function there ascribed to the presbyters is that of offering, not of administering them; and the displaced Corinthian presbyters are commended, not for the integrity with which they had discharged the latter office, but for the meekness with which they had 'borne their faculties' in the former.

givers of public instruction held the higher place. No mention is made of the necessity of obedience to any central authority at Jerusalem, Rome, or elsewhere. Whether the state of ecclesiastical organization here indicated agree or not with what we may think likely to have existed in apostolic times, and whether we accept the author as a witness to the general practice of the Church in his time, or only as to that which prevailed in his own locality, or according to his own notions of fitness, still there is no reason for setting him down as a heretic, and the unlikeness of his account to the constitution which we know became general before the second century was far advanced, may be taken as proof of the writer's antiquity.

I find much more cause of offence in the Eucharistic prayers which are given (cc. 9, 10). In the first place, we are surprised to find information given as to the most sacred mysteries of the religion in a document clearly intended for the instruction of catechumens. It is free to us, no doubt, to suppose that in that early age no reserve was practised; but Athanasius recommended that the book known to him as the *Didaché* should be employed in catechetical instruction. Would he use it for such a purpose if it revealed what only 'the faithful know'? These Eucharistic prayers themselves contain no mention of our Lord's institution of the rite, and no mention of His Body and Blood. And through the whole document I find no unequivocal proof that the writer really believed in our Lord's Divinity, or that he looked on Him as more than a divinely commissioned teacher. Krawutzcky remarks that the writer is silent as to the doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption and of the sending of the Holy Ghost. Still, if he was an Ebionite, he belonged to the better sort of them; he is certainly no Elkesaite. He gives directions for the blessing of the Cup; but in the ascetic sect from which the Pseudo-Clementines emanated, wine does not seem to have been employed, even in Eucharistic celebration.

In deciding as to the date of the *Didaché*, a crucial question is the determination of its relation to Barnabas and Hermas. The coincidences between the *Didaché* and Hermas are not

numerous, and there is room for controversy whether there is literary obligation on either side. I believe that the coincidences are not accidental; but as I take Barnabas to be older than Hermas, I need not spend time on the later writer of the two. In the case of Barnabas the obligations on the one side or the other are too extensive to admit of dispute. The parallel passages of Barnabas occupy four pages in Bryennius's edition. Bryennius himself entertained no doubt that the Didaché was indebted both to Barnabas and Hermas, and this view is also taken by Hilgenfeld, Harnack, and Krawutzcky. But Zahn and other good critics hold the opposite opinion; and they advance arguments which seem to me to prove decisively that in that part of the Didaché which treats of the 'Two Ways' there is no obligation to Barnabas. The precepts in the Didaché are systematically arranged, following the order of the Decalogue, on which they serve as a commentary; in Barnabas they are quite promiscuous. It is not a probable hypothesis that the author of the Didaché went through Barnabas, picking out the moral precepts, and that he succeeded in arranging his excerpts into a symmetrical whole. Yet if I am right in referring Barnabas to the decade A.D. 70-80, if the Didaché was so much older, and had so much authority as to be thought worth pillaging by Barnabas, its claims to be really an Apostolic document deserve serious consideration; and how are we to explain the very limited circulation which this truly Apostolic teaching obtained, so that it has had the very narrowest escape of perishing altogether?

In solving this difficulty I have found the greatest assistance from a study of the Didaché in connexion with the Talmud, by Dr. Taylor.* It results from his investigations that the Didaché is an intensely Jewish document, and that

* *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, with Illustrations from the Talmud*, by C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Through Dr. Taylor's kindness I have just seen a forthcoming paper of his in the *Expositor*, in which he studies the parts of Barnabas which are common to the Didaché, and establishes, by convincing reasons, the conclusion to which I had already come, that in these parts Barnabas is not original.

its contents are so well accounted for by the use of Jewish sources, that we lose all temptation to imagine that the author had need to resort to Barnabas for guidance. But Dr. Taylor's illustrations do more than convince me that the author of the Didaché had received a Jewish training; they seem to me to make it probable that the 'Two Ways' is a pre-Christian work: in other words, that the author of the Didaché has taken a Jewish manual of instruction for proselytes, and has adapted it for Christian use by additions of his own; in particular by insertions from the Sermon on the Mount. This hypothesis would account for the heading, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles *to the Gentiles*. It has been remarked by several that there is nothing in the work which suggests that it is intended for exclusively Gentile use; nay, that as I have intimated before, it does not even seem adapted for the use of catechumens, Jews, or Gentiles. But the title would be accounted for if the original of the document were a manual of instruction for Gentile proselytes to Judaism. There seems at least to be sufficient inducement to take this as a working hypothesis, and see how it will bear examination. For there is a test which can be applied to it, namely, to examine whether Barnabas knew the Didaché in its present Christianized form. If he did, Barnabas was so early that it is unreasonable to assume that there was an earlier form. On the other hand, if Barnabas knew, not the Didaché but the supposed Jewish parent of the Didaché, it is likely that when he adapted it to the use of his Christian disciples, the Jewish element in the work would no doubt remain the same as in the Didaché; but that the additions of specially New Testament teaching would, except for some chance coincidences, be different. Now, when we look at the four pages in Bryennius which contain Barnabas's adaptation of the 'Two Ways', we find that he has not Christianized it at all. There is no use of the Gospels, no mention of Jesus Christ, not a word that might not have been written before our Lord was born. I do not know how it will appear to others, but to my mind it comes with the force of demonstration, Barnabas never saw the Didaché.

I find it impossible to believe that if he knew that work he would have gone over it, adapting it to his use by carefully erasing every line which contained anything of specially Christian teaching, or which implied a knowledge of oral or written Gospels. Traces of such knowledge may be found in other parts of the Epistle of Barnabas, but not in this section. The supposition that the Didaché had a Jewish original becomes thus something more than a mere hypothesis: it is a conclusion forced on us if we believe that Barnabas did not use the Didaché, and that the Didaché did not use Barnabas. The difference of order in the two documents is at once explained. The author of the Didaché wrote with the Jewish original before him, and systematically followed its order; Barnabas, merely in giving practical exhortation, interwove, as his memory furnished them, precepts from a manual with which he had formerly been familiar.* And if he did not reproduce very accurately either the language or the order of the document he used, this, as Dr. Taylor has remarked, ought not to surprise anyone who considers how Barnabas deals with the Old Testament.

If we admit that the Didaché is but a Christianized form of an originally Jewish book, the question whether the writer who gave the work its present form knew Barnabas assumes a different aspect. For, besides the section on the 'Two Ways', common to both books, there is one clear coincidence between the early part of Barnabas and the last chapter of the Didaché, an entirely Christian chapter, which treats of the Second Coming of our Lord. If I am right in supposing that Barnabas did not know the Didaché in its present form, the obligation cannot be on his side. On the other hand, all the marks of superior antiquity that have been found in the Didaché belong to the Jewish element in the book, so that there is no reason for denying an acquaintance with Barnabas on the part of the writer who contributed the Christian

* This introduces a new element for the determination of the question (p. II, *ante*), whether or not the so-called Barnabas was a Jew. I now suspect that he had been a Gentile proselyte to Judaism, and had thus become acquainted with the 'Two Ways'.

element. There is a difficult phrase in this last chapter, which, if we could only be sure that we interpret it rightly, would afford a more direct proof of the dependence of that chapter on Barnabas. It gives as the first of three signs of our Lord's immediate coming, *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ*. I think Archdeacon Edwin Palmer has given the best explanation of this. He refers to the words of Isaiah (lxv. 2), 'I have stretched forth (*ἐξέπεται*) my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people'. Barnabas interprets this of our Lord's 'stretching forth' his hands on the cross; and Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 35; *Trypho* 197), and several other fathers follow him in giving this mystical meaning to the verb *ἐκπετάννυμι*. If we could count the author of the Didaché in the number of these followers, his phrase is at once explained as meaning the sign of the cross. If this explanation be right, the relative order of Barnabas and this part of the Didaché is determined. If Barnabas came first, the phrase in the Didaché is explained; but if the Didaché came first, a phrase so obscure would never suggest to Barnabas his interpretation of Isaiah, and without that interpretation we should be at a loss to know how the phrase came to be adopted.

We can apply the same method of examination to the 'Church Ordinances'. On the first glance, indications show themselves of the use of Barnabas; for the commencement of both is the same: 'Hail, ye sons and daughters'! And in the sequel there are found other sufficient proofs of acquaintance with Barnabas on the part, at least, of the writer who gave the work its present form. But the section on the 'Two Ways' follows precisely the order of the Didaché, and not the order or disorder of Barnabas. The 'Two Ways' are introduced with a Gospel quotation: 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets'; but this quotation is not found in the Didaché.*

* There is a passage in Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* iii. 12, p. 305) which suggests a use of the Didaché by its interpolation in the Decalogue of the precept *οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις*, and the passage is introduced with the same New Testament quotation as in the 'Church Ordinances'. Clement, however, could so easily have supplied the quotation from his own resources that it would not be safe to infer

And towards the conclusion there are other New Testament quotations not found in the Didaché. But the general absence of the Christian element is striking on a comparison of the 'Two Ways' in the 'Ordinances' and in the Didaché; for the same order is followed in both, but the additions from the Sermon on the Mount which appear in the latter are absent from the former. I notice just one coincidence. Where Barnabas simply has 'Thou shalt be meek', the Didaché has 'Be meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth'; the 'Church Ordinances', 'Be meek, for the meek shall inherit the kingdom of heaven'. I do not think this affords a proof that the 'Ordinances' used the Didaché, but rather the reverse. Both agree in occasionally making New Testament additions to precepts which occur in Barnabas in a purely Jewish form; but these additions are in every other case different. It is not strange if in this one case the precept of meekness suggested the same words of our Lord to the different writers, who, however, show their independence by quoting them in different forms. The conclusion, then, to which I come is, that the first framer of the 'Church Ordinances' was not acquainted with the Didaché, and that the two works are independent attempts to throw Jewish instruction into the form of Apostolic teaching: but with this difference of form, that in the Didaché the whole was generally described as Apostolic teaching, but that in the 'Ordinances' the precepts were distributed among different Apostles. I should conjecture the latter to be an Egyptian work: the former, on account of its strongly Jewish character, to have had its birth in the country east of the Jordan, where Christian Jews were numerous. There was, as I have said, a third form of the 'Two Ways' current in the West. For want of evidence, we cannot say whether the publisher of this form knew Didaché or 'Ordinances', or, as is quite possible, only the Jewish parent of both.*

that Clement knew the Didaché in its Egyptian, not its Palestinian, form; especially since it would be as easy to draw a contrary inference from *Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 85.

* There is one Western quotation from *Doctrinæ Apostolorum* (Pseudo-Cyprian,

If we compare the Didaché with the Seventh Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* we find quite a different result. There the New Testament illustrations from the Didaché are all reproduced; and it is apparent that the compiler of the 'Constitutions' knew and used the Didaché.

It seems to me, then, that there is grave reason for questioning the common opinion that we owe to Bryennius the recovery of a book of great importance in the history of our religion—a work which had enormous circulation, and which has left traces of its influence in distant places. If reference is made to the testimonies which I have already quoted, exhibiting knowledge of the existence of a book of 'Apostolic Teaching', they will be seen to be very few. I do not find, for example, in the extant works of Tertullian or Irenæus* evidence of knowledge of the existence of such a book. And I find no certain evidence that the Palestinian form of the Apostolic teaching was known at all in the East before the middle of the fourth century. The quotation by Clement is more likely to have been from the Egyptian form, with which he has a point of contact in regarding Cephas as a person distinct from the Apostle Peter (Euseb. *H.E.* i. 12). It seems to me that the book whose title Eusebius quotes in the plural number, αἱ διδασκαλίαι τῶν ἀποστόλων, is more likely to have been composed in the form in which the teaching was distributed among several Apostles than in that form which does not suggest the use of any but the singular number. Athanasius uses the singular number, and the date of his 39th Festal Epistle is so late (A.D. 367), that I should willingly believe the Didaché, as we know it, to be the book intended, if I did

De Aleatoribus, p. 96, Hartel). It has affinities with a passage in Bryennius's Didaché, but differs a good deal in form.

* There is, I think, reasonable ground to infer knowledge of the Didaché from one of the mysterious fragments, as from Irenæus, published by Pfaff, from a Turin Catena, which has since disappeared. I see no reason to doubt that Pfaff found the extracts ascribed to Irenæus in the MS. which he copied; but Catenæ often make mistakes in their ascription of authorship, and though I believe the extract in question to have been from the work of an ancient author, I do not believe that that author was Irenæus. Zahn's remark is conclusive, that this fragment quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's.

not feel some hesitation arising from doubts already expressed as to whether this book is one which Athanasius would have put into the hands of catechumens.

If the view I have taken be correct that the *Didaché*, as we know it, was a work of very limited circulation and influence, which spread but little and slowly outside the purely Jewish section of the Church, it ceases to be of much importance in the history of the Christian Church; but it even gains in importance when regarded as a contribution to the history of Judaism, exhibiting the religious training which had been received by pious Jews before the Gospel was preached to them. I therefore turn back to examine how much of the *Didaché* can be supposed to have been based on a previously existing Jewish manual. To that manual we naturally refer the first five chapters containing the 'Two Ways'. The sixth is a short chapter, giving license to the disciple, in matters of food, not to bear the whole yoke if he is not able, but insisting on his at least abstaining from things offered in sacrifice to idols. Nothing forbids us to think that this was a rule of life prescribed by Jews to a proselyte, and the whole chapter may have been found textually in the original manual.

The seventh chapter treats of baptism. The candidate is previously to have been taught all the preceding instructions; then he is to be baptized in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The baptism is to take place in preference in running water; if this cannot be had, in standing water; if cold water cannot be had, it may take place in warm water; by which we are apparently to understand that if neither river nor pond were accessible, the baptism might take place in drawn water, such as that of a bath. If water in sufficient quantity could not be had, water might be thrice poured on the head in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Both baptizer and baptized were to fast previously, and, if possible, others with them; but in any case the person to be baptized must fast beforehand one day or two. It is evident this chapter has been Christianized; but the original document could hardly have failed to contain in the corresponding

place instructions about baptism, which was a ceremony considered essential in the admission of proselytes. The doctrine of the absolute necessity of the preliminary fast receives a curious illustration from the Pseudo-Clementines. In the part of that romance (*Recog.* vii. 36; *Hom.* xiii. 11) which relates the baptism of Clement's mother, Peter directs that she must fast one day previously. She declares that she has eaten nothing for the last two days (a fact to which Peter's wife bears witness), and asks to be baptized at once. Peter smiles, and explains that a fast made without reference to baptism will not count. She must fast all that day; they will all fast with her, and then she can be baptized the next day.

The next chapter in the original in all probability treated of fasting and prayer. The Didaché here directs the disciple to fast twice a week; but not on Mondays and Thursdays, like the hypocrites, but on Wednesdays and Fridays; and to pray three times a-day; but instead of praying like the hypocrites, to use the Lord's Prayer, which is given with the doxology. It appears to me that the adapter here designedly departed from his original; and that the rules of fasting and the prayers which he calls 'of the hypocrites', were those which he found in his original, and for which he substitutes purely Christian equivalents. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 16) speaks of the Monday and Thursday fast as a Pharisaic institution. The author of the Didaché had, no doubt, in his mind our Lord's words, which occur so often in Matt. xxiii., 'Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites'!

The ninth and tenth chapters of the Didaché are generally understood as referring to the Eucharist. I have already intimated some difficulty as to this view, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that the Eucharist is treated of in a later chapter (14). Why should it be treated of twice? I believe the answer to be, that in the corresponding place of the original Jewish manual the proselyte was taught as the concluding piece of his instruction forms of benediction to be used before and after solemn meals. These forms, I take it, the compiler of the Didaché adapted for Christian use, leaving it

free, however, to persons endowed with prophetic gifts to use different forms if they chose. These forms might be used in the Christian Love Feasts; but I do not believe that the Eucharist proper is treated of before the fourteenth chapter. And, in fact, if I am right in my inference from the 'therefore' at the beginning of chap. xv., the Didaché agrees with Justin Martyr in making consecration the office of the president of the assembly, and there could be no reason why formulæ for the purpose should be taught to the ordinary disciple. It is true that the word *εὐχαριστία* is here used in the Didaché, and it is ordained that no unbaptized person shall eat of it. Yet I am disposed to believe the explanation to be, that the word Eucharist had not yet come to be used exclusively of the Lord's Supper. In the Clementines great prominence is given to Peter's benediction of meals in cases, where if an administration of the Eucharist, as we understand the word, be intended, Peter must have made every meal a Eucharist. For example, Clement, narrating his intercourse with Peter, previous to his baptism, says:—'And when he had said these things, and had taken food, he by himself, he commanded that I also should take food, and he blessed over the food, and gave thanks after he was satisfied,* and exhorted me with a word concerning that [which he had done]; and after these things he said, God grant thee that thou mayest in everything be like unto me, and mayest be baptized, and this same food with me thou mayest receive.'†

* Compare *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι* (*Didaché*, ch. 10).

† Clem. *Recog.* i. 19, translated for me from the Syriac by Dr. Gwynn. The strongest evidence that Clement of Alexandria knew the Palestinian form of the Didaché is, that he uses (*Quis dives salvus*, 20) the phrase 'vine of David', which occurs in one of these benedictory prayers. The phrase itself we may well believe occurred in the Jewish benediction, and there meant the Jewish people. And it is possible that this benediction may have been copied into the Egyptian form of the 'Apostolic Teaching'. It is generally owned that the latter part of the 'Church Ordinances', as we have them, is a later addition; but in order to make room for that addition, the 'Way of Death', and possibly some other portions of the original document have been cut away. Bornemann notices (*Theol. Literaturz.* 1885, 413) that Origen also has 'veræ vitis quæ ascendit de radice David' (*In Librum Judicum*, Hom. 17).

I do not know whether the influence of a Jewish original can be traced beyond chap. x. ; and yet it is quite possible that a Jewish manual might contain directions as to the reception of ἀπόστολοι, there being Jewish officers so called, as has been already remarked. And if the manual had contained orders as to the payment of first-fruits for the support of the high-priests, we could understand why the Didaché, in directing that first-fruits should be paid to the prophets, should add, 'for they are *your* high-priests'. At any rate, chaps. xiv., xv., and the last chapter, on our Lord's Second Coming, are not likely to have had anything corresponding in a merely Jewish book. But there is one passage about which a few words must be said. I have said that in the section of Barnabas on the 'Two Ways' there is no use of the Gospels ; but there is one passage which apparently exhibits a use of the Acts and of St. Paul. Barnabas says (ch. xix.) : 'Participate with your neighbour in all things, and say not that things are your own ; for if you have been participators in that which is incorruptible, how much more in corruptible things.' The passage strongly recalls Rom. xv. 27, and 1 Cor. ix. 11. But the same words are found both in the Didaché and in the 'Church Ordinances', save that instead of ἀφθάρτω we have ἀθανάτω. If we could take the three as independent witnesses, it would follow that there must have been corresponding words in the Jewish original ; and then the question would arise whether that original may not have been old enough to have been known to St. Paul. But as there is also what looks like a use of Acts iv. 32, the passage can scarcely be pre-Christian ; and I am therefore disposed to believe that Barnabas is here the original. I have already come to the conclusion that the Christian adapter of the Didaché had seen Barnabas, and he may have made an addition from that source. I have not made any systematic study of the 'Church Ordinances' ; but I share the general belief that the latter half is not of the same date as the earlier portion ;* and the later compiler may have been acquainted with the Didaché.

* There is in the latter one very curious passage (§. 26), indicating jealousy of the women on the part of the Apostles, which I suspect owes its origin to something

Since the above was in type, Dr. Schaff has kindly communicated to me a note in the forthcoming new edition of his work on the Didaché, from which I learn that an American scholar, Mr. Potwin, has called attention to the following passage in Origen (*De Princ.* III. ii. 7): 'Propterea docet nos Scriptura divina, omnia quæ accidunt nobis tanquam a Deo illata suscipere, scientes quod sine Deo nihil fit.' Now, since we have in the Didaché (iii. 10), τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται, Mr. Potwin concludes that Origen knew the Didaché, and regarded it as Scripture. But he overlooks that the same words are found both in Barnabas and in the 'Church Ordinances', so that it remains undetermined from which source Origen drew the words. But in the preceding chapter Origen (see p. 52, *ante*) had quoted as from Barnabas the section on the 'Two Ways';* and since (see p. 7, *ante*) he elsewhere quotes Barnabas as Scripture, we have no inducement to look beyond Barnabas for the source of the present quotation; and Mr. Potwin's interesting remark appears rather to furnish additional proof of the respect in which Origen held the Epistle of Barnabas than to establish his knowledge of the Didaché. Since Clement of Alexandria knew the Didaché in some form, and since Origen, even if he had not met the book in Egypt, would be likely to have heard of it during his residence in Palestine, I should expect that a search through Origen's writings would elicit some proof of his knowledge of the Didaché; but no clear proof of this kind has, as far as I know, yet been produced.

in the Gospel according to the Egyptians. At least, the same feature shows itself in the Gnostic work, *Pistis Sophia*, which is also Egyptian. In p. 57, when Mary, who has already been highly commended by the Saviour for her previous answer, is about to speak, Peter leaps forward, and says: 'Lord, we cannot suffer this woman to take place with us, for she will not allow any of us to speak, but is speaking very often;' and again, p. 161, Mary says: 'I would answer, but I am afraid of Peter, who is threatening me, and who hates our sex'.

* This quotation cannot be used negatively to prove that Origen was not acquainted with the Didaché, since the angels on account of whom Origen cites the passage are not mentioned in the Didaché.



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